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MODERN EUROPE.

I.

MODERN EUROPE,

FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE,

A.D. 1453—1871.

BY THOMAS HENRY DYER, LL.D.

(*SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED.*)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

THE design of the following work is to give a general view of European history during the last four centuries. A plan so extensive can only resemble one of those skeleton maps which indicate the position of provinces and chief towns, leaving minuter details to be sought in particular and more elaborate maps. To facilitate the reader's further researches, references have been constantly given to the works most proper to be consulted. These have, of course, been used by the author himself; and in the choice of them he must acknowledge his obligations, among other competent authorities, to Dr. Von Sybel and Dr. Wuttke, Professors of History at the time this book was begun, at Munich and Leipsic. It is, therefore, as may hardly be necessary to say, a compilation; yet with regard to facts of paramount importance, the author has, when possible, consulted original authorities; and with regard to opinions, he has never servilely, and without due consideration, adopted those of any writer whatsoever.

The work, of course, is of a political nature; its main object being to show the origin and nature of the European concert. To have entered into any descriptions of manners and literature, besides being foreign to its subject, would have swollen the book to an inconvenient size. Such topics are more appropriate to the particular histories of different countries, or to separate works specially devoted to them. It has, however, been sometimes necessary to enter into literary history when it has produced social or political revolutions, as in the case of the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution. But here, as in the rest of the work, the main outlines only could be indicated, and the reader must complete the sketch from his own researches.

It was a difficult question to determine to what extent it might be proper to enter into the domestic history of the different European countries. With regard to Continental States, their action in the European concert could hardly have been understood

without a general idea of their internal condition, of their interests, and the motives of their policy. But as the English reader of this book may be presumed to have acquired a general knowledge of the history of his own country, the domestic affairs of England have not been described. On the other hand, particular attention has been paid to the policy of England as a member of the European commonwealth.

This second and revised edition will be found to contain the same principles on which the first was written. They are those of rational liberty, both civil and religious, as established and fostered by the Protestant Reformation, and by the more liberal and enlightened views to which it gave birth. And though compliance with certain retrograde notions might perhaps have increased the circulation of the book, the Author was unwilling to sacrifice to such a consideration what he considers to be the interests of truth and progress.

Bath,

Sept. 3rd, 1877.

A

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HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE greater part of Europe was first united by the conquests of the Romans, who imparted to it the germs of that characteristic civilization which distinguishes it from the other quarters of the globe, and which the Romans themselves had for the most part derived from the Greeks. They also transmitted to a great portion of Europe their language and their laws. Latin was long the common language of the learned in Europe, when it subsisted, as a spoken tongue, only in the corruptions of the Italian, French, Spanish, and other dialects; and Roman laws still form the basis of the codes of several European countries. Before the close of the fifth century of our era, the Roman Empire of the West had fallen before the arms of the northern Barbarians; and though a shadow of Rome's ancient power and name still survived at Constantinople, Europe had lost its former political unity, and was become again divided into a number of separate States. These were never again united under one dominion, and after experiencing among themselves a variety of political changes during the thousand years which elapsed from the fall of Rome till about the middle of the fifteenth century, a period commonly called the Middle Ages, had at that epoch for the most part formed themselves into those great and powerful nations which constitute modern Europe. The last great event in this process of transformation was the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, by which the small remains of the Roman Empire of the East were annihilated, and a new Power was introduced into the European system.

But during the Middle Ages an influence arose which by means of religion again gave, at least to Western Europe, a certain sort

of unity. It is one of the most singular facts in the history of mankind that a religion whose chief characteristic is the renouncing of this world, should have been the means of elevating its ministers, and especially its high priest and director, to a vast height of temporal wealth and power. The irruption of the barbarous nations pretty nearly destroyed the last remains of learning and culture in Europe, and steeped it in the grossest ignorance. Of such a state, superstition is the natural concomitant, and as the clergy were almost the only persons who had any degree of education, they soon discovered what a powerful instrument they possessed for acquiring worldly as well as spiritual power, by working on the superstitious fears of the people. Whether in such a state of society their influence was beneficial or otherwise we shall not inquire. It suffices for historical purposes to state the notorious fact that in every European country some of the finest lands became the property of ecclesiastics; and they further increased their revenues by the institution of tithes, by the donations and bequests of the faithful, and by numerous other devices for obtaining money. These means of wealth were partly acquired under the earlier Christian Emperors; but they were vastly increased after the invasion of the Barbarians, through the grosser state of ignorance and superstition which ensued.

But the wealth and influence of the clergy would not have sufficed to give them any political power out of their respective countries. In order to obtain a European influence, a supreme head of the Church was required, who should wield the sum of ecclesiastical power by directing and controlling his clerical subordinates in the various countries of Europe. Some degree of this power had been acquired in very early times of Christianity by the Bishops of Rome; partly from the authority which they claimed as the reputed successors of St. Peter, partly from the prestige which naturally belonged to the name of Imperial Rome. This power was vastly increased by the talents and audacious pretensions of several ambitious Pontiffs, and especially Popes Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface VIII., so that at last the See of Rome even asserted its pretensions to depose monarchs and excommunicate nations.

This new moral force was more than co-extensive with, though not so absolute and immediate as, the physical power of Imperial Rome, and Europe, in another manner, again became united as Christendom. This union was strikingly displayed by the

Crusades—the wars of the European Christians against the Infidels of Asia.

The Imperial and the Papal dominion of Rome were respectively acquired by means of two powers which form the sum of human capability and govern the world—physical and intellectual force. But everything necessarily falls through the same means by which it was erected. The Roman Empire, founded by arms, fell before the arms of the Barbarians; the Papal dominion, established by the subjugation of the mind, has been already in great part overthrown by an intellectual revolution, and in spite of some symptoms of recovery it can hardly be doubted that in process of time its fall will be complete.

Before the termination of the dark ages, two inventions had been made which were destined to have important effects on modern Europe—gunpowder and the printing press. Of these, one revolutionized the methods of physical force or warfare, whilst the other gave new vigour to the operations of the intellect. Had gunpowder been known during the existence of the Roman Empire, it would hardly have been subdued by the Barbarians; had the press been invented, it may be doubted whether the Popes would have succeeded in establishing their power. The employment of gunpowder gave a first and fatal blow to feudalism, by rendering useless the armour and the castles of the nobles. It made warfare more extensive and more scientific, and, combined with the establishment of a professional soldiery and standing armies, introduced those new methods of fighting which were necessary to decide the quarrels between nations which had grown numerous and powerful. In like manner in the intellectual world, the introduction of printing, and the consequent diffusion of knowledge, prepared the minds of men for that resistance to the Papal doctrines and pretensions which had already partially manifested itself among the higher and more enlightened classes. Its effects produced the Reformation,—one of the first great revolutions which we shall have to contemplate in the history of modern Europe. The practical application of another great invention, the mariner's compass, and its effects on navigation and commerce, belong to a rather later period, and will be considered further on.

By the Protestant Reformation the religious bond of European unity was in a great degree broken, though not altogether destroyed. But a new bond was springing up from the very dissensions of Europe; we mean a system of international policy and

law, to which the various nations submitted themselves and which was maintained through negotiations, embassies, treaties, and finally by the theory of the balance of power. During the darker ages the aggressions committed by one State upon another were viewed with indifference by the rest; and thus, for instance, the conquests of the English in France were utterly disregarded. But when, by the consolidation of the great monarchies, and the establishment of standing armies, the various European States were able to enter upon long and distant wars with one another, the aggressive ambition of one became the common concern of all. Leagues and alliances were made to check and repress the attempts of grasping sovereigns, and to preserve an equilibrium of power. Europe thus began to form one large Republic of nations, acknowledging the same system of international law, and becoming amenable to the voice of public opinion. Thus the history of modern Europe presents, in fact, as much unity as that of Greece in early times. Composed of a cluster of independent States, of which one, now Sparta, now Athens, now Thebes, aspired to the hegemony, her only rallying cry was against the Barbarians, as that of Christendom once was against the Infidels; whilst her chief bond of union was also a religious one, manifested in the Amphictyonic Council and the games at Olympia and other places, which bear some analogy to the General Councils, and the festivals, and jubilees of the Roman Church.

It is, then, the change from a unity cemented by religion to a political unity which chiefly distinguishes modern Europe from the Europe of the Middle Ages. The beginning of this change dates from the invasion of Italy by the French towards the close of the fifteenth century. But as the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the destruction of the last vestiges of the Eastern Roman Empire, have commonly been regarded, and we think with reason, as the true epoch of modern history, it has been adopted in the present work. The real importance of that event, however, and what renders it truly an epoch, lies more in the final and complete establishment in Europe of the Ottoman power than in the fall of the Byzantine Empire, which had long been effete, and must at no distant period have either perished of natural decay or been swallowed up by some of its more powerful Christian neighbours. And for a considerable period after the fall of Constantinople, the chief interest of European history centres in the progress of the Turks, and the efforts made to oppose them.

At the epoch we have chosen, Constantine Palæologus, the last feeble heir of Grecian culture and Roman magnificence, still enjoyed at Constantinople the title of Emperor. His Empire, however, was in the last stage of decay; though the walls and suburbs of his capital comprised a great part of his dominions, he had been compelled to share even those narrow precincts with the Republics of Genoa and Venice, and, what was still worse, Constantinople existed only by sufferance of the Turks. Sultan Bajazet I., surnamed *Ilderim*, or the Thunderbolt (1389—1403), had compelled the Greek Emperor to pay him tribute, to admit a Turkish colony at Constantinople, having four mosques and the independent jurisdiction of a *cadi*, and even to permit coins with the Sultan's superscription to be minted there. From year to year all Europe looked forward with unavailing anxiety and compassion to the certain fall of the city in which the Christian faith had been established as the religion of the Empire; and at length, in May, 1453, Constantinople yielded to the arms of Sultan Mahomet II. With its capture the curtain falls on the nations of antiquity; and the final establishment of the Turks in Europe, the latest settlers among the various races which composed its population, forms the first great episode of modern history. The lingering vestiges of antiquity then vanished altogether; the Cæsars were no longer represented, except by an unreal shadow in Germany; and the language of the Greek classical authors, which till then the scholars of Italy could acquire in Greece in tolerable purity as a living tongue, rapidly degenerated into the barbarous dialect now spoken in Greece.

The decline and fall of the Eastern Empire, as well as the rise and progress of the Ottoman Turks, who during some centuries filled Europe with the dread of their power, and now by their weakness excite either its cupidity or its solicitude, have been described by Gibbon;[1] but as neither that historian nor Mr. Hallam, in his brief account of the Ottomans,[2] has entered into any detailed description of their institutions and government, we shall here supply a few particulars that may serve to illustrate some parts of the following narrative.[3]

[1] See particularly the *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxiii.—lxviii.

[2] *Middle Ages*, ch. vi.

[3] The principal authorities for the fall of the Greek Empire and the establishment of the Turks in Europe are the Byzantine historians, Chalcocondyles, Phrantzes, Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, Cantacuzenus, Ducas, &c.; Seadeddin, the celebrated Turkish historian, the tutor and general of Mahomet III. (translated by Brattuti, *Cronica dell' Origine e Progressi della Casa Ottomana*); *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum*, ed. Leunclavius; Mouradjea d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris, 1820, 7 vols.);

It was Osman, or Othman[1] (1299—1326), who, by the extent of his conquests and the virtual independence of the Iconium Sultans which he acquired, became the recognized founder and eponymous hero of the Ottoman Empire. To the territories which Othman had won by arms a permanent organization was given under his son and successor Orchan (1326—1360). This, however, was the work of Orchan's brother, Alaeddin, who acted as his Vizier. Renouncing all share in his father's inheritance, Alaeddin retired to a village near Prusa, now through Orchan's conquests the capital of the Ottoman dominions, and being a man of talent, and well skilled both in civil and military affairs, he applied himself to model, with his brother's approbation, the institutions of the State. Three subjects chiefly engaged his attention: the coinage, the people's dress, and the organization of the army. Among the rights of Islam sovereignty, those of the Prince to coin money and to have his name mentioned in the public prayers on Friday occupy the first place. The sovereignty of Orchan was marked by gold and silver coins being struck with his superscription in 1328. His name was also inserted in the public prayers; but for a considerable period the Ottoman Princes were prayed for only as temporal sovereigns, and it was not till after the conquest of Egypt by Selim I. in 1517 that they became the spiritual heads of Islam. The last remnants of the Abassid Caliphate were then transferred to the race of Othman; Mohammed Ab'ul Berekeath, Sheikh of Mecca, sent to the conqueror of the Mamelukes, by his son Abu Noumi, the keys of the Caaba upon a silver platter, and raised him to be the protector of the holy cities, Mecca and Medina. The Sultan, thus become, by a most singular revolution, the representative of the Prophet, the High Priest and Imaum of all the Faithful, added to his temporal titles that of *Zill'ullah*, the shadow or image of God upon earth. He was now prayed for as Imaum and Caliph, and his name was joined with those of the Prophet himself, his posterity, and the first Caliphs.

The regulations of Alaeddin with regard to dress were principally intended to distinguish the different classes of the people;

Von Hammer, *Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches;* Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osmanisch. Reiches in Europa;* Fallmerayer, *Gesch. der Halbinsel Morea;* Finlay, *Medieval Greece,* and *Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Domination;* Creasy, *Hist. of the Ottoman Turks.* But the early history of the Turks rests on uncertain traditions.

[1] Osman is the true name of this prince, whence the Turks still call themselves *Osmanlis.* But the corrupted form Othman, and the epithet *Ottoman* derived from it, are become so established by custom, that we shall continue to retain them; and the same practice will be observed with regard to other Turkish names.

and a white turban was assigned, as the most honourable colour, to the Court of the Sultan and to the soldiery. But of all the measures then adopted, those respecting the army were by far the most important. As the Turkish forces had hitherto principally consisted of light cavalry, which were of course wholly ineffective against towns, Alaeddin applied himself to the creation of an infantry on the Byzantine model, and under his care, and that of Kara Chalil Tchendereli, another Minister of Orchan's, arose the celebrated corps of the Janissaries.[1] We shall not, however, here trace in detail the origin and progress of the Ottoman army and other institutions, but shall view them as wholes, and when they had attained, at a later period, to their full organization and development.

The Turkish army may be divided into two grand classes: those who served by obligation of their land tenure, and those who received pay. All conquered lands were divided among the *Spahis* (horsemen), on conditions which, like the feudal tenures of Christian Europe, obliged the holders to serve in the field. Here, however, ends the likeness between the Turkish *Timar* and the European fief. The *Timarli* were not, like the Christian knighthood, a proud and hereditary aristocracy, almost independent of the Sovereign, and having a voice in his councils, but the mere creatures of the Sultan's breath. The Ottoman constitution recognized no order of nobility, and was essentially a democratic despotism. The military tenures were modified by Amurath I., who divided them into large and smaller (*siamet* and *timar*), the holders of which were called *Saim* and *Timarli*. Every cavalier, or Spahi, who had helped to conquer by his bravery, was rewarded with a fief, which, whether large or small, was called a *Kilidsch* (sword). The symbols of his investment were a sword and banner (*Kilidsch* and *Sandjak*). The smaller fiefs were of the yearly value of 20,000 aspers[2] and under; the larger were all that exceeded that estimate. The holder of a fief valued at 3,000 aspers was obliged to furnish one man fully armed and equipped, who in tenures of that low value could be no other than himself. The holders of larger fiefs were obliged to find a horseman for every 5,000 aspers of yearly value; so that

[1] Chalcocondyles (lib. i. p. 8, ed. Par.) erroneously ascribes the institution of the Janissaries to Othman I.; and Leunclavius (*Ann. Turcici*, p. 13, and note, p. 129, ed. Frankf. 1596) and Marsigli (*Stato militare dell' Imperio Ottomano*, t. i. p. 67), still more erroneously to Amurath I. See Von Hammer, *Geschicte des osm. Reiches*, Th. i. S. 93 und Anm., S. 581 : Zinkeisen, B. i. S. 128 Anm. 3.

[2] Early in the fifteenth century an asper was equal to the tenth part of a Venetian ducat, or about one shilling English, but it afterwards greatly dwindled in value.

a *Timarli* might have to furnish four men, and a *Saim* as many as nineteen. In general the Spahi was armed with a bow and arrows, a light slender lance, a short sword or scimitar, sometimes also an iron mace, and a small round shield (*rotella*). At a later period the morion and cuirass were adopted.

Among the paid troops were the "Spahis of the Porte," who came next in rank to the *Timarli*. They were distinguished by the splendour of their accoutrements and the excellence of their horses. Down to the end of the sixteenth century the bow was their missile weapon, and it was with reluctance that they adopted the use of fire-arms. The Spahis of the Porte prided themselves on being the guard of the Sultan. They were composed of Christian slaves, and were at last divided into four different corps of different degrees of honour. These, and the Spahis who served by tenure, formed the most valuable portion of the Turkish cavalry. The *Muteferrika* was a small corps which formed the more immediate body-guard of the Sultan, and never quitted his person. It was composed entirely of the sons of distinguished Turks, whose number, which was at first only 100, rose in the time of Selim II. to 500.

Besides these may be enumerated the unpaid cavalry and the mounted auxiliaries. The former were the *Akindshi* (scouts or runners), who received neither pay nor maintenance: all they enjoyed was an exemption from taxation, and they were expected to provide for themselves by robbery and plunder. They were mostly composed of peasants on the *Siamets* and *Timars*. Their usual arms were a short sword, iron mace, coat of mail, and shield and lance; the bow was rare among them. They formed the vanguard of the army, which they generally preceded by a day or two. Woe to the land which they visited! They came and went, no one knew whither, leaving desolation in their track, and carrying off the inhabitants into slavery, for which purpose they came provided with chains. They were often, however, fatal to the Turks themselves, either by being driven in upon the main body and thus creating inextricable confusion, or by the want of fodder and provisions which their devastations occasioned. Their number was estimated at 200,000, but it was seldom that more than 25,000 or 30,000 appeared in the field at once; and by degrees, under a more regular system of warfare, they were dispensed with altogether. On the whole, when the Ottoman Empire had attained its highest pitch, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Turkish cavalry was estimated at 565,000 men: viz., 200,000

Spahis who served by tenure, 40,000 Spahis of the Porte, 200,000 Akindshi, and 125,000 auxiliaries.

The Turk, naturally a horseman, was but ill adapted to foot service. Many vain attempts were made to form a standing corps of Turkish infantry, though a light-armed militia, called *Azab*, was occasionally raised. These amounted to some 40,000 men, but were little esteemed as soldiers. They served as food for powder, fought in the van, and at the storming of towns formed with their bodies a bridge for the Janissaries. It was these last that were the pith of the Turkish armies, and long the most formidable troops in Europe. They at first consisted of 1,000 Christian children, who were torn from their parents, compelled to embrace Islam, and trained up in all the duties of a soldier. Such was the origin of the famous corps of JANISSARIES, literally, "new troops," from *jeni*, new, and *tsheri*, a troop: a name given to them by the holy dervish Hadji Beytash, founder of the order of the Beytashis, still dispersed over and venerated in the Ottoman Empire. Hadji Beytash consecrated the first recruits by throwing his sleeve over their felt caps, in commemoration of which a piece of white cloth was affixed to the back of their caps. At first their numbers were recruited yearly with drafts of 1,000 Christian youths or with renegades; for in time many Christian youths, seeing the privileges and advantages enjoyed by the Janissaries, entered their ranks either voluntarily or at the instance of their parents. Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Servia, and Bulgaria were the chief countries whence the supply was drawn. When the Janissaries had become an established corps, a small body of soldiers, headed by a captain, proceeded every five years, or oftener if required, from place to place; the inhabitants were ordered to assemble their sons of the age of from twelve to fourteen years, from whom the captain selected the handsomest and strongest, as well as those who gave token of peculiar talent. The youths thus chosen were instructed in the Seraglio at Constantinople in the Turkish language and religion, and carefully trained in all martial exercises: those who displayed more than ordinary abilities were destined to civil employments under the government; the rest were drafted into the Janissaries, and were condemned like monks to a life of celibacy, in order that all their energies might be devoted to the Sultan's service. But high pay and good living were inducements to enter the corps. Their officers took their names from the kitchen. Thus their colonel was called "first soup-maker;" the next in command,

"first cook," &c. By this singular institution the advantages of European talent, strength, and courage were combined with the fanatical obedience known only in the East; and one of the chief forces of the Ottomans, drawn from the very marrow of the Christians whom they had subdued, served to promote their further subjugation. The dress of the Janissaries was a long tight coat reaching to the ankles, the skirts of which, on the march or in action, were tucked up to the waist. Their arms were at first a shield, bow and arrows, scimitar, and long knife or dagger. It was not till the latter part of the sixteenth century that they began to carry arquebuses. In 1515, Selim, having quelled the insolence of the Janissaries by the execution of their commander, appointed in his stead an AGA, selected from his own household troops, and made other alterations among the officers in the chief command. The *Seybanbashi*, or commander, had previously risen by seniority from the lowest rank of officers. The Aga of the Janissaries had the power of life and death over his men; he ranked higher than all other Agas, and enjoyed a seat in the Divan.

Like the Prætorian Bands of Rome, the Janissaries at length became formidable to their masters. At the accession of Mahomet II. they raised a revolt, which he found it necessary to quell by a present of money; the act was converted into a precedent, and from this time forward every Sultan at his accession was obliged to court their goodwill by a donation, the amount of which went on continually increasing. Insubordination and insolence were followed by degeneracy—the consequence of the breach of ancient discipline. The first innovation was the introduction of native Turks among the Janissaries; the origin of which practice cannot be accurately ascertained, though it was certainly frequent in the middle of the sixteenth century. These Turks obtained their appointment by favour, and had not gone through the severe course of discipline to which the Christian slaves were subjected. A consequence of the introduction of the Turks was permission to marry, which first began to be partially allowed, and became general before the end of the century. Thus the bonds of discipline were insensibly relaxed; the children of the Janissaries next claimed to be admitted by hereditary right, and became a burden to the State by drawing their pay and maintenance even in their infancy; while their fathers, no longer employed in actual warfare, often degenerated into peaceable tradesmen. The custom of kidnapping Christian children for recruits seems to

have fallen into disuse about the middle of the seventeenth century; while that of intrusting the high offices of state to Christian slaves educated in the Seraglio had already ceased under Selim II. Another cause of the decline of the Janissaries was the great increase in their numbers. At first they amounted to only 5,000 or 6,000 men; in the middle of the sixteenth century they numbered from 10,000 to 15,000; and in the course of the following one they gradually increased to 100,000, not a quarter of whom were employed in active service. Our own age has beheld their extinction.

The preceding description of the Turkish army will serve to explain the secret of their conquests. The whole nation formed one vast camp, liable to be called into immediate service without the tedious preliminary of raising money for their maintenance; while the Janissaries and the Spahis of the Porte constituted a standing army of the best description long before a permanent force had been organized by any modern European nation.

We will now take a brief survey of the chief civil and religious institutions of the Ottoman Turks. Mahomet II., though emphatically styled *Al Fatih*, or the Conqueror, was also eminently distinguished as a political administrator. It was he who first reduced the political usages of the Ottomans into a code by his *Kanunamé*, or Book of Laws. Solyman the Magnificent excelled Mahomet in this respect only by extending his regulations, whence he obtained the name of *Al Kanuni*, or the Lawgiver.

Bajazet I. was the first of the Ottoman house who assumed the title of Sultan. His predecessors had contented themselves with that of Emir.

The SULTAN, or Grand Signor, whose chief temporal title was *Padishah*, or Great King, possessed the entire legislative power. The Sultan promulgated his decrees in *Firmans*, or simple commands, and *Hattisherifs*, or Imperial rescripts; the collection of which forms the canons to be observed by the different branches of administration. These canons he could alter by his own arbitrary will. The union of administrative power both in spiritual and temporal affairs was the grand secret of the Sultan's power. But from this resulted two consequences: it made the fate of the Ottoman Empire to depend very much on the personal character of the Sovereign; and it obliged him, from the weight of business which it involved, to delegate to another a great share of his power.

The officer who thus relieved the Sultan of his cares was the

GRAND VIZIER, literally "bearer of a burden," some of which ministers became almost the virtual Sovereigns of the Empire. Alaeddin, brother of Orchan already mentioned, may be regarded as the first Grand Vizier; but his power was very inferior to that wielded by such men as Ibrahim Pasha, Rustem, or Mahomet Sokolli. It was Mahomet II. who, after the extension of his dominions by the conquest of Constantinople, first invested the Grand Vizier with extraordinary, and almost unlimited, authority. He conferred upon that minister an uncontrolled decision in all affairs of state, even to the power of life and death, subject only to the law and the will of the Sultan. He alone was in possession of the Sultan's seal, conferred upon him as the symbol of his office on the day that he entered on it, which, fastened by a golden chain in a small box of the same metal, he carried constantly in his bosom. The seal, which was also of gold, had engraved upon it the *Tughra* (name or character) of the reigning Sultan and that of his father, with the title of "Sultan Khan" and the epithet "ever victorious." The use of the seal was limited to two purposes: it was employed to secure the communications made by the Grand Vizier to the Sultan, and to seal up anew, after every sitting of the Divan, the chambers containing the treasure and the archives. This last duty was performed by the *Chiaus Bashi*, a kind of Imperial marshal, to whom the seal was entrusted for that purpose only. State papers were not sealed, but signed with a *Tughra* resembling that on the seal by a secretary, called *Nishandschi Bashi*. The palace of the Grand Vizier became the SUBLIME PORTE and proper seat of the Ottoman government, from his having the right to hold Divans there, and to receive on certain fixed days of the week the homage of the highest officers of Court and State, when they waited on him with the same ceremonial and reverence as was observed towards the Grand Signor himself. From the remotest antiquity the affairs of the Oriental nations were discussed at the gate of the King's palace. Among the Turks, the whole organization of the State was regarded as that of a house, or rather tent. There were, therefore, various *Portes*. Thus the Court and Harem were called the Porte of Bliss, and the fourteen different corps of the army were called Portes. On entering office the Grand Vizier was invested with a magnificent dress and two caftans of gold-stuff. When he appeared in public he was accompanied by a splendid train of officials of different callings and capacities, according to the business that he was about. He was honoured with various titles, all significative of

his high authority: as *Vesiri Aasam,* or Greatest Vizier; *Vekili Muthlak,* uncontrolled representative; *Sahibi Develet,* lord of the empire; *Sadri Aala,* highest dignitary; *Dusturi Ekrem,* most honoured minister; *Sahibi Mühr,* master of the seal; or lastly, in his relation to the army, *Serdari Eshem,* or most renowned generalissimo.[1] His vast income was augmented from indirect and extraordinary sources, such as presents from *Beylerbeys,* foreign ambassadors, a share of warlike spoils, &c., and went on increasing during the decline of the Empire. The Grand Vizier alone had the right of constant access to the Sultan and of speaking in his presence. Yet this mighty minister was always originally a foreigner or Christian slave; for the extraordinary qualities required for the office could rarely or never have been found among the native Turks.

The same reasons which induced Mahomet II. to augment the power of the Grand Vizier, also led him to appoint some assistants. These were what were called the Viziers of the Cupola, or of the bench, who had the privilege of sitting in council on the same bench, and under the same cupola as the Grand Vizier. Though subordinate to him they were his constituted advisers in all affairs of importance, and were entitled like him to three horse-tails as ensigns of their rank. Their number was regulated by the necessities of business, but they were never to be more than six. Under such a man as Ibrahim they had but little influence, but they might always look forward to fill the post of Grand Vizier; they enjoyed large incomes, and the chiefs commands in the army or fleet. For the most part they were, like the Grand Vizier, converted Christians of humble birth. But the name of Vizier came in process of time to be given to all Governors of provinces who had attained to the rank of a Pasha of three tails.

The DIVAN, or Ottoman Council, ordinarily consisted of, besides the Viziers, 1, the two military judges (*Cadiaskers*) of Roumelia and Anatolia, to whom, after the conquests of Selim I. in Africa and Asia, was added a third; 2, the *Beylerbeys* of Greece and Asia Minor; 3, the two *Defterdars,* or treasurers, for Europe and Asia, to whom a third was likewise added by Selim; 4, the Aga of the Janissaries; 5, the *Beylerbey* of the sea (*Capudan Pasha*), or high admiral; 6, the *Nishandshi,* or secretary who affixed the Sultan's signature. When the debate concerned foreign affairs, the interpreter of the Porte was also admitted to the Divan. It sat regularly on four days of the week—Saturday, Sunday, Monday,

[1] Zinkeisen, B. iii. S. 63.

and Tuesday, when, after morning prayer, the members, attended by their retinues of scribes, *chiauses*, &c., took their seats with great ceremony. Refreshments were served during the sittings, which lasted till the evening; when they were concluded with a meal in common, consisting of plain fare, with water as the only beverage. The business was conducted in a short and summary method; the Grand Vizier gave his decision, which was without appeal. Silence and the greatest decorum prevailed during the proceedings. In matters of law—for everybody, rich or poor, had a right to appear before the Divan and state his case—those who committed themselves by disrespectful and indecent behaviour were bastinadoed on the spot. In the administration of justice, as well as in the conduct of political affairs, the singular advantage of the Turkish government was quick despatch, subject of course to the faults which inevitably attend such a system.

Down to the time of Bajazet II. the Sultan himself presided at the Divan, and pronounced the decision. After that period he ceased to appear; but there was a niche, or box, over the seat of the Grand Vizier, in which, screened by a curtain, he might, if he pleased, listen to the debate. After the Divan was concluded the Sultan held a solemn audience in his apartments, in which he was made acquainted with its decisions. The different members of the Divan appeared before him in turn; the *Nishandshi Bashi* read the proceedings, and the Sultan gave his assent, after sometimes requiring preliminary explanations. Yet even in these audiences it was chiefly the Grand Vizier who spoke. In affairs of the highest importance, and especially on the undertaking of a new war, the Sultan held a Divan on horseback; on which occasions he appeared mounted in the *Atmeidan*, or ancient Hippodrome of Constantinople, with a magnificent retinue, and asked the opinions of the Vizier and other members of the Divan, who also attended on horseback. But this kind of assembly soon degenerated into an idle ceremony, and fell at length into disuse. The Divan of the Grand Vizier (the Sublime Porte) was always the real council for the despatch of business. This was the central seat of the subordinate boards of the three chief executive officers; namely, the *Kiaja Bey*, the deputy, and as it were attorney-general, of the Grand Vizier; of the *Reis Effendi*, or minister for foreign affairs; and of the *Chiaus Bashi*, or home minister.

The provincial administration of the Ottoman empire was founded on that system of fiefs, or military tenures, to which we

have already alluded. The Turkish dominions consisted of conquered territory, and by the laws of Islam the conqueror was the lord and proprietor of what his sword had won. A union of several *siamets* and *timars* constituted a district called a *sandjak* (banner), under command of a *Sandjakbey* (lord of the sandjak), to whose banner with a horse-tail the retainers of the district resorted when called out. A union again of several *sandjaks* formed an *ejalet*, or government under a *Beylerbey* (lord of lords), who according to the extent of his province had a standard of two or three horse-tails. The highest of these *Beylerbeys* were the Governors-general of Roumelia and Anatolia. But the greatest of provincial governments was the *Pashalic*, consisting of a union of several *ejalets*.

Although, as we have seen, the chief strength of the Ottoman army and the political government of the Empire lay in the hands of slaves who had originally been Christians, yet everything appertaining to the administration of justice, religion, and education was intrusted solely to the hands of native Turks. In the Ottoman polity, indeed, religion and justice were united, and the Koran formed the text-book of both. In a nation so essentially warlike even justice assumed a military character. The office of the two *Cadiaskers*, or judges of the army, was the highest judicial dignity, and, till the time of Mahomet II., conferred upon them a rank superior even to that of the *Mufti*. The jurisdiction of the *Cadiaskers* was not, however, confined, as their name might imply, solely to the army. They were the first links in the chain of the *Great Mollas*, or men of the higher judicial rank; to which belonged besides them only the judges of the following cities:—Constantinople and its three suburbs, Mecca and Medina, Adrianople, Prusa, Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Smyrna, Aleppo, Larissa, and Salonica. Then followed the *Lesser Mollas*, the judges of ten cities of the second rank. Other judicial officers of a lower class were the *Muftetish*, or investigating officers; the *Cadis*, and their deputies the *Naïbs*. The *Cadi* gave his judgment alone, and without assistance, both in civil and criminal cases, according to the precepts of the Koran. He also discharged all the functions of a notary in making wills, contracts, and the like.

The head both of spiritual and temporal law was the *Sheikh-ul-Islam*, or MUFTI. The *Mufti*, however, pronounced no judgments. His power extended only to give advice in doubtful cases: his *Fetwa*, or response, had only a moral influence, no actual effect;

but this influence was so great that no judge would have presumed to give a verdict at variance with his decision. The *Mufti* was consulted by those who were dissatisfied with the sentence of their judges. Mahomet II. placed the *Mufti* at the head of the order called *Ulema*, or men learned in the law and in religion; the members of which in the earlier times engrossed in their families the exclusive and hereditary possession of the higher judicial offices, and thus formed the nearest approach to an aristocracy among the Ottomans.[1] The *Mufti* was sometimes consulted in questions of State policy, and, like the oracles of old, was not unfrequently *tuned* to give a response agreeable to the wishes of the Sultan. Into a description of the various ministers appointed for the service of the mosques it is not necessary to enter.

The history of the Ottoman Turks in Europe before the conquest of Constantinople forms no part of our subject, and it will therefore suffice briefly to recapitulate the state at that time of their possessions in Greece and the adjacent countries. In the reign of Mahomet I. (1413—1421) the greater part of the Greek Empire was in the hands either of Turks or Italians. The Peloponnesus, indeed, still belonged to the Greeks, and was divided into small sovereignties whose rulers bore the title of Despot. This peninsula, as well as the coast from Ætolia to the extremity of Epirus, and the regions of Macedonia and Thessaly, was thickly studded with the castles of lords or knights, who committed unceasing depredations on the inhabitants, and carried on with one another continual wars. The Venetians and Genoese, besides their colonies scattered over the Empire, had factories at Constantinople, which by their fortifications and garrisons were rendered quite independent of the Greeks. The Constantinopolitans themselves had no spirit of enterprise, and thus, almost all the trade of the Eastern Empire fell into the hands of Italians. The Venetians had their own quarter in the city, enclosed with walls and gates, as well as a separate anchorage in the port surrounded with palisades. This colony was governed by a *bailo*, or bailiff, who had much the same jurisdiction as the Doge at Venice. The Byzantine settlement of the Genoese was still more important. Michael Palæologus, in reward for their services in assisting him to recover the Empire, assigned to them the suburb of Pera, or Galata, on the opposite side of the harbour;[2] a district 4400 paces

[1] See Von Hammer, *Des osm. Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Th. ii. S. 382.

[2] On the settlement of the Genoese at Pera see *Della Colonia dei Genovesi in Galata*, libri sei, di Lodovico Sauli. Torino, 1831.

in circumference, which the Genoese surrounded with a double, and ultimately with a triple wall. The houses, rising in a succession of terraces, commanded a prospect of Constantinople and the sea. The Peratian colonists were the first Christians who entered into an alliance with the Turks, and by a treaty concluded with Amurath I. in 1387 were placed on the footing of the most favoured nations. Mahomet was constantly at war with the Venetians, who enjoyed a mediate jurisdiction in many of the cities and islands of Greece, through the patrician families of Venice who possessed them. They had also spread themselves along the coast of Albania, and were, with the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, now settled in Rhodes, the chief obstacle to the progress of the Turks.

Under Sultan Amurath II. (1421—1451) the Emperor John Palæologus II. had found it expedient to purchase peace by a disgraceful treaty (1425). He ceded all the towns and places which he still possessed on the Black Sea and Propontis, except Derkos and Selymbria; renounced the sovereignty of Lysimachia and other places on the Strymon, and agreed to pay to the Ottoman Porte a yearly tribute of 300,000 aspers. The Byzantine Empire was thus reduced to the capital with a strip of territory almost overshadowed by its walls, a few useless places on the Black Sea, and the appanages of the Imperial Princes in Peloponnesus; while the greater part of the revenues of the State flowed into the Turkish treasuries at Adrianople and Prusa. Amurath respected the treaty which he had made with John Palæologus and turned his arms against the Venetians, Slavonians, Hungarians, and Albanians. In March, 1430, he wrested from Venice Thessalonica, or Salonika, which that Republic had purchased from the Despot Andronicus, a conquest among the most important which the Turks had yet made in Europe. Amurath's next wars were with the Hungarians, and as the relations between that people and the Turks were for a long period of great importance in European history, it will be proper here to relate their commencement.

Amurath having invaded in 1439 the dominions of the Despot of Servia, that Prince implored the protection of Albert II., of Germany, who was also King of Bohemia and Hungary.[1] Albert responded to the appeal and marched to Belgrade, but with an inadequate force, which was soon dissipated; and he was compelled to abandon an expedition in which he had effected nothing,

[1] For the affairs of these Kingdoms, see below, p. 35.

and soon afterwards died at Neszmély, between Gran and Vienna (Oct. 27th, 1439). Just previously to that event Amurath had despatched an embassy to Wladislaus III. (or VI.), King of Poland, offering to support the pretensions of his brother Casimir to the throne of Bohemia against Albert, provided that when Casimir should have attained the object of his ambition, Wladislaus should refrain from assisting Hungary. The negotiations were hardly concluded, and the Turkish ambassadors were still at Cracow, when a deputation arrived from Hungary to offer the Crown of that Kingdom, vacant by Albert's death, to Wladislaus, who determined to accept it, announced his resolution to the Turkish ambassadors, and expressed to them his wish to remain at constant peace with the Sultan. Such a peace, however, was not in Amurath's contemplation; and the civil wars which ensued between Wladislaus and the party which supported the claim of Albert's posthumous son, the infant Ladislaus, to the Hungarian throne, promised to render that Kingdom an easy prey to the Turkish arms. In the spring of 1440 Amurath marched to attack Belgrade, the only place which, after the taking of Semendria and reduction of Servia, opposed his entrance into Hungary; but after sitting seven months before the town he was compelled to relinquish the attempt, with a loss of 17,000 men.

It was at this period that the house of Huniades, destined for many years to be the chief bulwark of Europe against the Turks, first appeared upon the scene. John Corvinus Huniades, or John of Hunyad, the founder of it, was by birth a Wallachian, and, according to some accounts, a natural son of the Emperor Sigismund. He derived the name of Corvinus from the village of Corvinum, in which he was born;[1] that of Huniades, from a small estate on the borders of Wallachia and Transylvania, presented to him by the Emperor Sigismund as a reward for his services in Italy. John of Hunyad had increased his possessions by marrying a wealthy lady of illustrious family; and the Emperor Albert II. had made him Ban, or Count, of Szöreny. He headed the powerful party which supported the call of Wladislaus, King of Poland, to the Hungarian throne; and that Prince, in reward of his aid, made him Voyvode of Transylvania and Ban of Temesvar, and conferred on him the command in the southern provinces of Hungary. John of Hunyad fixed his head-quarters at Belgrade, whence he repelled the ravages of the Turks. In these cam-

[1] Or according to another account, the castle of *Piatra de Corvo* in Wallachia. Engel, *Gesch. des ungarischen Reiches*, B. iii. S. 298.

paigns he gained several victories, of which the most decisive was that of Vasag, in 1442, which almost annihilated the Turkish army.

During these alarming wars all eyes had been turned towards Rome, as the only quarter whence help might be expected for Christendom. But the efforts of Eugenius IV., who then filled the Papal throne, proved of little avail, and Eugenius was left to complain of the poverty of the Papal treasury, the lukewarmness of Christian Princes, and the dissensions of the Church, which frustrated all efficient preparations against the Turks. In 1442 his zeal was again awakened by the representations of a Franciscan monk residing at Constantinople, who painted to him in lively colours the miseries of the young Christian slaves, chiefly Hungarians, whom he daily saw dragged through the streets of that capital to be shipped off to Asia. The call of the monk was supported by embassies from the Byzantine Emperor, the King of Cyprus, and the Despots of Peloponnesus. Touched by these appeals, Eugenius addressed a circular to all the prelates of Europe, requiring them to contribute a tenth of their incomes to the Turkish war, and promised himself to dedicate to the same object a fifth of the whole revenue of the Apostolic Chamber.[1] At the same time he despatched Cardinal Julian Cesarini into Hungary, to endeavour to restore peace in that distracted country and to animate the people against the Infidels. The death of Queen Elizabeth, however, the mother of the young king Ladislaus, and the recent victories of John of Hunyad, contributed more to these objects than all the exhortations of Cardinal Julian. After the demise of Elizabeth, most of the nobles who had supported her hastened to do homage to Wladislaus: and though the Emperor Frederick III., the guardian of her son, at first opposed the accession of the Polish King, yet the disturbances in his own Austrian dominions, and the imminent danger from the Turks, ultimately induced him to conclude a truce for two years.

Wladislaus, being thus confirmed upon the throne of Hungary, determined on an expedition against the Infidels. The domestic troubles in which most of the European Princes were then plunged prevented their giving him any assistance; yet considerable bodies of the people, chiefly French and Germans, assumed the cross and joined his forces. The van set out from Buda in July, 1443, led by John of Hunyad and George, Despot of Servia; the main body, about 20,000 strong, under the command of Wladislaus himself, followed a day later; while Cardinal

[1] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* t. ix. p. 416 (ed. 1752).

Julian was at the head of the crusaders. They penetrated to the Balkan and defeated the Ottoman force which defended the approaches; but at the pass of Slulu Derbend (Porta Trajani) were repulsed, and being in great want of provisions, were obliged to make a precipitate though unmolested retreat to Belgrade, and thence to Buda. The expedition, however, made so great an impression upon Amurath, that he entered into negotiations, and in June, 1444, a peace of ten years was concluded at Szegedin, by which it was agreed that the Turks should retain Bulgaria but restore Servia to the Despot George, on condition of his paying half the revenue of that country to the Porte; that neither of the parties should cross the Danube; and that Wallachia should be under the protection of Hungary.

This peace was scarcely concluded when the Christians prepared to break it. The campaign of Wladislaus had excited great interest in Europe. Ambassadors from many European States appeared at Buda to congratulate him on his success, and to offer him succours for another expedition; Poland alone besought him to refrain, and to turn his attention to the domestic evils of his Kingdom. Cardinal Julian took advantage of the general feeling to urge the renewal of the war, and persuaded the Hungarian Diet assembled at Buda to adopt his advice. Even John of Hunyad and the Despot of Servia, who had just protested against so thoughtless a breach of faith, were carried away by the warlike ardour excited by the address of Julian. But perhaps the motive which chiefly weighed in the rupture of the peace of Szegedin was the news which arrived immediately after the departure of the Turkish plenipotentiaries, that Amurath with his whole army had crossed over into Asia to quell an insurrection in Caramania; and that the fleet assembled by the Pope, and now in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, would suffice to cut off his return. The Pope absolved Wladislaus from his oath; but the only pretext which the Christians could allege for their breach of faith was that the Turks had not yet evacuated some of the surrendered fortresses. The expedition terminated in the disastrous battle of Varna (Nov. 10th, 1444), in which the Christians were completely defeated, and King Wladislaus and Cardinal Julian lost their lives. This battle is memorable in a military point of view as displaying the superiority of the Janissaries over the European cavalry, although the latter soon mastered the Turkish light horse. Very few of the defeated army succeeded in reaching their homes.

In 1446, John of Hunyad, who had now been appointed Regent and Captain-General of Hungary, overran Wallachia, captured the Voyvode Drakul and his son, caused them to be executed, and conferred the Principality on Dan, Voyvode of Moldavia. The wish that lay nearest the Regent's heart was to retrieve his reputation against the Turks, so sadly damaged by the defeat at Varna; but the war which broke out with the Emperor Frederick III., who refused to restore to the Hungarians either the person of young Ladislaus or the crown of St. Stephen, delayed till 1448 any expedition for that purpose. A peace having at length been effected, by which the guardianship of Ladislaus, till he reached eighteen years of age, was assigned to the Emperor, John of Hunyad found himself at liberty to devote all his attention to the Turkish war; and though dissuaded from the enterprise by Pope Nicholas V., he crossed the Danube with a large army and pressed on with rapid marches till, on the 17th October, 1448, he encamped within sight of the Ottoman army on the Amselfeld, or plain of Cossova—the spot where more than half a century before the Turks had gained their first great victory over the Hungarians. After a struggle of three days, Hunyad was defeated by the overwhelming force of the Turks, and compelled to save himself by an ignominious flight; but the loss on both sides had been enormous, and Amurath, instead of pursuing the routed foe, returned to Adrianople to celebrate his victory. Hunyad was captured in his flight by the Despot of Servia and detained a prisoner till the end of the year, when he was liberated at the intercession of the Hungarian Diet assembled at Szegedin. The hard conditions of his ransom, which comprised the restoration of all the places in Hungary that had ever belonged to Servia, the payment of 100,000 pieces of gold, and the delivery of his eldest son Ladislaus as a hostage, were, however, cancelled by the convenient omnipotence of Rome, and he was released from his engagements by a bull of Nicholas V.[1] Nothing further of importance happened between the Turks and Hungarians till after the fall of Constantinople, when the exploits of John of Hunyad will again claim our attention.

The arms of Amurath were next employed by a revolt in Albania. That country was ruled in the beginning of the fifteenth century by a number of independent chieftains, among whom the families of Arianites and Castriot were distinguished by the extent of their dominion. The former were connected on

[1] Bull, prid. Id. April, 1450, in Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* t. ix. p. 550.

the female side with the family of the Comneni, and Arianites Topia Comnenus reigned over southern Albania from the river Vojutza to the Ambracian Gulf, or Gulf of Arta; while John Castriot was Prince of the northern districts from the same river to the neighbourhood of Zenta, except that the coast towns belonged to Venice. Both these Princes had been subdued by Amurath II. in 1423; Kroja, John Castriot's capital, was occupied by a Turkish garrison, and he himself and his four sons were carried into captivity.[1] After a time the father was dismissed, but the children were retained and forcibly converted to Islam, after the Turkish fashion. How George, one of these, gained the favour of the Sultan by his talents and courage, and was raised to the rank of a Prince with the title of Scanderbeg, or Prince Alexander, and how he revolted, recovered his capital, and returned to the Christian faith, has been related by Gibbon.[2] The Venetians, finding great benefit from the diversion he occasioned to the Turkish arms, conferred on him the right of citizenship, enrolled him among their nobles, and made him their commander-in-chief in Albania and Illyria. In 1449 and 1450 Amurath led two immense but unsuccessful expeditions against Kroja, which were nearly the last acts of his reign, for in 1451 he died at Adrianople.

Amurath was succeeded by his son Mahomet II., the conqueror of Constantinople (1451—1481). To relate the fall of that City, and to record the history of the Imperial family in Peloponnesus, would be only to repeat the pages of Gibbon; and we shall therefore now pass on to a brief survey of the state of the other European nations at this important epoch.

At the time of which we speak, the ruler of Germany was the chief temporal sovereign in Europe, and bore the title of Roman Emperor.[3] That title had been revived in the West when, on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, Pope Leo III. invested Charlemagne, King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans, with the Imperial crown and mantle in the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome, and saluted him Emperor of the Romans amid the applause

[1] Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 136, Smith's edition), from inferences drawn from the work of Marinus Barletius, places, though with hesitation, the captivity of Castriot in 1412. The date assigned by the Turkish historian Seadeddin—viz. the year 827 of the Hegira, or A.D. 1423—seems in all respects more probable. See Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, B. i. S. 766 Anm.

[2] Ubi supra.

[3] The principal sources for the early history of Germany are, besides the great collections of Eccard, Freher, Struvius, Schardius, Mencke, Pez, Kollar, Pertz, and others; Schmidt, *Gesch. der Deutschen;* Pfeffel, *Hist. d'Allemagne;* Pütter (Dornford's transl.), *Historical Development of the Constitution of the Germanic Empire.*

and acclamations of the people—an illegal act on the Pope's part; for the Roman Empire still subsisted at Byzantium, although at that particular moment the throne was occupied by a woman (Irene). The real power conferred by the title was small; but it added to the glory of the German Emperors to be regarded as the temporal heads of Christendom, the superior lords of all other sovereigns, and, in a spiritual point of view, the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre. The opinion prevailed in Germany that other European sovereigns were subjects of the Emperor; nor were these sovereigns themselves quite certain that the claim was unfounded. When Sigismund visited England in 1416, several nobles rode into the water before he landed to inquire whether he pretended to exercise any authority in the land; and on his replying in the negative, he was received with all due honour.[1] Even a century later, we find Cuthbert Tunstall gravely assuring Henry VIII. that he is no subject of the Empire, but an independent king.[2]

To the Western Empire thus revived was subsequently added the epithet "Holy." The origin of this additional title is unknown. Those inclined to magnify the Pope, ascribe it to his power of conferring the Imperial crown; but among the various causes assigned, the most probable seems to be that which derives it from the sacredness belonging to the person of the Emperor in the later ages of Rome. However this may be, during nearly all the period embraced in this work the Empire was styled "Holy" (*sacrosanctum Imperium*), and to omit this title in State transactions would have been a breach of diplomatic usage. Thus it became, in a secular view, the counterpart of "Holy Catholic Church" in a spiritual one; and, in their respective functions, the authority of the Emperor and that of the Pope were co-extensive.

In the earlier times, the German and other Princes who became Emperors did not assume that title till they had received the Imperial crown at the hands of the Pope; and this circumstance served to strengthen his claim to superiority. But this claim was often contested by the Emperors, and hence the disputes between these two potentates so frequent in the Middle Ages. The accounts of the circumstances attending the coronation of Charlemagne are so obscure and discordant as to throw but little

[1] See the authorities cited by Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 249, note 6.

[2] Feb. 12, 1517. Ellis' *Letters*, 1st series, vol. i. p. 136. In 1599 it was disputed at the University of Saragossa whether the Emperor was lord of the whole world. Gon. Davila, lib. ii.; ap. Watson, *Philip III.* vol. i. p. 53.

light on the subject. None of the Emperors of whom we shall have to treat, except Frederick III. and Charles V., were crowned by the Pope, though all assumed the Imperial title. And we must here admonish the reader that the dignity of Emperor had in those days an importance which it has lost since the title has become prostituted. The bearer of it was held to be the successor of the Cæsars, as shown by the German name of *Kaiser;* and as the Cæsars were the masters, or reputed masters, of the world, there could be no more than one Emperor.

Before the German King could become Emperor, it was necessary that he should previously have received two or three other crowns. Of these the chief was that of King of the Romans. This dignity was conferred by the German Electors, of whom we shall have to speak presently. By a convenient fiction, these Electors were considered to possess the rights and privileges of the Roman Senate and People; a notion expressed in so many words at the election of Conrad IV., and repeated in the fifteenth century.[1] When they proceeded to choose a King of the Romans and future Emperor, they swore to elect "a temporal head of the Christian people." For regularly since the time of Henry IV. the German King ceased to call himself King of the Franks and Saxons, and after his German coronation assumed the title of King of the Romans. A son, or other relative, of an Emperor was frequently made King of the Romans during the Emperor's life-time, and was crowned as such by the Archbishop of Mentz,[2] Arch-Chancellor of Germany, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the old Frankish capital. After the time of Ferdinand I. (1558—1564) the King of the Romans succeeded at once on the Emperor's death, with the title of "Emperor Elect." Strictly, an Emperor should have received four crowns: 1, that of the Franks, or Romans, just mentioned; 2, the iron crown of Lombardy, or Italy, received in early times at Pavia, subsequently at Monza, and occasionally at Milan; 3, the crown of Burgundy, or of the Kingdom of Arles, a minor ceremony and seldom observed; and 4, at Rome, the double crown of the Roman Empire (*urbis et orbis*) according to some, according to others, the spiritual and the secular crown. Those who affect a pedantic niceness, and especially the sticklers for Papal authority, do not call the German sovereign "Emperor" unless and until he was crowned by the Pope; just as some

[1] Petrus de Audlo, *De Rom. Imp.* ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch. im. Zeitalt. der Reform.* B. i. S. 54.

[2] *Germ.* Mainz, *Fr.* Mayence.

writers would call the Emperor Augustus, Octavius, till he had actually received the former title. To follow such a method in this general history would only create confusion, without any compensating advantage, and we shall therefore style all the German Sovereigns, down to the time of Francis II., Emperors.[1] And indeed from the time of Maximilian they always had that title, even officially, without any Roman coronation.[2] To the idea of succession to the Roman Empire must be ascribed the circumstance of the Roman code forming the basis of the law of Germany.

All the leading princely houses of Germany which have retained their power to the present time had already established themselves in the fifteenth century. The Hohenzollern ancestors of the present royal family of Prussia had obtained the Electorate of Brandenburg, which the Emperor Sigismund conferred on Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgraf of Nuremberg, for previous services and also as a pledge for money lent. In April, 1417, Frederick, who was also made Grand Chamberlain, was confirmed in the permanent possession of Brandenburg. To the north-east of Brandenburg, Prussia was held by the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who had conquered it from its heathen inhabitants before the middle of the thirteenth century. The Grand Master of this Order had been made a Prince of the Empire by Frederick II. In March 1454, the Prussians, disgusted with the tyranny of the Knights, who had forced them to dissolve a league of their cities called the Convention of Marienburg, placed themselves under the protection of King Casimir IV. of Poland, and consented to be incorporated with that kingdom on condition of retaining their own laws and form of government. A bloody war of ten years ensued, in which 350,000 men are said to have perished, and which ended unfortunately for the Teutonic Order. It was concluded by the peace of Thorn, October 19th, 1466, by which the Knights ceded great part of their dominions, and consented to hold the rest under the sovereignty of Poland.

To the south-west of Brandenburg the house of Wettin ruled in Saxony, one of the most extensive and flourishing principalities of Germany. In 1455, the two young princes, Ernest and Albert, sons of the Elector Frederick II., were carried off from the Castle of Altenburg by the robber-knight Kunz, or Conrad of Kaufungen

[1] The reader will find all that he can desire to know about the Holy Roman Empire in Mr. Bryce's work on the subject; from which the preceding sketch is principally taken.

[2] See below, ch. vi. (*sub fin.*)

and his companion William of Schönfels; but Kunz was arrested on the frontier of Bohemia by a collier, and Schönfels, on learning his imprisonment, voluntarily returned. The two Princes we have mentioned became celebrated as the founders of two distinguished houses. From Ernest, the elder, is derived the Ernestine line of Saxony, from which spring the present branch of Saxe-Weimar, Coburg, Gotha, Meiningen, and Altenburg. This line possessed the Saxon Electorate till 1548, when it was transferred to the Albertine line, as there will be occasion to relate in the sequel. To the latter line belong the present royal family of Saxony. At first the brothers Ernest and Albert ruled jointly in Saxony, but in 1484 they divided their dominions by a treaty concluded at Leipsic. Ernest received the electoral Duchy of Saxe-Wittenberg: the rest of Saxony was divided into two portions, of which one, consisting of the Margravate of Meissen, or Misnia, was retained by Albert; the other, composed of the Landgravate of Thuringia, fell to the Ernestine branch. Still further west lay the dominions of the Landgrave of Hesse. This Prince, and the Houses of Saxony and Brandenburg, concluded an agreement of confraternity and reciprocal succession at Nuremberg in 1458, which was renewed and confirmed in 1587, and again in 1614.

The two great duchies of Franconia and Suabia had become extinct in the thirteenth century, and the only other princely House which it will be here necessary to mention is that of Wittelsbach, which ruled in Bavaria and the Rhenish Palatinate, as we shall reserve an account of that of Austria till we come to speak of the House of Habsburg. Bavaria, at the time with which we are concerned, was divided into Upper and Lower. Upper Bavaria, again, was in 1392 partitioned into three duchies, those of Baiern-Ingolstadt, Baiern-Landshut, and Baiern-München (Munich); and the lower formed another duchy, which in the early part of the fifteenth century was held by John of Straubing. John, who had formerly been Bishop of Liége, dying without issue in 1425, the Emperor Sigismund bestowed Lower Bavaria on his son-in-law, Albert of Austria, both in right of his mother Joanna, sister of the late Duke, and as a fief escheated to the Empire. But this arrangement being opposed by the Houses of Upper Bavaria, the collateral line, as well as by the German States, Albert sold his claims, and Lower Bavaria was equally divided among the three collateral Dukes. Subsequently all these branches became gradually extinct except that of Munich;

and Albert II., the representative of that line, united all Bavaria under his dominion after the death of George the Rich of Baiern-Landshut in 1503. To the same family of Wittelsbach belonged since 1227 the Counts Palatine of the Rhine. In the neighbourhood of these Princes a number of small lordships had been gradually united into the County of Würtemberg, which in 1495 was erected into a Duchy in favour of Eberhard the Elder, called also the Bearded and the Pious. Of the other temporal Princes of Germany it is not here necessary to speak. That country also abounded with spiritual principalities, as Mentz, Cologne, Treves, Münster, Bremen, Magdeburg, &c.; which in the fifteenth century were very generally filled by the younger sons of princely families, a practice encouraged by the Court of Rome.

Of the German Princes those who had a vote in the election of the King and future Emperor were the most important. In the early days of feudalism the elective privilege was enjoyed by the body of the nobles; but from the time of the Franconian Emperors the Dukes who held the great offices of the Imperial household, together with the three Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, had enjoyed a privilege called the *jus prætaxandi;* that is, of agreeing on the choice of a King before his name was submitted to the approval of the rest of the magnates. Their choice might be rejected by the Diet, but in those disturbed times attendance on that assembly was both a difficult and dangerous task, from which the members were glad to be dispensed; and thus in process of time only the great officers appeared, who by degrees entirely appropriated the right of election. These officers were: 1, the Archbishop of Mentz, Arch-chancellor of Germany; 2, the Archbishop of Cologne, Arch-chancellor of Italy; 3, the Archbishop of Treves, Arch-chancellor of the Kingdom of Arles; 4, the King of Bohemia, Cupbearer; 5, the Rhenish Palsgrave, Seneschal; 6, the Duke of Saxony, Marshal; 7, the Margrave of Brandenburg, Chamberlain.

It will be perceived that these Princes enjoyed the elective privilege not merely from their power and the extent of their dominions, in which most of them were equalled by the Dukes of Bavaria, Brunswick, and Austria, and by the Landgrave of Hesse, but also from their holding some office in the Imperial household. They formed what was called the "Electoral College;" and their privileges were confirmed, first by the Diet of Frankfort and Electoral Union at Rhense in 1338, and more particularly by the Diet of Nuremberg in 1355, and that of Metz in the following

year, which ratified the famous GOLDEN BULL, so called from the golden seal affixed to it. This bull, which became a fundamental law of the Empire, and which is conceived in the most despotic terms, was drawn up under the direction of the Emperor Charles IV. Its principal provisions are, that the number of Electors be seven, in conformity with the seven golden candlesticks of the Apocalypse; that each Elector hold some high office; and that during vacancies of the Crown, or in absence of the Emperor, the Duke of Saxony and the Rhenish Count Palatine shall exercise sovereign power as Vicars of the Empire: the vicariate of the latter embracing Franconia, Suabia, and the Rhenish lands; that of the former, all the lands governed by Saxon law. By this bull the claim of Bavaria to the electoral suffrage was entirely excluded.

The want of union produced by the sovereign power of so many Princes was increased by a numerous *immediate* nobility who acknowledged no superior but God and Cæsar. Along with the Princes were the *Freiherrn*, or Barons, who like them held their estates immediately of the Empire, and equally possessed the right of administering justice. Among these Barons were families so ancient that they boasted of holding their possessions only under God and the sun.[1] The German Knight presents the image of feudalism more vividly than it can be found in any other country. In the northern parts of Germany, indeed, they had, at the period of which we treat, been brought under subjection to the civil power; the Emperor Rudolf of Habsburg destroyed many of their castles in Thuringia in 1289; but in Franconia, in Suabia, and along the banks of the Rhine, they continued even in the sixteenth century to dwell in haughty solitude in their castles, defended by deep ditches and with walls twenty feet thick, whose ruins still lend a romantic interest to those districts. Romance, however, has invested them with a charm which the sober breath of history dispels. Instead of being knights-errant, ever ready to succour the distressed, the owners of these castles were nothing but lawless robbers, prepared for every deed of violence. They formed a subordinate but tumultuary power in the State, and with the connivance of the Princes occasionally interfered in political questions. They were often at variance among themselves, and carried on their *Fehden*, or private wars, in spite of many attempts to check this practice, and to establish a permanent *Landfriede*, or public peace. In this disorganized

[1] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 66.

state of society recourse was had to those secret and self-constituted tribunals, which, like Lynch law in America, or the *Santa Hermandad* of Spain, are sometimes found in imperfectly civilized nations. Such was the *Vehmgericht*, or Secret Tribunal of Westphalia, whose principal seat was at Dortmund, but whose ramifications extended into the most distant parts of Germany.[1] The judges of this mysterious tribunal, who were unknown to the people, scrutinized, either by themselves or through their emissaries, the most hidden actions, and all ranks of men trembled at their decrees, the more terrible as they admitted of no appeal; nay, the judges carried with them the sword or the fatal cord with which they at once executed their own sentences. The *Vehmgericht* survived till the creation of the Imperial Chamber under the Emperor Maximilian, near the end of the fifteenth century.

In the midst of all this discord and anarchy appeared one element of hope and progress. Some of the German cities, and especially those belonging to the Hanseatic League, had attained to great prosperity and civilization. Art, commerce, and manufactures flourished; and Germany supplied a great part of Europe, even to the interior of Russia, with its imports and products. Behind their walls the citizens were secure, and even in the field, by means of cannon, now coming into general use, were more than a match for the Knights and their followers, who either possessed no guns, or had no men capable of serving them. The cities also strengthened themselves, either by alliances with one another or with various princes and nobles. On the coast of the Baltic was the main strength of the Hansa, which overshadowed the power of the Scandinavian Kings, much more, therefore, that of the neighbouring German Princes. Moreover, all over Germany, and especially in Franconia, Suabia, on the Upper Danube, and on the Rhine, had arisen a number of free Imperial cities, not included in the dominions of any of the Princes, and depending immediately upon the Empire. In Suabia and Franconia, these cities arose after the extinction of the Hohenstaufen dynasty in the thirteenth century, which period also witnessed a vast increase of what was called the *immediate* nobility, or nobles subject to no superior lord but the Emperor. The liberties and privileges of the Imperial cities were fostered by the Emperors, in order that they might afford some counterpoise to the power of the prelates and nobles, whose natural enemies they were, and with whom

[1] See Wigand, *Fehm-Gericht Westphalens.*

they waged continual war. Outside their walls, but within the palisades which marked the boundaries of their territory, they afforded an asylum to the discontented and fugitive peasantry of the feudal lords, who, from being thus domiciled, were called *Pfahlbürger*, or burgesses of the pale.

Such a state of society as we have here described was necessarily incompatible with any strong political organization; in fact, almost the only institution which formed a bond of union among the various German States, and gave the Empire any consistency, was the Diet. Previously to the fourteenth century, the Imperial authority had been something more than a shadow, and had performed that office. But this authority had been damaged by the quarrels of the Houses of Bavaria, Luxemburg, and Austria, for the throne; and as the power of the Emperor declined, that of the Diets, as well as of the Princes and Electors, increased. The authority of the Diets lasted down to the Thirty Years' War, after which period the various principalities assumed more distinct and separate forms; and the general affairs of Germany, as an Imperial whole, became subordinate to the particular interests of its several leading States. The Diets possessed the legislative, and even in some degree the executive power; and they enjoyed the all-important privileges of imposing taxes and deciding on peace and war. The Emperor and the electoral and other princes and nobles, appeared in the Diets in person; and in the early part of the fourteenth century some of the chief cities of the Empire obtained the right of sending deputies. These, however, proved a troublesome element in the assemblies. The interests of the municipal towns were distinct from, and sometimes opposed to, those of the other Estates; their deputies often dissented from the conclusions of the Diet; and during the Hussite war in 1431, we find the cities levying their own separate army.[1] Thus, by the power of the Princes on the one hand, and that of the Diets on the other, the authority of the Emperors was reduced almost to a nullity. Many of them spent their lives in a state of degrading poverty, and hid their misfortunes by absenting themselves from their dominions.

At the time, however, when this history opens, a family was in possession of the Imperial Crown who succeeded in rendering it hereditary, and by the wonderful increase of their power excited during a long period the jealousy and alarm of the rest of Europe. This was the House of Habsburg, or of Austria, whose importance

[1] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 88.

in modern European history renders it proper to give a brief account of its origin.

In the interregnum and anarchy which ensued after the election of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1257, who was no more than a nominal King of the Romans, the Electors, rejecting the pretensions of Alfonso, King of Castile, and Ottocar, King of Bohemia, conferred the Germanic crown on Rudolf, Count of Habsburg in Switzerland, who had distinguished himself as a valiant knight and captain in the private wars which then desolated Germany. The zeal of Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, was mainly instrumental in effecting the election of Rudolf, his uncle; while the slenderness of Rudolf's possessions, and the circumstance of his having three marriageable daughters, also contributed to the same end, by disarming the fears of the Electors, and offering them the prospect of forming advantageous marriages. After his accession as King of the Romans, Rudolf conquered from Ottocar the provinces of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Windischmark, and in 1282 bestowed them in fief on his two sons, Albert and Rudolf. Afterwards he gave Carinthia to Count Meinhard of Tyrol, in reward for some services. Thus was founded the future greatness of the House of Habsburg. Albert alone survived his father, and, in conjunction with his nephew John, inherited all Rudolf the Great's possessions at his death in 1291. Rudolf had in vain endeavoured to procure the German crown for his son, who was, however, elected on the deposition of King Adolf of Nassau in 1298, and assumed the title of Albert I. He was assassinated in 1308 by his nephew John, from whom he had withheld some of the Habsburg possessions. Albert's son Frederick was elected, in 1314, as a rival to Louis Duke of Bavaria, but was overthrown at the battle of Mühldorf in 1322; and from this period till the election of Albert II. in 1438, the Habsburg Princes remained excluded from the German throne, and were chiefly occupied with the affairs of their Austrian dominions.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century we find these possessions, which had been considerably enlarged, shared by three members of the family, of whom one, called Frederick of the Empty Pocket, held Tyrol and the ancient territories of the House in Switzerland and Suabia. This Frederick, having, in 1415, assisted the escape of Pope John XXIII. from Constance, was excommunicated by the Council then sitting in that town, and was also placed under the ban of the Empire by Sigismund.

Frederick's possessions were now at the mercy of those who could seize them, and in a few days 400 towns declared against him. In this general revolt, the Swiss Confederates, with the exception of the miners of Uri, were especially active: they seized the territories so liberally bestowed upon them by the Council; and it was now that Habsburg, the cradle and hereditary castle of the family, was laid in ruins, in which condition it has ever since remained.

From the time of Albert II., who was King of the Romans, Bohemia, and Hungary, the Romano-German Crown was transmitted in the House of Austria almost as if it had been an hereditary possession; and in the course of this history we shall see the descendants of Rudolf attaining to a power and pre-eminence which threatened to overshadow the liberties of Europe. After the death of Albert II. in 1439, the Germans elected for their King, Frederick III., elder son of Ernest surnamed the Iron, who was brother to Frederick of the Empty Pocket, and who possessed Styria, Carinthia, Istria, and other lands. Frederick III. ruled Germany, if such an expression can be applied to his weak and miserable reign, till 1493, and he consequently occupied the Imperial throne at the time when this history commences. Frederick was crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1442, and in 1451 he proceeded to Rome to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. Nicholas V., who then filled the Papal chair, received him with great magnificence; but it was observed that Frederick, till after his coronation, yielded precedence to the Cardinals. According to the strict order of things, Frederick should have first received the iron crown of Lombardy from the Archbishop of Milan; but Frederick having for some reason declined to enter that city, the Pope with his own hands crowned him King of Lombardy. On the same day (March 15th) Nicholas married Frederick to Eleanor, daughter of the King of Portugal, who had met him at Siena, and three days afterwards both received the Roman Imperial crown. This coronation is memorable as the last performed at Rome, and the last but one in which the services of the Pope were ever required.

Frederick, having been appointed guardian of Sigismund of Tyrol, minor son of Frederick of the Empty Pocket, and also of the infant Ladislaus Postumus, son of Albert II., thus administered all the possessions of the Austrian family. Austria was erected into an Archduchy by letters-patent of Frederick III., January 6th, 1453, with privilege to the Archdukes to create

nobles, raise taxes, &c. Duke Rudolf, who died in 1365, had indeed assumed the title of Archduke, but it had not been confirmed by the Emperor.

The history of Switzerland, originally part of the German Kingdom, is closely connected with that of the House of Austria. In 1308, when Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden[1] leagued together against the encroachments of the House of Habsburg, the land we now call Switzerland was divided into various small districts, with different forms of government. Among these States were four Imperial cities—namely, Zürich, Bern, Basle, and Schaffhausen; while the Cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, although from time immemorial enjoying a democratic form of government, were nevertheless also immediately subject to the Empire. There were besides a number of small principalities, among the most important of which were those of the House of Habsburg and of the Counts of Savoy, besides many ecclesiastical domains and baronial fiefs. After the insurrection of 1308 Albert marched an army against the patriots; but during the expedition he was assassinated by his nephew John, as already mentioned. Some years afterwards, Albert's son Leopold again attempted to reduce the three refractory Cantons, but was completely defeated by a much smaller force of the Confederates at the famous battle of Morgarten, November 16th, 1315. After this event the three Cantons entered into a perpetual union (1318), which was gradually joined by various other districts.

Under Albert and Otho, the two last surviving sons of Albert I., the House of Habsburg considerably extended their hereditary dominions. They obtained possession of Schaffhausen, Rheinfelden, and Breisach, as well as the town and county of Rapperschwyl; they were masters of Thurgau and nearly the whole of Aargau; they were lords paramount in Zug and Lucerne, in the district to the south of the Lake of Zürich, and of the town and Canton of Glarus; and their territories thus almost surrounded the confederated Cantons. By the death of Otho and his two sons all these possessions fell to Duke Albert II. in 1344. But the example of the three Cantons had awakened the spirit of liberty

[1] These cantons had confederated themselves before this time, as there is a document extant relating to the confederacy dated in August, 1291, the year in which Rudolf of Habsburg died (Planta, *Hist. of Helvetic Confederacy*, vol. i. p. 222). But 1308 is the date of the final rising under Melchthal, Stauffacher, and Faust, occasioned by the cruelties of Albert's bailiff Gesler, the builder of the fortress of Zwing Uri, near Altorf.

Besides Planta's book, Joh. von Müller, *Gesch. d. Schweitzer. Eidgenossenschaft*, and the works of Zschokke (*Schweitz. Gesch. für die Schweitzer*), may be consulted for the history of Switzerland.

in the neighbouring districts; Lucerne was the first to join them,[1] after which the union was called the four *Waldstädte*, or Forest Cantons. Zürich was next admitted into the Confederacy (1351), which before the end of the following year was strengthened by the accession of Glarus, Zug, and Bern. In 1385, fresh dissensions arose between the League and Duke Leopold, then head of the House of Habsburg, who endeavoured to reduce Lucerne to obedience, but was completely defeated at the battle of Sempach (1386), in which he himself fell, with 2000 of his men, nearly a third of whom were nobles or knights. A desultory warfare was, however, still kept up; and in 1388 the Austrians were again defeated at the battle of Näfels. The Dukes of Austria now concluded a seven years' truce with the Confederates, which in 1394 was prolonged for twenty years; and from this period we may date the establishment of the eight first confederated Cantons, which enjoyed some prerogatives not shared by the five admitted soon after the wars with Burgundy. This confederacy was at first called the old League of High Germany. The names of "Swiss" and "Switzerland" did not come into use till after the expedition of Charles VII. of France in 1444, undertaken at the request of the Emperor Frederick III., with a view to defend the town of Zürich, which had claimed his protection, against the attacks of the other Cantons. The French King was not unwilling to employ in such an enterprise the lawless bands which swarmed in France after the conclusion of the truce with England. The French arms were directed against Basle, which, however, made an heroic defence: the Swiss died at their posts almost to a man; and though the siege of Zürich was raised, the French did not venture to pursue the retreating enemy into their mountains. It was during this expedition that the French began openly to talk of reclaiming their rights to all the territory on the left bank of the Rhine as their natural boundary;[2] and though it was undertaken at the Emperor's request, Charles VII. nevertheless summoned the Imperial cities between the Meuse and the Vosges mountains to recognize him as their lord, alleging that they had formerly belonged to France. Verdun and a few other places complied; but as the Germans menaced him with a war, Charles was for the present obliged to relinquish these absurd pretensions. Zürich renounced the connection which it had

[1] In 1332, according to Planta, vol. i. p. 297.

[2] "Rumor est (Delphinum) petiisse urbem Basiliensem tanquam regni Franciæ sibi restitui."—Æneas Sylvius, *Epist.* 87.

resumed with the House of Austria, and rejoined the Swiss Confederacy by the treaty of Einsiedeln in 1450.

In the course of the fifteenth century the Swiss began to adopt the singular trade of hiring themselves out to fight the battles of foreigners. Switzerland became a sort of nursery for soldiers, and the deliberations of their Diets chiefly turned upon the propositions for supplies of troops made to them by foreign Princes; just as, in other countries, might be debated the propriety of exporting corn, wine, or any other product. But these mercenary bands often proved fatal to their employers. If the price for which they sold their blood was not forthcoming at the stipulated time, they would often abandon their leader at the most critical juncture, and thus cause the loss of a campaign; instances of which will occur in the course of the following history. The peculiar arm of the Swiss infantry was a long lance, which they grasped in the middle; and the firm hold thus obtained is said to have been the chief secret of their victories.[1]

Closely connected with the Romano-German Empire were the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and more remotely that of Poland.[2] Albert, afterwards the Emperor Albert II., was the first Duke of the House of Habsburg who enjoyed the Crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, which he owed to his father-in-law, the Emperor Sigismund, whose only daughter, Elizabeth, he had married. Elizabeth was the child of Barbara of Cilly, Sigismund's second wife, whose notorious vices had procured for her the odious epithets of the "Bad" and the "German Messalina." Barbara had determined to supplant her daughter, to claim the two Crowns as her dowry, and to give them, with her hand, to Wladislaus VI., the young King of Poland, who, though forty years her junior, she had marked out for her future husband.[3] With this view she was courting the Hussite party in Bohemia: but Sigismund, a little before his death, caused her to be arrested; and, assembling the Hungarian and Bohemian nobles at Znaim, in Moravia, persuaded them, almost with his dying breath, to elect Duke Albert as his successor. Sigismund expired the next day (December 9th, 1437).

[1] Tillier, *Gesch. des Freistaates Bern*, B. ii. S. 510; ap. Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 285. Hence their name of *Lance knights;* Germ. *Lanzknechte*, Fr. *Lansquenets*.

[2] For the history of Bohemia, see Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen:* for Hungary, besides the collections of Schwandtner and Katona, Pray, *Annales veterum Hunnorum, &c.;* Bonfinii, *Historia Pannonica;* Engel, *Gesch. des ungarischen Reiches;* Mailath, *Gesch. der Magyaren;* for Poland, Dlugossii, *Historiæ Polonicæ;* Jekell, *Polens Staatsveränderungen*.

[3] Engel, *Gesch. des ungarischen Reiches*, B. ii. S. 362.

Albert was soon after recognized as King by the Hungarian Diet, and immediately released his mother-in-law Barbara, upon her agreeing to restore some fortresses which she held in Hungary. He did not so easily obtain possession of the Bohemian Crown. That country was divided into two great religious and political parties—the Catholics and the Hussites, or followers of the Bohemian reformer John Huss, who were also called "Calixtines,"[1] because they demanded the cup in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The more violent and fanatical sects of the Hussites, as the Taborites, Orphans, &c., had been almost annihilated at the battle of Lipan in 1434, in which their two leaders, Prokop surnamed Holý, the bald, or shorn, and subsequently also called Prokop Weliky, or the Great, as well as his namesake and coadjutor Prokop the Little, were slain; and in June, 1436, a peace was concluded at Iglau between Sigismund and the Hussites. This peace was founded on what were called the *Compactata* of Prague, an arrangement made between the contending parties in 1433, and based on the "Articles of Prague," promulgated in 1420 by the celebrated patriot leader John Ziska.[2] These Articles, which, however, were somewhat modified in the *Compactata*, were, 1. That the Lord's Supper should be administered in both kinds; 2. That crimes of clergy should, like those of laymen, be punished by the secular arm; 3. That any Christian whatsoever should be authorized to preach the word of God; 4. That the spiritual office should not be combined with any temporal command. But although the peace of Iglau secured considerable religious privileges to the Hussites, a strong antipathy still prevailed between that sect and the Catholics, of which the "Wicked Barbara" now availed herself. Albert was elected King of Bohemia by the Catholic party in May, 1438; but the Hussites, incited by Barbara, in a great assembly which they held at Tabor, chose for their King the youthful Prince Casimir, brother of Wladislaus, King of Poland; a subject to which we have already alluded in the account of the Turks.[3] A civil war ensued, in which Albert's party at first gained the advantage, and shut up the Hussites in Tabor: but George Podiebrad compelled

[1] From *calix*, a cup. For the same reason, they were also called *Utraquists*, as receiving the Eucharist in *both* forms. The Calixtines were that moderate section of the Hussites whose tenets had been at one time adopted by the University of Prague.

[2] The popular tale of Ziska having directed his skin to be made into a drum, though retailed by some grave historians, is a fable. The principal articles of the peace of Iglau will be found in Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen*, B. iii. S. 224 f.; whose work, founded on many unpublished documents, is the best history of Bohemia.

[3] Above, p. 18.

Albert to raise the siege; and this was the first feat of arms of a man destined to play a distinguished part in history.

The short reign of Albert in Hungary was disastrous both to himself and to the country. Previously to his fatal expedition against the Turks in 1439, to which we have already referred, the Hungarian Diet, before it would agree to settle the succession to the throne, forced him to accept a constitution which destroyed all unity and strength of government. By the *Decretum Alberti Regis* he reduced himself to be the mere shadow of a King; while by exalting the Palatine,[1] the clergy, and the nobles, he perpetuated all the evils of the feudal system. The most absurd and pernicious regulations were now adopted respecting the military system of the Kingdom, and such as rendered it almost impossible effectually to resist the Turks. By the twenty-second article in particular, it was ordained that the arrière ban, the main force of the Kingdom, should not be called out till the soldiers of the King and Prelates — for the Barons seem to have shirked the obligation of finding troops—could no longer resist the enemy; the consequence of which was that a sufficient body of troops could never be assembled in time to be of any service.

On the death of Albert, Wladislaus VI., King of Poland, was, as already said,[2] elected to the throne of Hungary. Poland had first begun to emerge into importance in the reign of Wladislaus Loktek,[3] in the early part of the fourteenth century. Its boundaries were enlarged by his son and successor, Casimir III., surnamed the Great, who having ceded Silesia to the Kings of Bohemia, compensated himself by adding Red Russia, Podolia, Volhynia, and other lands to his dominions. Casimir, having no children, resolved to leave his Crown to his nephew Louis, son of his sister and of Charles Robert, King of Hungary, although some of the ancient Piast dynasty of Poland still existed in Masovia and Silesia; and with this view he summoned a national assembly at Cracow, which approved the choice he had made. This proceeding, however, enabled the Polish nobles to interfere in the succession of the Crown, and to render it elective, like

[1] The Palatine was a magistrate next to the King in rank, who presided over the legal tribunals; and in the absence of the King discharged his functions. The office was instituted by King Ladislaus I. towards the end of the eleventh century. The *Decretum* of Albert will be found in Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 17.

[2] *Supra*, p. 18.

[3] We have retained the initial consonant in the names of the Polish Kings for the sake of distinguishing them from the Hungarian Kings of the same name. Wladislaus Loktek was crowned at Cracow in 1305. Dlugoss, *Hist. Polon.* lib. ix. tom. i. p. 971.

that of Hungary and Bohemia; so that the Polish State became a sort of aristocratic Republic. The nobles also compelled Louis to sign an act exempting them from all taxes and impositions whatsoever.[1] With Casimir ended the Piast dynasty (1370), which had occupied the throne of Poland several centuries. The feudal system was entirely unknown in that country. There was no such relation as lord and liegeman; the nobles were all equally independent, and all below them were serfs, or slaves.

On the death of Louis, in 1382, his daughter Hedwig was elected Queen, whose marriage with Jagellon, Grand-Duke of Lithuania, who had previously embraced Christianity, established the House of Jagellon on the Polish throne. Jagellon, who received at his baptism the name of Wladislaus, reigned till the year 1434; and it was he who, in order to obtain a subsidy from the nobles, first established a Polish Diet.[2]

Wladislaus, or Jagellon, was succeeded in Poland by Wladislaus VI., his son. Wladislaus also aspired to the Crown of Hungary by a marriage with Elizabeth, widow of Albert, King of the Romans, Bohemia, and Hungary. Elizabeth had been left pregnant, and the Hungarians, dreading a long minority if the child should prove a male, compelled her to offer her hand to Wladislaus. After this proposal was despatched, Elizabeth was delivered of a son, who was christened Ladislaus Postumus. Hereupon she withdrew her consent to the marriage,[3] and being supported by a strong party of the Hungarian nobles, retired to Stuhlweissenburg (Alba Regalis), where the child was crowned by the Archbishop of Gran. But the party of the King of Poland, headed by John of Hunyad, proved the stronger. Elizabeth was compelled to abandon Lower Hungary and to take refuge at Vienna, carrying with her the crown of St. Stephen, which, together with her infant son, she intrusted to the care of the Emperor Frederick III. (August 3rd, 1440).

Hostilities and negotiations ensued, till in November, 1442, a peace was agreed upon, the terms of which are unknown.[4] But the sudden death of Elizabeth in the following month, not without suspicion of poison, prevented the ratification of a treaty which

[1] Dlugoss, *Hist. Polon.* lib. ix. tom. i. p. 1102.

[2] *Ibid.* lib. x. p. 180.

[3] According to some authorities, among whom is Æneas Sylvius, she had agreed to the marriage only in the event that her child should prove a female; while the writers of the opposite party assert that her consent was unconditional. Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 30.

[4] Engel, *Gesch. des ungar Reiches*, B. iii. S. 55 f.

had never been agreeable to the great party led by John of Hunyad, whose recent victories over the Turks gave him enormous influence. The sequel of these affairs has been already related.[1]

The minority of Ladislaus Postumus also occasioned disturbances in Bohemia. In order to avoid that inconvenience, the States offered the Crown first to Albert, Duke of Bavaria, and then to Frederick III., by both of whom it was refused. The two chief Bohemian parties, the Catholics and the Calixtines, then agreed to elect the infant Ladislaus, and to appoint two Regents during his minority. Praczeck of Lippa was chosen for that office by the Calixtines, and Meinhard of Neuhaus by the Catholics. Such an arrangement naturally led to civil discord, and after a severe struggle, Praczeck and the Calixtines obtained supreme authority. On the death of Praczeck in 1444 the Catholics attempted to restore Meinhard; but the Calixtines again prevailed, and bestowed the Regency on the celebrated George Podiebrad. In 1450, the government of Podiebrad was confirmed by the States of Bohemia, Hungary, and Austria, assembled at Vienna; and he assumed at Prague an almost regal authority. He became the idol of the Bohemians, who, in 1451, would have elected him for their King, had not Æneas Sylvius persuaded him to remain faithful to the cause of young Ladislaus.

After the death of King Wladislaus at the battle of Varna (*supra*, p. 20), Ladislaus Postumus, now five years of age, was unanimously elected King of Hungary by a Diet assembled at Pesth, in 1445, and envoys were sent to demand him from Frederick III., together with the crown of St. Stephen. The refusal of this demand, the war which followed the appointment of John of Hunyad as Gubernator, or Regent, and his unfortunate campaign against the Turks in 1448, have been already mentioned. On the death of Sultan Amurath II., early in 1451, John of Hunyad, like other Christian rulers, sent ambassadors to Mahomet II., and obtained from him a truce of three years. In 1453, shortly before the taking of Constantinople, Hunyad laid down his office of Gubernator, and young Ladislaus assumed the reins of government.

Such was the state of the principal nations of eastern Europe at the time when this history commences. Of Russia and the

[1] *Supra*, p. 19 sq.

Scandinavian kingdoms there is at present no occasion to speak, as they were not yet in a condition to take part in the general affairs of Europe; and we therefore turn to the southern and western nations. Of these the history and constitution, down to the fall of the Eastern Empire, have been so fully described by Mr. Hallam,[1] that it will only be necessary to recapitulate such particulars as are indispensable to the understanding of the following pages. Italy first claims our attention,[2] as the nurse of modern civilization; and among the Italian Powers, principally the Roman Pontiff, not only as a temporal Prince, but also by his spiritual pretensions, as a European Power of high importance. The prestige of his authority had indeed been already grievously shaken by the schisms of the Church, and the decisions of General Councils; yet he still continued to exercise a prodigious influence on the political as well as religious concerns of Europe.

As temporal potentate the Pope had not yet attained to the full extent of his power; nay, he hardly sat secure on his throne at Rome. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Stefano Porcari had revived the schemes of the tribune Rienzi, a hundred years before, and endeavoured to restore the image of a Roman Republic. In January, 1453, the plots of Porcari were for a third time discovered; his house was surrounded by the Papal myrmidons, and he himself, with nine confederates, captured and executed. This, down to our own days, was, however, the last attempt of the sort. At this time the dominions of the Pope included the district north of Rome known as the Patrimony of St. Peter, together with some portions of Umbria, and the March of Ancona; but the Holy See asserted a claim to many other parts of Italy, and especially to the Exarchate of Ravenna, as the donation of Pipin. The extent of the Exarchate has been disputed; but its narrowest limits comprised Ferrara, Ravenna, and Bologna with their territories, together with the country included between Rimini

[1] In his *Middle Ages*. The reader may also advantageously consult Dr. Schmitz's *Hist. of the Midd. Ages*.

[2] For Italian history the collections of Muratori are the great storehouse: viz. his *Italicarum Rerum Scriptores*, and his *Annali d'Italia;* also the modern collection entitled *Archivio Storico Italiano*, published at Florence; Denina, *Rivoluzioni d'Italia;* Sismondi, *Républiques Italiennes*. For single States: Venice, *Vite de' Duchi* (in Muratori, *Scripp.*); Daru, *Hist. de la République de Venise;* Hazlitt, *Hist. of Venet. Rep.;* for Milan, Simonetta, *Vita di Sforza;* Corio, *Storia di Milano;* for Florence, Fabroni, *Vita Cosmi;* Capponi, *Storia della Rep. di Firenze;* for Naples, Giannone, *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli;* for Rome, Anastasius, *Vitæ Pontificum*, &c.

and Ancona, the Adriatic and the Apennines.[1] Its name of *Romagna* had come down from the days when the Eastern Roman Emperors ruled it by their deputy, the Exarch, and though many of its cities were independent of the Roman Court, some of their rulers acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pope, and accepted the title of "Vicars of the Church."[2] The family of Este at Ferrara, of Bentivoglio at Bologna, of Manfredi at Faenza and Imola, of Malatesta at Rimini and Cesena, had established their virtual independence, though the Popes neglected no opportunity of asserting their pretensions, and often by force of arms. They also claimed Naples as a fief of the Church, by virtue of a treaty between its Norman conquerors and Pope Leo IX. in 1053; and the Sovereigns of that country acknowledged themselves liegemen of the Holy See by payment of a tribute. With far less right, the Pope also asserted a feudal superiority over all the Sovereigns of Europe, claimed the States of all excommunicated princes, heretics, infidels, and schismatics, together with all newly discovered countries and islands.

The rise and progress of that enormous influence which the Roman Pontiffs acquired in Europe have been described by Mr. Hallam,[3] and we shall here content ourselves with a brief description of the administrative system of the Papal Court, into which that writer has not entered.

The Court of Rome, commonly called the *Roman Curia*, consisted of a number of dignified ecclesiastics who assisted the Pope in the executive administration.[4] The Pontiff's more intimate advisers, or, as we should say, his privy council, were the College of Cardinals, consisting of a certain number of Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests, and Cardinal Deacons.

The Cardinal Deacons, at first seven and afterwards fourteen in number, were originally ecclesiastics appointed as overseers and guardians of the sick and poor in the different districts of Rome. Above them in rank were the fifty Cardinal Priests, as the chief priests of the principal Roman churches were called: who, with the Cardinal Deacons, formed, in very early times, the presbytery, or senate, of the Bishop of Rome. From these churches, with the districts attached to them, they derived their titles, as, Bonifacius, *Presbyt. Tit. S. Cœciliæ*,—the title afterwards of

[1] See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlix.

[2] Guicciardini, lib. iv. c. v. p. 108 sqq. (ed. Paris, 1832).

[3] *Middle Ages*, ch. vii.

[4] The following description of the Court of Rome is principally taken from Voight, *Stimmen aus Rom*, in von Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1833.

Cardinal Wolsey; Paulus, *Presbyt. Tit. S. Laurentii*, &c.[1] According to some authorities, Cardinal Bishops were instituted in the ninth century; according to others, not till the eleventh, when seven Bishops of the dioceses nearest to Rome—Ostia, Porto, Velitræ, Tusculum, Præneste, Tibur, and Sabina—were adopted by the Pope partly as his assistants in the service of the Lateran, and partly in the general administration of the Church. Though the youngest of the Cardinals in point of time, Cardinal Bishops were the highest in rank, and enjoyed pre-eminence in the College. In process of time the appointment of Cardinal Bishops was extended not only to the rest of Italy, but also to foreign countries. Their titles were derived from their dioceses, as the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia (Ostiensis), Placentinus (of Placentia), Arelatensis (of Arles), Rothomagensis (of Rouen), &c. But they were also frequently called by their own names. The number of the Cardinals was indefinite and varying. The Councils of Constance and Basle endeavoured to restrict it to twenty-four; but this was not carried out, and Pope Sixtus V. at length fixed the full number at seventy.

An assembly of Cardinals in presence of the Pontiff, for the transaction of business, was called a CONSISTORY. Consistories were ordinarily private, and confined to Cardinals alone; though on extraordinary occasions, and for solemn purposes of state, as in the reception of ambassadors, the Consistories were public, and other prelates, and even distinguished laymen, might appear in them.

Besides the Cardinals and other high prelates, the Court of Rome was also formed by a great number of Papal officers, who had each his peculiar department. Such were the officers of the Roman Chancery, of whom the *Protonotary*, or *Primicerius*, was the chief. He was also called *Datarius*, from his affixing the date to acts of grace, grants of prebends, &c.; whence the name of *Dataria* for that department. Under him was the Secretary of the Papal bulls (*Scriptor Literarum Apostolicarum*), who was also the Pope's chamberlain. The manufacture of bulls was conducted by a college of seventy-two persons, of whom thirty-four clothed in violet, and more distinguished than the rest, drew up from petitions signed by the Pope the minutes of the bulls to be prepared from them in due and regular form. The rest of this

[1] Ecclesiastical districts, or parishes, were called *tituli*, titles. The name of *Cardinal* was not peculiar to the priests of Rome, but was at one time given to priests of all episcopal towns. The *curés* of several French cities, as Sens, Troyes, Angers, Soissons, were called *curés-cardinaux* till the Revolution. Martin, *Hist de France*, t. iii. p. 99.

college, who might be laymen, were called *Examiners*, and their office was to see that the bulls were drawn up in conformity with the minutes. The *Taxator* fixed the price of the bulls, which varied greatly according to their contents; the *Plumbator* affixed the leaden seal, or *bulla*, whence the instrument derived its name.

There were three Courts for the administration of justice: viz. a Court of Appeal, called in early times *Capella*, but afterwards better known by the name of *Rota Romana*; the *Signatura Justitiæ*, and the *Signatura Gratiæ*. The *Rota Romana* was the highest Papal tribunal. Its members, called *Auditores Rotæ*, were fixed by Pope Sixtus IV. at twelve, and although paid by the Pope, were not all Italians, but contained at least one Frenchman, Spaniard, and German. The *Signatura Gratiæ*, where the Pope presided in person, and of which only select Cardinals or eminent prelates could be members, decided cases which depended on the grace and favour of the Pope. The *Signatura Justitiæ*, besides various other legal affairs, especially determined respecting the admissibility of appeals to the Pope.

To compliment and refresh the Pope, his Cardinals and courtiers, with presents, was a very ancient custom; but the numerous gifts of money which annually flowed to Rome were only one of the means which served to fill the Papal treasury. Another abundant source was the Papal bulls, of which a great quantity were published every year. It was not the Apostolic Chamber alone that benefited: every officer employed in preparing the bulls took his toll, from the Chief Secretary down to the Plumbator. Among other sources of revenue, besides the regular fees derived from investitures, &c., were the sale of indulgences and dispensations, the announcement of a year of grace, and what was called the *Right of Reservation*, by which the Popes claimed the privilege of filling a certain number of ecclesiastical offices and vacant benefices. This means had been gradually so much extended that at the time of the Papal Schism offices were publicly sold, and even the inferior ones brought large sums of money.[1] It might be truly said with Jugurtha, *Romæ omnia venire*—at Rome all things are venal. Never was so rich a harvest reaped from the credulity of mankind.[2]

[1] Le Bret, *Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staats-und Kirchengeschichte*, B. iii. S. 7.

[2] See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, t. vi., and Mosheim, *Instit. Hist. Eccl.*; Thomassin, *Vetus et nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina*; Walter, *Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts*; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der christlich-katholischen Kirche*; and the Jesuit Hunold Plattenberg, *Notitia Congregationum et Tribunalium Curiæ Romanæ*, 1693.

It remains to say a few words respecting the mode of electing the successors of St. Peter. In early times, the Roman Pontiff was chosen by the people as well as by the clergy; nor was his election valid unless confirmed by the Roman Emperor; till at length, in 1179, Pope Alexander III. succeeded in vesting the elective right solely in the Cardinals. In order to a valid election it was necessary that at least two-thirds of the college should agree; but as this circumstance had frequently delayed their choice, Pope Gregory X., before whose elevation there had been an interregnum of no less than three years, published, in 1274, a bull to regulate the elections, which afterwards became part of the Canon Law. This bull provided that the cardinals were to assemble within nine days after the demise of a Pope; and on the tenth they were to be closely imprisoned, each with a single domestic, in an apartment called the CONCLAVE, their only communication with the outward world being a small window through which they received their food and other necessaries. If they were not agreed in three days, their provisions were diminished; after the eighth day they were restricted to a small allowance of bread, water, and wine; and thus they were induced by every motive of health and convenience not unnecessarily to protract their decision.

Such in outline was the Papal government. The remainder of Italy was divided by a number of independent Powers, of which it will be necessary to mention only the more considerable. These were two monarchies, the Kingdom of Naples (or Sicily) and the Duchy of Milan; and three Republics, two of which, Venice and Genoa, were maritime and commercial; the third, Florence, inland and manufacturing.

Of these Republics Venice was the foremost. Her power and pretensions both by sea and land were typified in her armorial device—a lion having two feet on the sea, a third on the plains, the fourth on the mountains.[1] Her territorial dominions, were, however, the offspring of her vast commerce and of her naval supremacy; and it is as a naval Power that she chiefly merits our attention. On the lagoon islands, formed by the alluvial deposits of the Adige, Brenta, and other rivers, Venice, by many ages of industry and enterprise, had grown so great that towards the end of the thirteenth century she claimed to be Queen of the Adriatic, and extorted toll and tribute from all vessels navigating that sea.

[1] See the letter of the Emperor Maximilian I. to the Elector of Saxony, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 179.

Every year, on Ascension Day, the Doge repeated the ceremony of a marriage with that bride whose dowry had been wafted from every quarter, when, standing on the prow of the Bucentaur, he cast into her waters the consecrated ring, exclaiming: "Desponsamus te, Mare, in signum veri perpetuique dominii."[1] Some rag of alleged right commonly cloaks the most extravagant pretensions, and accordingly the Venetians pleaded a donation of Pope Alexander III., who had said to the Doge:—"The sea owes you submission as the wife to her husband, for you have acquired the dominion of it by victory." Some subsequent holders of the See of Peter were not, however, inclined to recognize this liberal gift of their predecessor; and it is related that Julius II. once asked Jerome Donato, the Venetian ambassador, for the title which conferred on the Republic the dominion of the gulf. "You will find it," replied Donato, "endorsed on the deed by which Constantine conveyed the domain of St. Peter to Pope Silvester."

We need not trace all the steps by which the Venetians gradually won the large possessions which they held in the middle of the fifteenth century, many of which had been acquired by purchase. Thus the Island of Corfù, as well as Zara in Dalmatia, was bought from Ladislaus of Hungary, King of Naples; Lepanto and Corinth from Centurione, a Genoese, and Prince of Achaia; Salonika from Andronicus, brother of Theodore, Despot of the Morea, which, however, was wrested from their hands by the Turks in 1430. As a naval Power, the views of Venice were chiefly directed to the acquisition of maritime towns and fortresses; but in Italy the Venetians were also straining every nerve to extend their territory, and had already made themselves masters of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Ravenna, Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, the Friuli, and part of the Cremonese.

Venice presents, perhaps, the most successful instance on record of an aristocratical Republic or oligarchy. We shall not here enter into the details of its government, which have been described at length by Mr. Hallam.[2] However unfavourable to domestic liberty, the government of Venice was admirably adapted to promote the interest of the State in its intercourse with other nations, and from a remote period its diplomatic service was admirably

[1] "We wed thee, O Sea, in token of our true and perpetual dominion."

[2] *Middle Ages*, vol. i. ch. iii. pt. ii. That writer, however, appears to have omitted the *Zonta*, or Giunta, and the State Inquisitors. Daru's account of the Inquisitors is now recognized as erroneous and exaggerated (*Hist. de Venise*, liv. xvi. § 20). His errors on this and other subjects have been rectified by Count Tiepolo, in his *Discorsi sulla Storia Veneta, &c.*, and by Romanin, *Gli Inquisitori di Stato*. Comp. Hazlitt, *Ven. Rep.* vol. iii. p. 56 sq.

conducted. As early as the thirteenth century its ambassadors were instructed to note down everything worthy of observation in the countries to which they were sent; and these reports, or *Relazioni*, were read before the *Pregadi*, or Senate, and then deposited among the State archives. The practice was continued to the latest times; and there is a *Relazione* of the early period of the French Republic, full of striking and impartial details.[1]

Under the Venetian constitution, the power of the Doge was very limited, and, indeed, he was often no more than the unwilling puppet of the Council;—a fact abundantly illustrated by the tragical story of Francesco Foscari, who was Doge from 1423 to 1457, and consequently at the time when Constantinople fell. During his reign, if such it can be called, for to himself it was little else than a source of bitterness and humiliation, Venice reached her highest pitch of prosperity and glory. Continually thwarted by the ruling oligarchy, Foscari twice tendered his resignation, which was, however, refused; and on the last occasion, in 1443, he was obliged to promise that he would hold the ducal office during life. A year or two afterwards he was compelled to pronounce sentence of banishment on his only surviving son, Jacopo, accused of receiving bribes from foreign governments. Still graver charges were brought against Jacopo, who died an exile in Crete, in January, 1456. The aged Doge himself was deposed in 1457, through the machinations of his enemy Loredano, now at the head of the Council of Ten. He retired with the sympathy of the Venetians, which, however, none ventured to display; and a few days afterwards he died. With short intervals of peace, he had waged war with the Turks thirty years; and it was during his administration that the treaty was concluded with them which we shall have to record in the sequel.

Before science had enlarged the bounds of navigation and opened new channels to commercial enterprise, Venice, from its position, seemed destined by nature to connect the Eastern and the Western Worlds. During many ages, accordingly, she was the chief maritime and commercial State of Europe. At the beginning of the fifteenth century more than 3,300 Venetian merchantmen, employing crews of 25,000 sailors, traversed the Mediterranean in all directions, passed the Straits of Gibraltar, coasted the shores of Spain, Portugal, and France, as the vessels

[1] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, Vorrede. Copies of these papers were frequently made, which have been preserved in some of the principal libraries of Europe, and form valuable materials for history.

of Phœnicia and Carthage had done of old, and carried on a lucrative trade with the English and the Flemings. The Venetians enjoyed almost a monopoly of the commerce of the Levant; but in that with Constantinople and the Black Sea they were long rivalled, and indeed surpassed, by the Genoese.[1]

Yet in the middle of the fifteenth century the commerce and power of Genoa, the second maritime Republic of Italy, were in a declining state. As the Venetians enjoyed an almost exclusive trade with India and the East, through the ports of Egypt, Syria, and Greece, so the Genoese possessed the chief share of that with the northern and eastern parts of Europe. The less costly, but perhaps more useful, products of these regions—wax, tallow, skins, and furs, together with all the materials for ship-building, as timber, pitch and tar, hemp for sails and cordage—found their way to the ports of the Black Sea, down the rivers which empty into it; and it was along these shores that the Genoese had planted their colonies. Early in the fourteenth century they had founded Caffa, in the Crimea; and this was followed by the planting of other colonies and factories, as Tana, near Azof, at the mouth of the Tanaïs, or Don, and others; some of which, however, were shared by the Venetians and other Italians. All the trade of this sea necessarily found its way through the Bosphorus, where it was commanded by the Genoese and Venetian establishments at Constantinople.

The rival interests of their commerce occasioned, during a long period, bloody contests between the Venetians and Genoese, for supremacy at sea. Genoa had not the wonderfully organized government and self-supporting power of Venice; she lacked that admixture of the aristocratic element which gave such stability to her rival, and was frequently obliged to seek a refuge from her own dissensions by submitting herself to foreign dominion: yet such were the energy of her population and the strength derived from her commerce, that she was repeatedly able to shake off these trammels, as well as to make head against her powerful rival in the Adriatic. We find her by turns under the protection of the Empire, of Naples, of Milan, of France; but as the factious spirit of her population compelled her to submit to these Powers, so the same cause again freed her from their grasp. In 1435 the Genoese revolted from Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, because

[1] An elaborate statement of the commerce of Venice in 1423, will be found in the speeches of the Doge Mocenigo just before his death.—Hazlitt, *Ven. Rep.* pp. 27—35.

that Prince had dismissed Alfonso V., King of Aragon and Sicily, and would be King of Naples, whom he had taken prisoner. From hereditary hatred to the Catalans the Genoese had supported the French Prince René of Anjou, in his claims to the Neapolitan throne, against Alfonso, and they now allied themselves with Venice and Florence against the Duke of Milan. This revolution, however, was followed by twenty years of civil broil, in which the hostile factions of the Adorni and Fregosi contended for supreme power and the office of Doge; the most important political and commercial interests of the Republic were abandoned at the critical moment of the triumph of the Turks in 1453; and at that period the name of Genoa is scarcely heard of in the affairs of Italy.

Florence, the third great Italian Republic, presents a striking, and in some respects agreeable, contrast to those just described. Not so grasping as they, nor so entirely absorbed in the pursuit of material interests, her popular institutions favoured the development of individual genius, which the wealth derived from trade and manufactures enabled her to encourage and foster. Her inland situation and the smallness of her foreign commerce rendered Florence more essentially Italian than either Venice or Genoa; and accordingly we find her taking a stronger interest in the general affairs of Italy, and in the maintenance of its political equilibrium.[1] The Florentine government was freer than that of Venice, and more aristocratic than that of Genoa, nominally, indeed, a democracy, but at the time when this history opens led and controlled by the large-minded, liberal, and cultivated chiefs of the House of Medici. The riches of that family, acquired by commerce, enabled them to display their taste and generosity; and, under their auspices, that literature and art flourished which had already sprung up before their time, and made Florence the mother of modern European culture.

The intricate details of the Florentine constitution have been fully described by Mr. Hallam.[2] It will suffice to recall to the reader's memory that its basis was popular and commercial, resting on what were called the *Arts* (*Arti*), which were, in fact, much the same as the Teutonic guilds. These were twenty-one in number; namely, seven greater ones, called the *Arti Maggiori*, which included the professional classes and the higher kind of traders; and fourteen *Arti Minori*, comprehending the lesser

[1] See Sismondi, *Républ. Ital.* ch. lvii. t. viii. p. 34.
[2] *Middle Ages*, chap. iii. pt. ii.

trades. It was only from among the members of the *Arti* that the Priors (*Priori*), or chief executive magistrates of the State, could be elected. These magistrates, ultimately eight in number, were chosen every two months, and during their tenure of office lived at the public expense. After the establishment of the militia companies, the Gonfalonier[1] of Justice, who was at the head of them, was added to the *Signoria*, or executive government, and, indeed, as its president. To aid the deliberations of the Signory, there was a college composed of the sixteen Gonfaloniers of the militia companies, and of twelve leading men called *Buon'uomini*, literally, *good men*, to whose consideration every resolution or law was submitted before it was brought before the great Councils of the State. These Councils, which were changed every four months, were the *Consiglio di Popolo*, consisting of 300 plebeians, and the *Consiglio di Comune*, into which nobles also might enter. In extraordinary conjunctures the whole of the citizens could resolve themselves into a sovereign assembly of the people, which was called *Farsi Popolo*.

The most flourishing period of the Florentine Republic was the half century during which it was under the government of the Guelf, or aristocratic, party of Maso degli Albizzi and his son and successor Rinaldo, from 1382 to 1434.[2] The measures of these rulers, the principal of whom, besides the Albizzi, were Gino Capponi and Niccolò da Uzzano, were in general wise and patriotic. They increased the prosperity of Florence, and at the same time upheld the liberties of Italy; and their credit was sustained by a series of brilliant conquests, which subjected Pisa, Arezzo, Cortona, in short, half Tuscany, to the Florentine dominion; and while their arms prevailed abroad, peace reigned at home. The magistrates lived in a plain, unostentatious manner, and abused not their power for their own private ends; the people, too, lived frugally, while the public magnificence was displayed in churches, palaces, and other buildings; valuable libraries were collected; and painting, statuary, and architecture flourished. At this time we are told that Florence counted 150,000 inhabitants within her walls, and enjoyed a revenue of 300,000 gold florins, or about 150,000*l.* sterling. Although its situation excluded

[1] *Gonfalionere* means, literally, a *standard-bearer;* from *gonfalone*, a banner.

[2] See *Storia della Repubblica di Firenze* (vol. ii. p. 146 sqq. ed. 1876), by the Marchese Gino Capponi, a descendant of those Capponis who played so prominent a part in the history of Florence. The Marchese seems to have taken for his model the early Florentine chroniclers; but his work is interspersed with some interesting chapters on literature and art.

Florence from that large share of foreign commerce enjoyed by Genoa and Venice—for it had no port of its own till it acquired Pisa by conquest, and Leghorn by purchase from the Genoese—yet even previously it had not been entirely destitute of maritime trade, finding a harbour either at Pisa or in the Sienese port of Telamone.

In 1434 Cosmo de' Medici succeeded in overthrowing the party of the Albizzi and seizing the reins of government. The first known member of the Medici family was Salvestro, who, in 1378, had led a successful insurrection of the *Ciompi*, or Florentine populace. During the supremacy of the Albizzi, Giovanni de' Medici, Cosmo's father, who had made a large fortune by trade and banking, and was considered the richest man in Italy, had filled some of the chief offices of State; and at his death, in 1429, Cosmo took the direction of a party which had been formed for the purpose of limiting the authority of the ruling oligarchy. After his return from his travels in Germany and France, Cosmo abstained from the society of the ruling party, and associated himself with men of low condition; but both he and his brother Lorenzo were connected by marriage with some of the leading Florentine families. Incurring the suspicion of the oligarchs, he was banished, in 1433, for ten years, to Padua; but, by a revolution in the government, he and his family were recalled in October, 1434. From this time, for three centuries, the history of Florence is connected with that of the Medici. Cosmo is described by Machiavelli as of a generous and affable temper; of a demeanour at once grave and agreeable, he possessed, in addition to his father's qualities, far more talent as a statesman. The revolution by which he attained the supreme power must, however, be regarded as ushering in the fall of the Florentine Republic. It was, in fact, the establishment of a plutocracy. Cosmo continued to govern till his death in 1464; so that he was the leading man at Florence at the period chosen as our epoch. He continued to follow the trade of a merchant and banker, and during his long administration his views were constantly directed to the aggrandizement of his family, though, after his death, the Florentines honoured him with the title of Pater Patriæ. The preceding administration of the Albizzi, although more beneficial to their country, is almost forgotten, because, like the princes before Agamemnon, they found no bard or historian to record their praise; whilst Cosmo de' Medici, a munificent patron of literature, had the good fortune to be the

friend of many eminent writers. As his power was chiefly supported by the lower classes, he was enabled to extend it by means of his wealth; and he at length succeeded in reducing the government to a small oligarchy, having, in 1452, vested the privilege of naming to the Signory in only five persons. To support his own dominion he courted the friendship of the tyrant Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and assisted that Prince to oppress the Milanese.[1]

Sforza, a *condottiere*, or soldier of fortune, like his father before him, obtained Milan partly by a fortunate marriage and partly by arms. The history of the Visconti, his predecessors in the duchy, is little more than a tissue of crime and treachery, of cruelty and ambition. Originally an archbishopric, John Galeazzo Visconti procured in 1396 the erection of Milan and its diocese as a duchy and Imperial fief, by a treaty with the Emperor Wenceslaus and the payment of 100,000 florins. This transaction introduced a new feature into Italian politics. The famous parties of the Guelfs and Ghibelins, whose names remained more or less in use till the end of the fifteenth century, had at first nothing specially to do with the internal affairs of the different Italian States: they were merely, in a general sense, the watchwords of Italian liberty and of Imperial and Teutonic despotism—the Guelfs supporting the cause of Rome, and the Ghibelins that of the Emperor.[2] Thus, some Italian Republics were Ghibelin, whilst several tyrants had arisen among the Guelf cities. But after the Visconti had established themselves at Milan and acquired a preponderating influence in Italy, they began to consider their interests as indissolubly connected with monarchical principles; and from this period every Italian tyrant or usurper, if he had before been Guelf, became Ghibelin, and courted the friendship and protection of the Dukes of Milan; while, on the other hand, if a Ghibelin city succeeded in throwing off the yoke of its lord, it raised the Guelf standard, and sought the alliance of Florence, a city pre-eminently Guelf; and thus those party names became the symbols of domestic as well as foreign liberty or slavery.

The Duchy of Milan descended in time to Philip Maria

[1] The principal authority for Cosmo's life is Fabroni, *Vita di Cosimo.*

[2] The names of *Guelf* and *Ghibelin* (or *Welf* and *Waibling*), as party watchwords, originated in the war between Conrad III. and Henry the Proud, in 1138, for the German crown. Henry was descended from the Welfs, or Guelfs, of Altorf in Suabia, the heiress of which family, Cunegund, had married Azzo, Marquis of Este, about the middle of the eleventh century; and the name of Guelf remained a patronymic in the family. The name Ghibelin was derived from

Visconti, the younger of Gian-Galeazzo's two sons. Philip had no children except an illegitimate daughter, Bianca; and Francis Sforza, whom Pope Eugenius IV. had made lord of the March of Ancona and Gonfalonier of the Church, aspired to her hand, in the hope that by such a marriage he might eventually establish himself in the Milanese succession. His courtship was somewhat rough; in order to win the daughter he made war upon the father. After the overthrow of the Albizzi by Cosmo de' Medici, and the banishment of his rival, Rinaldo degli Albizzi, Visconti, at the instance of the latter, engaged in war with Florence and Venice, and Sforza entered the service of the Florentines. His operations were, however, unsuccessful, and he found himself entangled in a dangerous position near the castle of Martinengo, when he was unexpectedly relieved by a message from Duke Philip Maria. Disgusted with the insolence of his own captains, who, in contemplation of his death, were already demanding different portions of his dominions, the Duke offered Sforza the hand of his daughter Bianca with Cremona and Pontremoli as a dowry, and left him to name his own conditions of peace. The marriage was accordingly celebrated in October, 1441: but Visconti soon repented of his bargain, and entered into a new war in order to ruin his son-in-law, who again took the command of the Venetian and Florentine armies. Being, however, hard pressed, the Duke had again recourse to Sforza, and offered him the Milanese succession as the price of deserting his employers. The point of honour remained to be considered, on which Sforza consulted his friend, Cosmo de' Medici, who advised him to follow no rule but his own interests, and to disregard his obligations to two States which had employed him only for their own advantage.[1] Visconti afterwards seemed disposed to break this agreement also; but scarcely had the reappearance of danger from the further success of the Venetians again obliged him to throw himself into the arms of Sforza, when he was suddenly carried off by a dysentery, August 13th, 1447.

With Philip Maria ended the dynasty of the Visconti, which, as bishops and dukes, had ruled Milan 170 years (1277—1447). As he left no male heirs, or, indeed, legitimate children of any kind, his death occasioned four claims to the succession, which must here be stated, as they formed the subject of wars and

Waiblingen, a Suabian village, where Frederick, Duke of Suabia, brother of Conrad III., was brought up. But the names were afterwards applied to very different factions from those which gave them birth.

[1] Simonetta, lib. viii. p. 148 (ed. 1544).

negotiations which it will be our business to relate in the following pages. These claims were:—1. That of Charles, Duke of Orleans, founded on his being the son of Valentina Visconti, eldest sister of the late Duke; 2. That of Bianca, Philip's illegitimate daughter, and of her husband Francesco Sforza, who could also plead that he had been designated by Philip as his successor; 3. That of Alfonso, King of Naples, which rested on a genuine or pretended testament of the deceased Duke; 4. That of the Emperor, who, in default of heirs, claimed the duchy as a lapsed fief.

The question between Bianca and the House of Orleans rests on the issue, whether a legitimate collateral succession were preferable to an illegitimate but direct one? According to the usages of those times, when bastardy was not regarded as so complete a disqualification as it is at present, and when there were numerous instances of illegitimate succession in various Italian States, this question should perhaps be answered in the negative. Sforza's pretensions, as well as those of the King of Naples, rested on the question, whether the Duke had power to appoint in default of natural heirs; and, if so, which of the two were the more valid appointment: but it must also be recollected that Sforza's claim was further strengthened by his marriage with Bianca. Thus far, then, we might, perhaps, be inclined to decide in favour of Sforza. But the claim of the Emperor remains to be considered. The charter to the Ducal House given by King Wenceslaus at Prague, October 13th, 1396, limited the succession to males, sons of males by a legitimate bed, or, in their default, to the *natural male* descendants of John Galeazzo, after they had been solemnly legitimated by the Emperor.[1] Milan, therefore, was exclusively a *male* fief. But there were no male heirs of any kind, nor has it been shown that the Duke had any power of appointment by will or otherwise. This seems to make out a clear case in favour of the Emperor, according to the general usage respecting fiefs, unless his original power over the fief should be disputed. But this had been clearly acknowledged by John Galeazzo when he accepted the duchy at Wenceslaus's hands, and had indeed been always previously recognized by the Ghibelin House of the Visconti. It is true, as a modern writer observes,[2] that the sovereignty lay properly with the Milanese

[1] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. ix. p. 282.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 263. Yet Sismondi admits the efficacy of the investiture of Wenceslaus: "Les Viscontis reçurent *une nouvelle existence* par les diplomes de Wenceslaus; ils furent dès lors considérés

people; but they were unable effectually to assert it, and subsequently the pretensions actually contested were not those of the Emperor and the people, but of the Emperor and the claimants under the title of the Visconti.

The people, indeed, after the death of the Duke, under the leadership of four distinguished citizens, established a Republic, while the council acknowledged Alfonso King of Aragon and Naples, and hoisted the Aragonese flag. Some of the Milanese towns, as Pavia, Como, and others, also erected themselves into Republics; some submitted to Venice, others to Milan; and Asti admitted a French garrison in the name of Charles, Duke of Orleans. The Venetians refused to give up the territories which they had conquered; and, under these circumstances, the Republic of Milan engaged the services of Francesco Sforza, who thus became for a while the servant of those whom he had expected to command, though with the secret hope of reversing the position. It belongs not to our subject to detail the campaigns of the next two or three years. It will suffice to state generally that Sforza's operations against the Venetians were eminently successful, and that particularly by the signal defeat which he inflicted on them at Caravaggio, September 15, 1448, they found it politic to induce him to enter their own service, by offering to instate him in the Duchy of Milan, but on condition of his ceding to Venice the Cremonese and the Ghiara d'Adda. The Venetians, however, soon perceived that they had committed a political blunder in handing over Milan to a warlike Prince instead of encouraging the nascent Republic; and disregarding their engagements with Sforza, they concluded at Brescia a treaty with the Milanese republicans (September 27th, 1449), and withdrew their troops from Sforza's army. But that commander had already reduced Milan to famine; and knowing that there was within its walls a former officer of his own, Gaspard da Vicomercato, on whose services he might rely, Sforza boldly ordered his soldiers to approach the city, laden with as much bread as they could carry. At a distance of six miles they were met by the starving population; the bread was distributed, and Sforza advanced without resistance to the gates. Ambrose Trivulzio and a small band of patriots would have imposed conditions before he entered, and made him swear to observe their laws and liberties: but it was too late—the populace had declared for Sforza; there were no means of resisting

commes *les seigneurs naturels*, ainsi qu'on l'exprimait, et non plus comme les tyrans de la Lombardie."—*Ibid.* t. vii. p. 345.

his entry; and when he appeared on the public place, he was saluted by the assembled multitude as their Duke and Lord.

This revolution was accomplished towards the end of February, 1450. During the next few years, however, Sforza had to contend with the Venetians for the possession of his dominions. The fall of Constantinople caused the Italian belligerents to reflect on the pernicious nature of the contest in which they were engaged; and Pope Nicholas V. summoned a congress at Rome to consider of the means of making head against the common enemy. None of the Italian Powers, however, was sincere in these negotiations; not even Nicholas himself, who had learned by experience that the wars of the other Italian States assured the tranquillity of the Church. The Venetians, exhausted by the length of the war, and finding that the congress would not succeed in establishing a general peace, began secretly to negotiate with Sforza for a separate one. This led to the Treaty of Lodi, April 9th, 1454. The Marquis of Montferrat, the Duke of Savoy, and other Princes, were now compelled to relinquish those portions of the Milanese which they had occupied; and in this manner, together with the cessions of the Venetians, Sforza recovered all the territories which had belonged to his predecessor.[1]

The remaining Italian States, with the exception of the Kingdom of Naples, are not important enough to arrest our attention. The chief of them were Ferrara, then ruled by the illustrious House of Este, Mantua, under the Gonzagas, and Savoy. The Counts of Savoy traced their descent up to the tenth century. The Emperor Sigismund, in the course of his frequent travels, having come into Savoy, erected that county into a duchy in favour of Amadeus VIII., who was afterwards Pope Felix V., by letters patent granted at Chambéry, February 19th, 1416.[2] Sigismund exercised this privilege on the ground that Savoy formed part of the ancient Burgundian Kingdom of Arles, and in consideration of a paltry loan of 12,000 crowns.

When this history opens Naples had been more than ten years in possession of Alfonso V., King of Aragon, who had obtained the Neapolitan throne after a hard struggle with a rival claimant, the French Prince René d'Anjou. The pretensions of the House of Anjou were originally derived from the donation of Pope Urban IV. in the middle of the thirteenth century. The Norman conquerors of Naples had consented to hold the County,

[1] Sismondi, *Républ. Ital.* t. ix. p. 415 sqq.
[2] Guichenon, *Hist. Généal. de la Royale Maison de Savoie*, p. 456.

afterwards Kingdom, of Sicily, as a fief of the Roman See, and the Norman line was represented at the time above-mentioned by Conradin, grandson of the Emperor Frederick II.; whose uncle Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederick, having usurped the Sicilian throne, Urban offered it to Charles, Count of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. of France. Manfred was defeated and slain in the battle of Benevento, 1266; and two years afterwards Conradin, who had been set up by the Ghibelin nobles, was also defeated at Tagliacozzo, and soon after put to death by order of Count Charles, who thus established in Naples and Sicily the first House of Anjou. The Crown was, however, disputed by Don Pedro III., King of Aragon, who had married a daughter of Manfred; a war ensued, and Pedro succeeded in seizing Sicily, and transmitting it to his posterity. The first House of Anjou continued in possession of the Kingdom of Naples down to the reign of Queen Joanna I., who was dethroned in 1381 by Charles of Durazzo her heir presumptive. She had previously, however, called in from France her cousin Louis, Duke of Anjou, brother of the French King, Charles V.; and his son, after the assassination of Charles of Durazzo in Hungary in 1385, actually ascended the Neapolitan throne with the title of Louis II. The reign, however, of this second House of Anjou was but short. Louis was driven out the same year by Ladislaus, son of Charles of Durazzo, who, in spite of all the efforts of Louis, succeeded in retaining the sovereignty till his death in 1444. He was succeeded by his sister, Joanna II., who, though twice married, remained childless.

In these circumstances Joanna had displayed so much favour towards the Colonna family that it was expected she would bequeath her Crown to a member of it; but from this purpose she was diverted by her paramour Caraccioli. Pope Martin V., a Colonna, piqued at this change in her behaviour, determined, if possible, to dethrone her in favour of Louis III., a stripling of fifteen, and son of Louis II., who had died in 1417; and with this view he engaged the services of Sforza Attendolo, a renowned *condottiere*, and father of Francis Sforza, whose history we have already related. Sforza Attendolo, who had been constable to Joanna II., but through the enmity of Caraccioli was now alienated from her, was to invade the Neapolitan dominions with an army, while Louis III. was to attack Naples from the sea. In this desperate situation Joanna invoked the aid of Alfonso V., King of Aragon and Sicily, and promised in return

for his services to adopt him as heir to her dominions (1420). These terms were accepted: Alfonso was solemnly proclaimed Joanna's successor; the Duchy of Calabria was made over to him as security; and having frustrated the enterprise of Louis, he fixed his residence at Naples as future King.

Such was the origin of the second claim of the House of Aragon to the Neapolitan throne. To make it good, Alfonso had to undertake a struggle of many years' duration, of which we need mark only the leading events. Perceiving that the Queen and Caraccioli meant to betray him, Alfonso endeavoured to secure their persons; but having failed in the attempt, Joanna cancelled his adoption as heir to the Crown, substituted Louis III. in his stead, and, having reconciled herself with Sforza, obtained the assistance of his arms. The war dragged slowly on; Sforza was accidentally drowned in the Pescara, January 4th, 1424, when his command devolved to his son Francis; and Alfonso, having been obliged to return to Aragon by a war with the Castilians, left his brothers, Don Pedro and Don Frederick, to conduct his affairs in Naples. But they were betrayed by their *condottiere* Caldora, and Joanna re-entered Naples with her adopted son, Louis III. of Anjou.

In 1432 a revolution, chiefly conducted by the Duchess of Suessa, having accomplished the death of Caraccioli, who had disgusted everybody, and at last even Joanna herself, by his insolence and brutality, the Duchess and a large party of the Neapolitan nobles invited Alfonso to return; and as he had now arranged the affairs of Aragon, he accepted the invitation. But his expedition was unsuccessful. Louis III. repulsed his attacks on Calabria; and after some vain attempts to induce Joanna to recall her adoption of that prince, Alfonso concluded a peace for ten years, and retired from the Neapolitan territories early in 1433.

The death of Louis in 1434, followed by that of Queen Joanna II. in February, 1435, again threw Naples into anarchy. Joanna had bequeathed her Crown to René, Duke of Lorraine, Louis III.'s next brother, who had succeeded to Lorraine as son-in-law of the deceased Duke Charles; but Antony, Count of Vaudemont, brother of Charles, contested with him this succession, defeated him, and made him prisoner.

In this state of things the Neapolitan nobles again called in Alfonso; but the partisans of the House of Anjou were supported by Philip Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, who could dispose of the maritime forces of Genoa, then under his government; and,

on the 5th of August, 1435, one of the bloodiest sea-fights yet seen in the Mediterranean took place between the Genoese and Catalan fleets. That of King Alfonso was entirely defeated, all his ships were either captured or destroyed, and he himself, together with his brother John, King of Navarre, and a great number of Spanish and Italian nobles, were made prisoners. But Alfonso showed his great qualities even in this extremity of misfortune. Being carried to Milan, he so worked upon Visconti by his address, and by pointing out the injurious consequences that would result to him from establishing the French in Italy, that the Duke dismissed him and the other prisoners without ransom. By this step, however, as we have already said (*supra*, p. 47 *sq.*), Visconti lost Genoa; for the Genoese, disgusted with this mark of favour towards their ancient enemies the Catalans, rose and drove out their Milanese governor.

Alfonso now renewed his attempts upon Naples, and the war dragged on five or six years; but we shall not follow its details, which are both intricate and unimportant. The Pope, the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and Sforza favoured the House of Anjou; the Duke of Milan hung dubious between the parties; and the *Condottieri* sold themselves to both sides by turns. In the absence of René, his consort Isabella displayed abilities that were of much service to his cause; and René himself, after his liberation, appeared off Naples with twelve galleys and a few other ships. But nothing important was done till 1442, when Alfonso succeeded in entering Naples through a subterranean aqueduct which in ancient times had been used for the same purpose by Belisarius. René soon after abandoned the contest and retired into France, and Alfonso speedily obtained possession of the whole kingdom.[1] Having made peace with Eugenius IV., and recognized him as true head of the Church, that Pontiff confirmed Alfonso's title as King of the Sicilies, under the old condition of feudal tenure; and even secretly promised to support the succession of his natural son Ferdinand, whom Alfonso had made Duke of Calabria, or, in other words, heir to the throne, to which he partly succeeded on his father's death in 1458.

René made a fruitless attempt in 1453 to recover Naples, which he never repeated. His quiet and unambitious character, testified by the name of "le bon roi René," led him to cede his claims both to Lorraine and the Sicilies to his son, and to

[1] The title of this prince, as King of Naples, was Alfonso I.

abandon himself in his Duchy of Provence to his love for poetry and the arts. Here he endeavoured to revive the days of the Troubadours and the love-courts of Languedoc; but he had more taste than genius, and his efforts ended only in founding a school of insipid pastoral poetry. His children had more energy and ambition: Margaret, the strong-minded but unfortunate consort of our Henry VI., and John, whose efforts to recover the Neapolitan Crown there will be occasion to relate in the following pages. John, who assumed the title of Duke of Calabria, proceeded into Italy in 1454, and was for some time entertained by the Florentines, till their policy requiring the accession of Alfonso to the peace which they had concluded with Venice and Milan, John was dismissed.

The Spanish peninsula was divided, like Italy, into several independent sovereignties.[1] During the tardy expulsion of the Moors from northern and middle Spain, various Christian States were gradually formed, as Leon, Navarre, Castile, Aragon, Barcelona, Valencia, &c.; but in the middle of the fifteenth century these had been practically reduced to the three Kingdoms of Navarre, Castile and Aragon, which now occupied the whole peninsula, with exception of the Kingdom of Portugal in the west and the Moorish Kingdom of Granada in the south. Of these Navarre comprised only a comparatively small district at the western extremity of the Pyrenees; to Aragon were attached the independent lands of Catalonia and Valencia; while Castile occupied, with the exceptions before named, the rest of Spain.

The Kingdom of Castile was founded by Don Ferdinand, second son of Sanchez, surnamed the Great, King of Navarre. Sanchez had conquered Old Castile from its Count, and at his death, in 1035, left it to Ferdinand, who assumed the title of King of Castile, and subsequently added the Kingdom of Leon to his dominions. It belongs not to our plan to trace the history of the Spanish monarchies through the middle ages.[2] It will suffice to observe that the boundaries of Castile were gradually enlarged by successive acquisitions, and that in 1368, a revolution

[1] The chief historian of Spain is the Jesuit Mariana, whose work extends from the earliest times to the accession of Charles I. (the Emperor Charles V.), with a supplement containing a brief abstract of events down to 1621. Zurita's *Annales de Aragon*, also commencing from the earliest period, are very ample for the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic. The English reader may consult Robertson, *Charles V.*, Introd.; *Modern Univ. Hist.* vol. xvi.; Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol i.

[2] The reader will find a sketch of the history and constitution of the Spanish Kingdoms during this period in Mr. Hallam's *Middle Ages*, chap. iv.

which drove Peter the Cruel from the throne, established on it the House of Trastamara, which continued to hold possession. In 1406 the Crown devolved to John II., an infant little more than a twelvemonth old, who wore it till 1454, and was consequently King at the time when this history opens. His father, Henry III., who died at the early age of twenty-seven, had ruled with wisdom and moderation, but at the same time with energy. An armament which he had prepared against the Moors in the very year of his death will convey some idea of the strength of the Kingdom. It consisted of 1,000 lances, or harnessed knights, 4,000 light cavalry, 50,000 infantry, and 80 ships or galleys; and though Henry did not live to conduct the war, it was for some time prosecuted with vigour and success. But the long minority of John II. exposed the Kingdom to confusion and anarchy; and subsequently the weakness of his mind, though he possessed no unamiable disposition, rendered him only fit to be governed by others. During nearly the whole of his reign Don Alvaro de Luna, Constable of Castile, possessed nearly unlimited power. It was the hope of crushing this haughty favourite by force of arms that detained Alfonso V. of Aragon in Spain, and prevented him from prosecuting his claims on Naples, as already related. After his return from Italy he proclaimed his determination to invade Castile, and, as he said, to release the young King from Alvaro's tyranny; and though the matter was temporarily arranged through the mediation of Alfonso's brother, John of Navarre, yet the unsettled state of the relations between Castile and Aragon detained Alfonso three years in the latter country. Don John, subsequently King of Navarre, and the Infant Don Henry, though Aragonese by nation, had large possessions in Castile, and being grandees of that country, considered themselves entitled to a share in the government, for which they entered into a long but unsuccessful struggle. In 1429, John II. of Castile, at the persuasion of Alvaro, invaded Aragon with a large army, and committed fearful devastations; and in the following year, Alfonso, whose views were turned towards Italy, abandoned the cause of his brother, and concluded a truce of five years with the King of Castile.

After this period the wealth and power of Alvaro went on wonderfully increasing. He obtained the greater part of the confiscated lands of the Aragonese Princes; and as he was the only man capable of inspiring the haughty Castilian grandees with awe, he was invested by the King with almost absolute authority.

He could muster 20,000 vassals at his residence at Escalona, where he held a kind of court. The extent of his power may be inferred from the circumstance, that when the King became a widower, the Constable, without any notice, contracted him to Isabella of Portugal. Alvaro had, however, to maintain a constant struggle with the Castilian grandees, with whom at length even the King himself combined against him. In 1453 he was entrapped at Burgos, his house was beleaguered, and he was forced to capitulate, after receiving security under the royal seal that his life, honour, and property should be respected. But he was no sooner secured than his vast possessions were confiscated, and he himself, after being subjected to a mock trial, was condemned to death, and executed like a common malefactor in the public place of Valladolid (July, 1453). The fortitude with which he met his fate turned in his favour the tide of popular opinion; nor does it appear that he had done anything to deserve death. John II. soon found to his cost the value of Alvaro, and that he had no longer any check upon the insolence of the grandees. He survived the Constable only a year, and died in July, 1454, leaving a son, who ascended the throne with the title of Henry IV.; and by his second consort, a daughter, Isabella, afterwards the famous Queen of Castile, and a son named Alfonso.

Aragon, like Castile, was first elevated to the dignity of a Kingdom in favour of a younger son of Sanchez the Great of Navarre, namely, Don Ramiro. Its territories were gradually extended by conquest. In 1118, the King Alfonso I., besides other conquests, wrested Saragossa from the Moors, and made it, instead of Huesca, the capital of Aragon. In 1137 Catalonia became united to Aragon by the marriage of the Aragonese heiress, Petronilla, niece of Alfonso, with Don Raymond, Count of Barcelona. This was a most important acquisition for Aragon; for the Catalans, a bold and hardy race, and excellent sailors, enabled the Aragonese monarchs to extend their dominions by sea. Under King James I. of Aragon (1213—1276), Minorca and Valencia were recovered from the Moors and added to the Kingdom, though these States, as well as Catalonia, enjoyed an independent government. James's son, Pedro III., as already mentioned, wrested Sicily from the tyrannical hands of Charles of Anjou. On his death in 1285, Don Pedro left the Crown of Sicily to his second son, James; and from this period Sicily formed an independent kingdom under a separate branch of the House of Aragon, down to the death of Martin the Younger in 1409. That monarch

dying without legitimate children, the throne of Sicily came to his father, Martin the Elder, King of Aragon; and the two Kingdoms remained henceforth united till the beginning of the eighteenth century.

On the death of Martin the Elder in 1410, the male branch of the House of Barcelona, in the direct line, became extinct, and various claimants to the Crown arose.[1] A civil war ensued, till at length, in June, 1412, a council of arbiters, to whom the disputants had agreed to refer their claims, decided in favour of Ferdinand of Castile, nephew of Martin by his sister Eleanor, formerly Queen-Consort of that country. Ferdinand, who was uncle to the minor King John II. of Castile, resigned the regency of that country on ascending the thrones of Aragon and Sicily. He was a mild and just Prince, and reigned till his death in 1416, when he was succeeded by his son, Alfonso V., surnamed the Wise, whom we have already had occasion to mention. Alfonso left Naples to his natural son Ferdinand; but he declared his brother John, King of Navarre, heir to Aragon and its dependencies; namely, Valencia, Catalonia, Majorca, Sardinia, and Sicily; and that Prince accordingly ascended the Aragonese and Sicilian thrones with the title of John II., in 1458.

Both Castile and Aragon while they existed under separate Kings enjoyed a very considerable share of liberty. The constitution of Castile bore a striking resemblance to our own in the time of the Plantagenets. Before the end of the twelfth century, the deputies of towns appear to have obtained a seat in the *Cortes*,[2] or national assembly, which before that period consisted only of the Clergy and Grandees. The Cortes continued pretty fairly to represent the nation down to the reign of John II. and his successor Henry IV., when the deputies of many towns ceased to be summoned. The practice had, indeed, been previously irregular, but from this time it went on declining; apparently, however, not much to the regret of the burgesses, who grudged defraying the expenses of their representatives; and by the year 1480, the number of towns returning members had been reduced to seventeen. Alfonso XI. (1312—1350) had previously restricted the privilege of election to the municipal magistrates, whose number rarely exceeded twenty-four in each town. The members of Cortes were summoned by a writ of much the same form as that

[1] See a table of them in Hallam, vol. ii. p. 40.

[2] The earliest instance on record of popular representation in Castile occurred at Burgos in 1169. Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 19.

in use for the English Parliament. The legislative power resided with the Cortes, though it was sometimes infringed by royal ordinances, as it was in the earlier periods of our own history by the King's proclamations. The nobles, not only the higher class of them, or *Ricos Hombres,* but also the *Hidalgos,* or second order, and the *Caballeros,* or knights, were exempt from taxation; and this was also, in some degree, the case in Aragon.

The royal power was still more limited in Aragon than in Castile. At first the King was elective; but the right of election was vested only in a few powerful barons, called from their wealth, the *Ricos Hombres,* or rich men. The King was inaugurated by kneeling bare-headed before the Justiciary, or chief judge, of the Kingdom, who himself sat uncovered. In later times the Cortes claimed the right, not indeed of electing the King, yet of confirming the title of the heir on his accession. The Cortes of Aragon consisted of four Orders, called *Brazos,* or arms:—namely, 1. The Prelates, including the commanders of military orders, who ranked as ecclesiastics; 2. The Barons, or *Ricos Hombres;* 3. The *Infanzones,* that is, the equestrian order, or knights; 4. The Deputies of the royal towns. Traces of popular representation occur earlier in the history of Aragon than in that of Castile, or of any other country; and we find mention made of the Cortes in 1133. The towns which returned deputies were few; but some of them sent as many as ten representatives, and none fewer than four. The Cortes, both of Castile and Aragon, preserved a control over the public expenditure; and those of Aragon even appointed, during their adjournment, a committee composed of members of the four estates to manage the public revenue, and to support the Justiciary in the discharge of his functions. This last magistrate (*el Justicia de Aragon*) was the chief administrator of justice. He had the sole execution of the laws: appeals, even from the King himself, might be made to him, and he was responsible to nobody but the Cortes. He had, however, a court of assessors, called the Court of Inquisition, composed of seventeen persons chosen by lot from the Cortes, who frequently controlled his decisions. The *Justicia* was appointed by the King from among the knights, never from the barons. At first he was removable at pleasure; but in 1442 he was appointed for life, and could be deposed only by authority of the Cortes.

Catalonia and Valencia also enjoyed free and independent governments, each having its Cortes, composed of three estates. It was not till the reign of Alfonso III. (1285—1291) that these

two dominions were finally and inseparably united with Aragon. After this period, general Cortes of the three kingdoms were indeed sometimes held; yet they continued to assemble in separate chambers, though meeting in the same city. Of the commercial greatness of Catalonia, there will be occasion to speak in another part of this work.[1]

The Military Orders form so prominent a feature of Spanish institutions, that it will be proper to say a few words respecting them. The Spaniards had three peculiar military orders, those of Calatrava, St. Iago, and Alcántara, besides the Knights Templars and Knights of St. John, which were common to them with the rest of Europe. These orders were governed by elective Grand Masters, who enjoyed an almost regal power, and possessed their own fortified towns in different parts of Castile. The Grand Master of St. Iago, especially, was reckoned next in dignity and power to the King. The order could bring into the field 1,000 men-at-arms, accompanied, it may be presumed, by the usual number of attendants, and had at its disposal eighty-four commanderies, and two hundred priories and benefices. These orders being designed against the Moors, who then held a large part of Spain, had originally a patriotic as well as a religious destination, and were at first very popular among the people. The Knights took vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity.

The turbulent nobles of Spain, like those of Germany, carried on private feuds, and sometimes levied war against the King himself. The Aragonese nobles, indeed, by the *Privilege of Union*, asserted their constitutional right to confederate themselves against the Sovereign in case he violated their laws and immunities, and even to depose him and elect another King if he refused redress. The Privilege of Union was granted by Alfonso III. in 1287, and in 1347 it was exercised against Peter IV.; but in the following year, Peter having defeated the confederates at Epila, abrogated their dangerous privilege, cut the act which granted it into pieces with his sword, and cancelled or destroyed all the records in which it was mentioned.

It will appear from the preceding description of Spain, that, although she already possessed, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the elements of political power, she was not yet in a condition to assert that rank in Europe which she afterwards attained. Castile and Aragon were not yet under one head;

[1] See Chap. viii.

the Moors still held the Kingdom of Granada in the south, and their reduction was to form one of the chief glories of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The Kingdom of Portugal, the remaining division of the Spanish peninsula, is not of sufficient importance in European history to claim any lengthened notice.[1] Alfonso, or Affonso Henriques, Count of Portugal, first assumed the title of King of that country after his victory over the Moors at Ourique in 1139; and in 1147 he took Lisbon by help of some crusaders driven thither by stress of weather. The Kings of Portugal, like those of Spain, were continually engaged in combating the Moors, but their history presents little of importance. The line of Alfonso, continued to reign uninterruptedly in Portugal till 1383, when, on the death of King Ferdinand, John I. of Castile, who had married his natural daughter Beatrix and obtained from him a promise of the Portuguese succession for the issue of the marriage, claimed the throne. But the Portuguese, among whom, like the Moors, the custom prevailed of giving the sons of the concubine equal rights with those of the wife, declared John the Bastard, illegitimate brother of Ferdinand, to be their King; and after a civil war of two years' duration he was, with the assistance of England, established on the throne, with the title of John I., by the decisive battle of Aljubarrota (1385). The war with Castile continued nevertheless several years, till it was concluded by the peace of 1411; by which the Castilian government engaged to abandon all pretension to Portugal. John thus became the founder of a dynasty which occupied the Portuguese throne till 1580. He married Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (1387), by whom he had a numerous issue. He was an able and energetic sovereign, and his reign was distinguished by the maritime enterprises conducted by his Constable, Nuno Alvares Pereira. In 1415, Pereira, accompanied by the King and his three surviving sons, took Ceuta in Africa from the Moors, fortified it, and filled it with a Christian population. John's fourth son, Henry, called "the Navigator," devoted himself entirely to maritime affairs, and the sciences connected with them; thus giving an impulse to maritime discovery, for which the Portuguese became renowned, as there will be occasion to relate in the sequel. John I. was succeeded in 1433 by Edward, and Edward in 1438 by Alfonso V., who

[1] The chief histories of Portugal are, Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *Epitome de las Historias Portugesas;* De la Clède, *Hist. Gén. de Port.;* and the *Mod. Un. Hist.*

reigned till 1481. John transferred to Lisbon the royal residence, which had previously been at Coimbra.

It remains only to notice that group of western nations—namely, France,[1] England, and the Netherlands—whose position brought them into close relations, which were too often of a hostile character. It is presumed that the reader has already acquired from other sources[2] a competent knowledge of their earlier history and constitution down to the close of the Middle Ages, and therefore no more will here be said than may be necessary to acquaint him with the posture of their affairs at the period when this narrative commences.

In 1453, the same year that Constantinople fell before the Turkish arms, the English were at length finally expelled from France. The civil broils which had formerly prevailed in that country, fomented by Philip, Duke of Burgundy, surnamed "the Good," facilitated the acquisition of the French Crown by Henry V. of England. The lunacy of Charles VI. of France occasioned a struggle for supreme power between Louis Duke of Orleans, the King's brother, and Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, grandfather of Philip the Good. On the death of Philip the Bold in 1404, the contest was continued by his son, John *sans Peur* or the Fearless, who in 1407 caused the Duke of Orleans to be assassinated at Paris, and openly avowed and justified the deed. A civil war ensued. France was divided into two furious parties: the *Armagnacs*, so called from the Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the young Charles, Duke of Orleans; and the *Bourguignons*, or Burgundian faction. The Armagnacs supported the imbecile King and his son the Dauphin; a dignity which, after the death of his brothers, fell to the King's fourth son, Charles: the Bourguignons were for a regency to be conducted by the Queen, Isabel of Bavaria. John the Fearless appeared to favour the pretensions of Henry V. of England to the French throne; but more with a view to turn to his own advantage the diversion occasioned by the English arms than to make over France to foreign dominion. Offended, how-

[1] Strictly speaking, the French kingdom embraced at this period only a comparatively small part of the lands now comprehended under the name of France; but, to avoid distinctions which might distract the reader, we shall use that name when speaking of the country generally.

[2] See for France and the Netherlands Hallam's *Middle Ages*, chs. i. and ii.; for England, ch. viii., and the *Constitutional History;* for the general state of society in Europe, *Mid. Ages*, ch. ix.

The chief authorities for the earlier history of France and Burgundy are: Oliver de la Marche, *Mémoires* (1435—1475); Monstrelet, *Chroniques* (1400—1467); Thomas Basin, *Hist. Caroli VII.;* Pasquier, *Recherches de la France;* Barante, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne.*

ever, by the harshness of the terms proposed by Henry, as well as by the English King's personal bearing towards him, the Duke of Burgundy resolved to join the party of the Dauphin, and thus to restore peace to France. Negotiations were accordingly opened, and John the Fearless was invited to discuss the matter with the Dauphin and his party; but the latter mistrusted the Duke, who was basely murdered in presence and with connivance of the Dauphin, at an interview to which he had been invited on the bridge of Montereau, Sept. 1419.

To avenge his father's death upon the Dauphin, Philip, the new Duke, resolved to sacrifice France, and even his own family, which had eventual claims to the Crown, by making it over to the English King. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Arras, towards the end of 1419, between Philip of Burgundy and Henry V., by which Philip agreed to recognize Henry as King of France after the death of Charles VI.; and in consideration of Charles's mental imbecility, Henry was at once to assume the government of the Kingdom, after marrying Catharine, the youngest of the French King's daughters. This treaty was definitively executed at Troyes, May 21st, 1420, by Charles VI., who knew not what he was signing, and by his Queen, Isabel of Bavaria, a vulgar, profligate woman, who was stimulated at once by hatred of her son the Dauphin and a doting affection for her daughter Catharine. The treaty was ratified by the French States and by the Parliament of Paris; Henry V. obtained possession of that capital, which was occupied by an English garrison under the command of the Duke of Clarence, and on the 1st December, 1420, the Kings of France and England, and the Duke of Burgundy, entered Paris with great pomp. Henry now helped the Duke of Burgundy to punish the murderers of his father, and kept the Dauphin Charles in check by his arms. The birth of a son, regarded as the heir both of France and England, seemed to fill up the measure of Henry's prosperity, when he was carried off by a fistula, August 31st, 1422. Henry appointed his brother the Duke of Bedford to the Regency of France; his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, to that of England; and the Earl of Warwick to be guardian of his infant son.

The imbecile Charles VI. of France shortly afterwards descended to the grave (October 22), and the Dauphin, assuming the title of Charles VII., caused himself to be crowned at Poitiers. The treaty of Troyes had rallied the national feeling

of the French to the Dauphin, whose manners and disposition, as well as his lawful claim to the throne of France and the popular hatred of the English usurpers, had rendered him a favourite with the majority of the French nation; and as a counterpoise to his influence, the Regent Bedford drew closer his connections both with the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. It does not belong to our subject to detail the wars which followed, and the romantic story of Joan of Arc, which will be found related in the histories of England as well as of France.[1] The great abilities of Bedford secured during his lifetime the predominance of the English in France, and the young King Henry VI. was crowned in Paris December 17th, 1431. But this predominance was soon to be undermined; first by the defection of the Duke of Burgundy from the English alliance, and then by the death of Bedford, and the disputes and divisions which ensued in the English government.

The Imperial and French principalities ruled by the Duke of Burgundy made him, perhaps, a mightier Prince than the King of the French; and it will be fit, therefore, to look back a little, and shortly trace the progress of his power. The Capetian line of Burgundy, which had ruled upwards of three centuries, died out with the young Duke Philip in 1361; and a year or two afterwards, King John of France bestowed the Burgundian Duchy as an hereditary fief on his youngest and favourite son, Philip the Bold, the first Burgundian Duke of the House of Valois. By this impolitic gift John founded the second House of Burgundy, who were destined to be such dangerous rivals to his successors on the throne of France. The last Capetian Duke, who was only sixteen when he was carried off by the *peste noire*, or black death, had married Margaret, heiress of Flanders, Artois, Antwerp, Mechlin, Nevers, Rethel, and Franche-Comté, or, as it was then called, the County of Burgundy; and Philip the Bold espoused his predecessor's widow. Three sons, the issue of this marriage (John the Fearless, Antony, and Philip), divided among them the Burgundian dominions; and each extended his share by marriage, or by re-annexations. But all these portions, with

[1] Some recent French historians have dwelt upon and magnified the exploits of the Pucelle d'Orléans with an unction bordering on the profane as well as the ridiculous. M. Michelet does not scruple to say: "L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ, sa Passion, *reproduite dans la Pucelle*, telle fut la rédemption de la France!"—*Hist. de France*, liv. x. ch. i. See the same author, *ib.* ch. iv.; and Martin, *Hist. de Fr.* liv. xxxv. and xxxvi. The *mystery* into which these writers would convert the story is easily solved by the ignorance and superstition of the age. It should be remembered that, in the words of Lord Mahon, "the worst wrongs of Joan were dealt upon her by the hands of her own countrymen."—*Hist. Essays*, p. 47.

their augmentations, fell ultimately to Philip, called "the Good," son of John, whose accession has been already mentioned. Philip ruled from 1419 to 1467, and was consequently in possession of the Burgundian lands at the time when this history opens. Philip also obtained large additions to his dominions, chiefly by the deaths, without issue, of his relations; so that in 1440 he possessed, besides the lands already mentioned, Brabant, Limburg, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Namur. To these in 1444 he added Luxemburg. Thus Philip was in fact at the head of a vast dominion, though nominally but a vassal of the Emperor and the French King.

Philip also took advantage of his connection with the English, and of the crippled state of France which it produced, to augment still further his dominions at the French King's expense. The Regent Bedford had married Philip's sister, Anne of Burgundy; but her death without issue in November, 1432, severed all family ties between the two Princes; and soon afterwards Bedford incurred the displeasure of the Duke of Burgundy by his marriage with Jaquette of Luxemburg. Philip had now forgotten the resentment which had dictated the treaty of Troyes; he was desirous of putting an end to the war which had so long desolated France, but, at the same time, of deriving advantage from it; and he opened negotiations with the party of Charles VII. The terms stipulated by Philip in favour of his English allies became gradually weaker and weaker; at length he abandoned that connection altogether, and immediately after the death of Bedford, which removed all his scruples, he concluded with Charles VII. the treaty of Arras (September 21st, 1435), in which only his own interests were considered. By this treaty he obtained possession of the counties of Mâcon, Auxerre, and Ponthieu; of the lordships or baronies of Péronne, Roye, Montdidier, St. Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, Abbeville, Dourdon; and of the towns of Dourlens, St. Riquier, Crèvecœur, Arleux, and Mortagne, with a condition, however, that the towns of Picardy might be re-purchased by the French King for the sum of 400,000 crowns. Thus the territory of the Duke was extended to the neighbourhood of Paris, and he became one of the most powerful Princes of Europe. By the same treaty Charles VII. absolved the Duke for his lifetime only, with regard to such of his territories as were under the French King's suzerainty, of the vassalage which he owed to France; and Philip now styled himself "Duc par la grace de Dieu,"—a formula signifying that the person using it owned no

feudal superior. In fact, Philip had for some time harboured the design of erecting his lands into an independent Kingdom, and of obtaining the vicarship of all the countries under suzerainty of the Emperor on the left bank of the Rhine; and he had, in 1442, paid Frederick III. a sum of money to renounce his suzerainty of the Duchies of Brabant and Limburg, the Counties of Holland, Zealand, and Hainault, and the Lordship of Friesland.

Philip's Belgian provinces were at that time in a condition of great prosperity. Of this prosperity the woollen manufacture was the chief foundation, in commemoration of which had been instituted the Order of the Toison d'Or, or Golden Fleece.[1] Some of the Flemish cities, and especially Ghent and Bruges, were among the richest and most populous of Europe. They enjoyed a considerable share of independence; they claimed great municipal privileges; and they were frequently involved in disputes with Philip, whose exactions they resisted. The Duke's Court, one of the most magnificent in Europe, was distinguished by a pompous etiquette, and by a constant round of banquets, tournaments, and fêtes. The historians of the time particularly dwell on the splendour of the three months' fêtes by which Philip the Good's third marriage, in 1430, with Isabel of Portugal, was celebrated. On that occasion the streets of Bruges were spread with Flemish carpets; wine of the finest quality flowed eight days and nights—Rhenish from a stone lion, Beaune from a stag; while, during the banquets, jets of rose-water and malmsey spurted from a unicorn.[2] The arms, the dresses, the furniture of that period could not be surpassed; the superbly wrought armour and iron work then manufactured have obtained for it the name of the *Siècle de fer*. The pictures and the rich Arras tapestry of the time may still convey to us an idea of its magnificence. Nor was the Court of Philip the Good distinguished by sumptuousness alone. He was also a patron of literature and art; many literary men, some of considerable repute, were attracted to his Court; and he formed a magnificent library, manuscripts from which still enrich the chief collections of Europe. A brilliant school of musicians, which lasted several generations, had its origin in his chapel. The painters of Bruges, whose pictures are still as fresh as on the

[1] This order was instituted by Philip the Good on the occasion of his marriage with Isabel of Portugal in 1430. See Reiffenberg, *Hist. de la Toison d'Or*.

[2] Monstrelet, liv. ii. ch. 77.

day they were finished, became illustrious, and especially through John van Eyck, who had been the valet, and afterwards, like Rubens, the counsellor of his Sovereign. Italy in some respects had as yet produced nothing equal to the paintings of John van Eyck and his brother Hubert, which were sought with avidity by Italian Princes and amateurs. This, however, must be attributed to the merit of their technical execution, and more especially, perhaps, to their being painted in oil,—a method which originated with the Flemings, from whom it was borrowed by the Italians. For in inventive genius and the higher qualities of art the Florentine school under Giotto and his successors had already reached a height which had not been, and indeed never was, attained by the Flemings. The sister art of architecture also flourished; and it is to this period we are indebted for most of those splendid town halls with which Belgium is adorned, particularly those of Brussels and Louvain. All this refinement, however, was alloyed with a good deal of grossness and sensuality. Intemperance in the pleasures of the table, which still in some degree marks those countries, was carried to excess, and the relations with the female sex were characterized by an unbounded profligacy, of which the Sovereign himself set the example.[1]

The death of Bedford proved a fatal blow to English power in France. We shall not dwell on the contest which ensued between the Duke of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort for the disposal of the French Regency. Suffice it to say that Richard, Duke of York, the nominee of Gloucester, at length obtained it, but after a delay which occasioned the loss of Paris. The English dominion there had long been the subject of much discontent to the citizens, who, taking advantage of the neglect of the English Government during the abeyance of the Regency, opened their gates to the troops of Charles VII. The English garrison, which numbered only 1500 men, under Lord Willoughby, were compelled, after a short resistance, to capitulate, and were allowed to evacuate Paris unmolested, carrying away with them what property they could (April 17th, 1436).

[1] Philip the Good, besides three wives, had had twenty-four mistresses, by whom he left sixteen natural children; a moderate quantity, however, when compared with the illegitimate progeny of some of the grandees of the period. A Count of Cleves had sixty-three natural children; and John of Burgundy, Bishop of Cambray, was served at the altar by thirty-six illegitimate sons and grandsons. In fact, the name of "Bastard" became almost a title of honour in that age. See Reiffenberg, *Hist. de la Toison d'Or*, Introd. p. xxiv.; Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 24.

The war, however, dragged on for several years after the surrender of Paris, but without vigour on either side. Henry VI.'s consort, Margaret of Anjou, and her favourite the Earl of Suffolk, and his party, who ruled in England, neglected to put the English possessions in France in a good posture of defence. Somerset and Talbot, who commanded in Normandy, receiving no succours either of men or money, and being pressed on one side by the Constable Richemont, on another by Charles VII. in person, and Count Dunois, were forced to evacuate Normandy in 1450. In the autumn of the same year, a division of the French army, which appeared in Guienne, made some conquests there; and in the spring of 1451 the whole French force, under Dunois, entered that duchy, and partly by arms, partly by negotiations with the inhabitants, effected its reduction. Guienne, indeed, again revolted in 1452; Bordeaux sent ambassadors to Talbot in London to invoke his aid; and that veteran commander, then upwards of eighty years of age, quickly recovered that valuable possession. But in July of the following year, Charles VII. entered Guienne with a large army; Talbot was slain before the town of Castillon, and his fate decided that of the duchy. Bordeaux, the last town which held out, submitted to Charles in October, 1453; and thus, with the exception of Calais, the English were expelled from all their possessions in France. The civil dissensions in England and the wars of the two Roses, which shortly afterwards broke out, prevented any attempt to recover them, and for a long period almost entirely annihilated the influence of England in continental affairs. Before Henry's conquests, it had been usual to consider Europe as divided into the four great nations of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain, and England as a lesser Kingdom, attached, nominally at least, to Germany. The case was formally argued at the Council of Constance, where the French deputies endeavoured to exclude the English from an independent vote; and the decision by which they were admitted as a *fifth* nation seems to have been considerably influenced by the success of Henry's arms.[1]

The wars with the English, and the civil distractions by which France had been so long harassed, had prevented her from assuming that place among European nations to which she was entitled by her position, her internal resources, and the genius of her people. It was many years before she recovered from the effects of these pernicious influences. She had suffered as much

[1] See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxx. note 75.

from the bands raised for her defence as from the invasions of the English; and the combined effects of these two causes had almost reduced her to anarchy and utter ruin. Two bodies of her so-called defenders, particularly distinguished by their ferocity, were the *Ecorcheurs* and *Retondeurs*,[1] whose violence and brigandage were openly patronized by a large portion of the princes, nobles, and even magistrates of France. The dread of these lawless bands retarded the liberation of France, and especially the evacuation of Paris; for the citizens hesitated to call in deliverers at whose hands they were likely to suffer more damage than from the well-trained troops of England, which, under Henry V., had been subjected to a rigorous and almost puritanical discipline.[2] The misery of France is depicted by a writer, who, under the title of a *Bourgeois de Paris*, though he was in reality a doctor of the University, kept a journal of those times. He states that in 1438 5,000 persons died in the Hôtel Dieu, and more than 45,000 in the city, from famine and its attendant epidemics. The wolves prowled around Paris, and even in its streets. In September, 1438, no fewer than fourteen persons were devoured by them between Montmartre and the Porte St. Martin, whilst in the open country around three or four score fell victims.[3]

This picture presents a striking contrast to that just drawn of Belgium. In the struggle that was to ensue between the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy, everything seemed to promise the success of the latter; and it will be an interesting task to trace how the wise and politic conduct of one or two French Monarchs enabled them to combat all these disadvantages and finally to turn the scale in their favour. Yet the vast domains of the House of Burgundy contained from the first the seeds of future weakness and dissolution. Their population was composed of different races speaking various languages, and alien to one another in temperament, customs, and interests; while the manner in which some of the provinces had been acquired had laid the foundation for future interminable disputes, both with France and with the Empire. In such a heterogeneous state there was no power of centralization—the principle by which France acquired, and still holds, her rank among nations.

[1] The name of *Ecorcheurs* speaks for itself; that of *Retondeurs* seems to designate those who *sheared again* the unhappy victims who had already undergone the process.

[2] Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vi. p. 11.

[3] *Journal du Bourgeois*. p. 502; Jean Chartier, *Hist. de Charles VII.* p. 99 (ed. Paris, 1661); Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 254. Sir John Fortescue also, who visited France a little after this date, in his book *De Laudibus Angliæ*, describes that kingdom as quite a desert in comparison with England.

The fearful height to which the disorders of France had risen was already beginning to work its own cure; for it was evident that the monarchy could not co-exist with it. At this juncture Charles VII. had the good fortune to be served by a ministry whose bold and able counsels procured for him the appellation of *Charles le bien servi.* Among the princes and nobles who formed it sat two *roturiers,* or plebeians, of distinguished merit: Jean Bureau, a *Maître des Comptes,* or Officer of Finance; and Jacques Cœur, the son of a furrier at Bourges, whose enterprising genius had enabled him to establish mercantile and financial relations with most parts of the then known world. Bureau, on the other hand, though a civilian, had a real military genius, and effected great improvements in the artillery. Perhaps, also, we must include in Charles's Council a woman and a mistress—the gentle Agnes Sorel, whose reproaches are said to have piqued his honour and stimulated his exertions.[1] After consulting the States-General of the League d'Oil, an Ordinance was published, November 2nd, 1439, which forms an epoch in French history. A standing army was to be organized, which was not to subsist, like the bands formerly raised by the nobles, by robbery and plunder, but to receive regular pay. The design of this force, the first of the kind raised by any Christian Sovereign, originated with the Constable Richemont. Fifteen companies of *gens d'armes,* called from their institution *compagnies d'ordonnance,* were to be raised, each consisting of one hundred *lances garnies,* or furnished lances; that is, a mounted man-at-arms with five followers, of whom three were mounted.[2] This would give a standing army of between 7,000 and 8,000 men. The man-at-arms was a person of some consideration. He was attended by a page, two archers, a *valet d'armes,* and a *coutillier,* making in all four combatants. The *coutillier* was a sort of light-horseman, also called *brigandinier,* from his wearing a *brigandine,* or quilted jacket covered with plates of iron. Thus the man-at-arms in some sort represented the ancient Knight; and we discern in the whole institution the image of Feudality in its transition to the modern military system. It was not, however, till 1445, after the dispersion, by the Swiss campaign in the preceding year, of the old

[1] This tradition does not only rest on the pretty quatrain of Francis I.:—

Gentille Agnès plus de los en mérite.
(La cause estant de France recouvrer)
Que ce que peut, dedans un cloistre, ouvrer
Close nonnain ou bien dévot ermite.

The service she did to France is also attested by the Burgundian chronicler, Olivier de la Marche, liv. i. c. 13.

[2] Martin, *Hist. de France,* t. vi. p. 419.

bands which used to annoy France, that an opportunity presented itself for carrying out this military reform. In 1448 Charles VII. issued another Ordinance for the raising of an infantry force, which, however, was not to be a standing one like the cavalry, but merely a sort of royal militia, raised in the different *communes*. They wore a uniform, were armed with bows and arrows, and were called *francs archers*, or free bowmen, because they were exempted from all taxes except the *gabelle*, or tax on salt. On the other hand, they received no pay except in time of war. The *franc archer* wore a *salade* or light casque, and a *brigandine*, and besides his bow and arrows carried a sword and dagger. All this was a decided advance in the military system; yet still how far behind the organization of the Turkish army a century before!

These measures were received with universal joy except by those who profited by the old system; that is, the nobles. The people, regarding only the immediate benefit of being delivered from the fangs of the *Ecorcheurs*, did not perceive that by consenting to establish this new force they were bartering away their own liberties. For its maintenance the States granted to the King 1,200,000 francs per annum for ever, and thus deprived themselves of the power of the purse, the origin and safeguard of liberty in England. A few reflecting heads indeed saw further. Thomas Basin, Bishop of Lisieux, a contemporary writer of bold and almost republican opinions, predicted and denounced[1] the abuse that might be made of standing armies for the purposes of tyranny. But the people had no conception of self-government. Attendance at the national assemblies was regarded only as a troublesome and expensive duty, from which they were glad to be relieved.[2] On the other hand, by this measure, the nobility

[1] In his *Hist. Caroli VII.*, ap. Martin, t. vi. p. 422.

[2] Thus Charles VII., in answer to a remonstrance of the nobles in 1441, observes: "Assembler les Etats n'est que charge et dépense au pauvre peuple," and that "plusieurs notables seigneurs ont requis que l'on cessât de telle convocation faire."—Monstrelet, t. vii. p. 187.

An account of the rise and functions of the *Etats Généraux*, or French States, as well as of the Parliaments, &c., is given by Mr. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. ii. part ii. The historical student will remember that the States-General, which however gradually fell into disuse, answered in some degree to our Parliament, and that the French Parliament, or Parliament of Paris, was in reality little more than a High Court of Justice, at first ambulatory, till fixed at Paris in the reign of Philip the Fair, according to Pasquier, Mallot, and others, in 1302; but with more probability, according to Hénault, on the authority of Budé, in 1294. It consisted at that time of two chambers, the *Grand' Chambre* and *Chambre des Enquêtes;* and of two sorts of counsellors, the *Conseillers Jugeurs*, and the *Conseillers Rapporteurs*. The former, composed of prelates and barons, had, as their name implies, the judicial functions; while the latter, who were of the *bourgeoisie*, were employed in previously preparing and examining all causes. As, however, the Parliament thus only saw through their eyes, they

were deprived of all military command except through the authority of the King; the important principle was established that none, of whatsoever rank, should impose a tax on his vassals without authority of the King's letters patent; and all lordships where this should be done were declared *ipso facto* confiscated.

Thus the contest was now vigorously entered on between the French King and his feudal nobility, which being continued in the next and some following reigns, ended in making France a powerful and absolute monarchy. In England, the great power of the Norman and Angevin Sovereigns induced the barons to unite with the people in the acquirement and defence of their common liberties; in France, the weakness of the Prince and the extravagant privileges of the nobles, formidable alike to crown and people, produced a strange but not unexampled combination between those two extreme orders of the State: and when the subjugation of the aristocracy was completed it was not difficult for the Prince to hold the people in subjection.

It was impossible, however, that a measure which so vitally affected the interests of the French nobles should pass without opposition. In 1440 the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, the Counts of Vendôme and Dunois, and others, suddenly quitted the Court and retired into Poitou, after enticing the Dauphin Louis, then only eighteen years of age, into their plot. But the unusual vigour and activity displayed by the King, and the favour everywhere declared by the people towards his government, disconcerted the measures of the conspirators, who at length found it advisable to return to their obedience; the Dauphin made his submission to his father at Cusset, and was sent away to govern Dauphiné; and this revolt, contemptuously called the *Praguerie*, from the Hussite risings in Bohemia, terminated without any serious consequences.

Much, however, still remained to be done in order to centralize the Power of the Crown of France. Normandy and Guienne had been long held by the English, after whose expulsion it was some time before the effectual authority of the French Crown could be established in those duchies. Brittany, though less powerful than Burgundy, pretended to an independence still more absolute;

at length became the principal persons and formed the body afterwards called *la Robe*. The only political function of the Parliament was to verify and register the royal edicts; and by refusing to do this they might exercise a sort of *veto*, which, however, though it sometimes annoyed the King, was seldom of much practical importance, as he could always compel registration in a *lit de justice*.

Besides the Parliament of Paris there were also those of Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Rennes, Pau, &c.

Provence was not yet united to the French Crown, but was held of the Emperor as part of the old Burgundian Kingdom of Arles; Dauphiné, the appanage of the Dauphin of Vienne, was in a great degree beyond the control of the French King, and was moreover still traditionally regarded as appertaining to the Empire. The history of the next few reigns is the history of the consolidation of the French monarchy by the reduction of its great and almost independent vassals: an undertaking which, though not finally completed till the time of Cardinal Richelieu, had already made progress enough in the reign of Charles VIII. to allow France to play a great part in the affairs of Europe. At the same period England had also emerged from its domestic troubles by the union of the two Houses of York and Lancaster in the person of Henry VII.; but the pacific policy of that Sovereign delayed till the reign of his successor any important interference on the part of England in the affairs of the Continent.

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

(*The Years show the end of their Reigns.*)

THE EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	TURKEY.	SPAIN.
Frederick III. . 1493	Charles VII. . 1461	Henry VI. . . 1461	Mahomet II. . 1481	CASTILE.
Maximilian I. . 1519	Louis XI. . . 1483	Edward IV. . 1483	Bajazet II. . . 1512	John II. . . . 1454
Charles V. (*abd.*) 1556	Charles VIII. . 1498	Edward V. . . 1483	Selim I. . . . 1520	Henry IV. . . 1474
	Louis XII. . . 1515	Richard III. . 1485	Solyman I. . . 1566	Isabella . . . 1504
	Francis I. . . 1547	Henry VII. . . 1509		Joanna . . . 1555
		Henry VIII. . 1547		ARAGON.
				Alfonso V. . . 1458
				John II. . . . 1479
				Ferdinand . . 1516
				(*Crowns united.*)
				Charles I. (abd.) 1556
				(*The Emperor Charles V.*)
POPES.	NAPLES.	SCOTLAND.	POLAND.	PORTUGAL.
Nicholas V. . . 1455	Alfonso I., Fifth	James II. . . 1460	Casimir IV. . . 1492	Alfonso V. . . 1481
Calixtus III. . 1458	of Aragon. . 1458	James III. . . 1488	Albert. . . . 1501	John II. . . . 1495
Pius II. . . . 1464	Ferdinand I. . 1494	James IV. . . 1513	Alexander . . 1506	Emanuel the Gt. 1521
Paul II. . . . 1471	Alfonso II. . . 1494	James V. . . 1542	Sigismund I. . 1548	John III. . . 1557
Sixtus IV. . . 1484	Ferdinand II. . 1496			
Innocent VIII. 1492	Frederick II. . 1501			
Alexander VI. . 1503				
Pius III. . . . 1503	(*To Ferdinand of*			
Julius II. . . 1513	*Aragon, &c.*)			
Leo X. . . . 1522				
Adrian VI. . . 1523				
Clement VII. . 1534				

CHAPTER I.

MAHOMET II., after capturing Constantinople, May 29th, 1453, made it the capital of his extensive Empire, and took up his residence in that City. The Emperor Constantine Palæologus had fallen while bravely fighting in defence of his Crown; about 2,000 of the inhabitants were put to the sword; many thousand more were sold into slavery, or sought refuge in other lands, and the void thus created was supplied by a Turkish population. New Rome, the second head of the Christian world, thus assumed the appearance of an Eastern city; Justinian's magnificent patriarchal church of St. Sophia was converted into a Mahometan mosque; and the wish of Sultan Bajazet I. was at length accomplished, to obtain possession of Constantinople, and "to convert that great workshop of Unbelief into the seat of the True Faith."

In consolidating his new Empire Mahomet was guided by politic and enlightened counsels. To entice back the fugitive Constantinopolitans, the free enjoyment of the religion and the customs of their ancestors was proclaimed; the Greek clergy and learned men were treated with indulgence; the Patriarchate was allowed to subsist; and Gennadius, head of the party which had opposed a union with the Latin Church, having been elected to that dignity by an assembly of the chief citizens, was confirmed in it by the approbation of the Sultan. The renewal of the Patriarchate gave rise to that remarkable population of Greek nobles called *Phanariots*,[1] who attained to a considerable share of wealth and independence. In spite, however, of these measures, a void was still left within the walls of Constantinople, which Mahomet was

[1] So called because they resided in the *Phanar*, that quarter of the city which surrounded the residence of the Patriarch. They were employed by the Porte as tax-gatherers, &c. See Finlay, *Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination*, pp. 146, 294.

employed several years in filling. As his conquests proceeded he drafted to his capital city families from Servia and the Morea; the Genoese colonies on the Black Sea, as well as Trebizond, Sinope, and other places, were with the same view deprived of a considerable portion of their inhabitants; and even Adrianople was compelled to contribute its reluctant quota of citizens to the new seat of Turkish Empire.

After the fall of Constantinople the Greek towns and Princes which still remained independent sent messages of congratulation to Mahomet II., who compelled them to acknowledge his sovereignty either by paying tribute or by sending every year ambassadors to the Porte. To these conditions Thomas and Demetrius, the brothers of Constantine and Despots of Peloponnesus, the Trebizond Emperor, the Princes of Chios and Lesbos, and other potentates, submitted. But the Peloponnesians revolted against the act of their rulers. The population of Peloponnesus, or the Morea,[1] was a mixture of Franks, Albanians, and Greeks, the last of whom, however, had received a large infusion of Slavonic blood. The Franks were descended from settlers at the time of the Latin Byzantine Empire, and were holders of small fiefs. The Albanians, a hardy Old-Illyrian peasantry, were chiefly immigrant agricultural labourers, retaining their native customs and mixing but little with the Greeks. A poor and nomad race, supported chiefly by the flocks which they pastured on the mountains, their numbers and warlike habits nevertheless rendered them the most formidable part of the population, and it was among them that the revolt was organised. But it proved unsuccessful. Mahomet espoused the cause of the Despots, despatched an army into the Morea, and reduced the rebels to obedience (1454). But the Despots having, from the distracted state of the country, failed to pay their tribute, Mahomet in 1458 overran the Morea, with exception of the strong town of Monemvasia and the mountain tract of Maina, where Demetrius and Thomas had respectively taken shelter; and he seized Corinth, the key of the peninsula. The conquered lands, together with the district formerly ruled by Constantine, were now annexed to the Pashalic of Thessaly. In 1460, Mahomet, in consequence of an attempted revolt of the Despots themselves, proceeded in person into the Morea, and reduced the whole peninsula, with exception of Monemvasia,

[1] The name of *Morrha* or *Morea* is first found about the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and was applied to the western coast of Peloponnesus, especially to Elis. It was not till after the Turkish conquest that the name was extended to the whole peninsula. See Finlay, *Medieval Greece*, p. 28 sq.

which town placed itself under the protection of Pope Pius II. Thomas ultimately found refuge at Rome, where he died in 1462, leaving two sons, Andrew and Manuel Palæologus, and two daughters. Andrew also died at Rome, without issue, in 1502, bequeathing his Imperial claims, which he had previously sold to Charles VIII. of France, to the Spanish Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. Manuel was generously permitted to reside at Constantinople and to retain his religion, and he died in that city in the reign of Bajazet II. The fate of Demetrius was still more unfortunate than that of his brother Thomas. Having submitted to Mahomet II. on the promise of a maintenance, which after a little while was withdrawn, he fell into want and misery, and entering a convent at Adrianople, under the name of Brother David, died of a broken heart in 1471. Of the two sisters of Andrew and Manuel, Helena, the elder, also died in a convent in the island of St. Maura: the younger, Zoë, married, in 1472, through the mediation of Pope Sixtus IV., Ivan Basilovitch, Grand Prince of White Russia or Moscow. Such was the end of the Byzantine dynasty in the Morea and of the ancient Imperial family of the Palæologi.[1]

Athens, the last Frankish principality in Greece, whose name and some remains of its ancient splendour lend interest to its fate, fell about the same time as the Despots of Peloponnesus. Athens, and its once hostile rival Thebes, whose fortunes had become strangely linked together, had been made over in 1205 to Othon de la Roche, a Burgundian noble; and about half a century later these two famous cities were erected by Louis IX. of France into a duchy in favour of Guy de la Roche. After obeying various masters, Athens came into possession of the Florentine house of Acciajuoli (1386). It had for some time been little more than a fief of the Porte, when the crimes and dissensions of the ruling family hastened its complete subjection. Mahomet terminated their quarrels by seizing Athens. In 1458, on his return from his campaign in the Morea, he visited the former renowned abode of philosophy and art. The Athenian Acropolis and other remains still existed, and the Sultan, who possessed some taste for magnificent architecture, broke out into passionate exclamations of wonder, delight, and thankfulness for the possession of so glorious a city. In 1560 Thebes with its territory was also annexed to the Turkish dominions. Mahomet

[1] The Imperial house of the Comneni died out about the same time, but their fate does not belong to the history of Europe. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 182.

having discovered that Franco Acciajuoli, whom he had invested with the duchy, was plotting for the recovery of Athens, caused him to be put to death by the Janissaries. Thus he obtained possession of all the mainland between the Ægean and the Adriatic, with exception of Albania and several important towns on the western coast and in the Morea which were held by the Venetians—as Spálato, Scutari, Alessio, Durazzo, Zara, Navarino, Modon, Argos, Nauplia, Koron, and many more. Of the islands some had acknowledged themselves tributaries of the Porte; while Thasos, Samothrace and Imbros had been subdued by Mahomet in 1457. Some few islands were in the hands of Genoese families, as Chios and Lesbos; a far greater number either belonged to Venice or were ruled by some Frankish lord owing allegiance to that Republic. Among the chief islands under Venetian sway were Eubœa, or Negropont, and Crete, or Candia. Naxos was the seat of an independent duchy which comprehended several other isles; and Rhodes, with Cos, was held by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who acknowledged no superior but the Pope. The Knights had obtained possession of Rhodes by the victory of Foulques de Villaret in 1310; but the order was now in a declining state and overwhelmed with debt. In 1456 Mahomet, with 180 vessels, undertook an abortive expedition against Rhodes, though his troops succeeded in making a temporary lodgment in Cos. In 1462 he took Lesbos, and put an end to the Frankish dominion there. The necessity of a navy for reducing the islands and waging war with the Venetians induced Mahomet to establish a great naval arsenal at Constantinople, in which undertaking the ancient foundations of the docks of the Emperor Julian were of much assistance; and the Dardanelles were now fortified with castles on each shore near the ancient Sestos and Abydos.

Mahomet abolished in conquered Greece the Greek archonts and Frankish lords, substituting for them the Turkish system of timars, or fiefs. The middle and lower classes lost perhaps little or nothing by this change. The Mahometan government, if we exclude the barbarous system of tribute children, was milder than that of their former petty tyrants; and the Rayahs, or Christian agricultural population, reaped more of the fruits of their labour than the serfs in many Christian States were permitted to enjoy. Greece was subjected to the government of several Pashas under the supremacy of the Beylerbey of Roumelia,[1] the Turkish com-

[1] Roumelia comprehends Thrace proper, or south of Hæmus, with most of Macedonia.

mander-in-chief in Europe. The non-Mahometan part of the population was subject to the *haratsch*, or poll-tax, from which were exempted only old men, children under ten years of age, priests, and those suffering under any permanent bodily disease or disability. Many of the higher Greek families enriched themselves by farming the revenues of the Grand Signor, or by commerce. Under the Ottomans this class adopted Asiatic customs, as they had assumed Italian ones under the Venetians. They wore the turban; their women affected the Turkish style of dress, and in their mode of living they imitated the arrangements of a Turkish household.[1] But neither life nor property was secure. The Sultan would sometimes hang up the richer Greeks and seize upon their treasures. The lower classes continued to retain many of their ancient customs, and particularly their armed dances. Their nationality, however, and consequently their patriotism, had become extinct; much of their land was left uncultivated; and though they submitted to the Turks, they took care to have as little commerce or connection with them as possible. Under the Ottoman rule the fine arts vanished altogether. The Turk loved no serious pursuit but war, and had little taste for any pleasures except those of sensual enjoyment. The northern tribes that overran Italy for the most part respected and adopted its civilization; the Turk remained always a barbarian, and wandered, listless and vacant, among the monuments of classic taste and ancient grandeur. Mahomet II. himself, indeed, possessed, or affected, some liking for art; he sent to Venice for the painter Gentile, whom he loaded with honours;[2] and Gibbon has related the story of his cutting down the Turk whom he caught demolishing the marble pavement of St. Sophia.[3]

The actual fall of Constantinople, though long foreseen, filled Europe with grief and terror. Rome trembled as the victim which might be next devoured; for each new Sultan, as he girded on his sword in the barrack of the Janissaries, and drank from the cup which he returned to them filled with gold, was accustomed to exclaim, "Farewell, till we meet again at the Red Apple"—by which name the Turks designated the Roman capital. Rome must now depend chiefly on her own resources: the days were past in which the Pope might have hoped to precipitate the European Powers into a crusade against the Infidels. Of all these Powers the German Emperor was naturally one of the most

[1] See Martin Crusius, *Turco-Græcia*, ap. Ranke, *Völker und Fürsten*, B. i. S. 22.

[2] Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xvi. § 22.

[3] *Decline and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 176.

interested, both as the leading Prince of Christendom and because his dominions might soon have to feel the progress of the Turkish arms. Frederick III., who then filled the Imperial throne, possessed in Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., a minister who combined the most eminent talents with decision of character and energy in action; and at this time Æneas Sylvius must be regarded as one of the foremost champions of Christendom against the Turks. It was he who incited Nicholas V., who then occupied the Papal chair, to promulgate the celebrated bull calling on all Christian Princes to take up arms against the Infidel Ottomans, and promising to every man who took the field, either personally or by substitute, a plenary indulgence. A large share of the revenues of the Church was to be devoted to the crusade; a tithe was to be levied throughout Christendom, and a universal peace was to be enforced among Christian Powers.[1] But the bull met with small success. The Church had sunk immeasurably in public opinion since the days of the early crusades; the appeal to the pocket was particularly unwelcome and suspicious; and the objection which might be made to the schism and heresy of the Greeks afforded a decent pretext for inaction. Few volunteered their services; contributions came in scantily and slowly; and even the little money that found its way to the Papal treasury seems to have been appropriated by Nicholas to the gratification of his literary tastes. He despatched agents through all the countries subject to the Turks, both in Europe and Asia, to buy up, regardless of expense,[2] the Greek manuscripts which had been dispersed by the capture of Constantinople; and his conduct may perhaps be cited as one of the few instances in which a departure from strict honesty may have entitled those guilty of it to the gratitude of mankind.

The defection of the two great maritime Republics of Italy, Venice and Genoa, from the common cause, rendered matters still more embarrassing. When Constantinople fell, both were at peace with the Turks, and, for the interests of their commerce, desired to remain so. At Venice, indeed, the old Doge Foscari, hot and enterprising in spite of his eighty years, was for avenging by an immediate war the losses sustained by the Venetian merchants through the siege, and the death of their *Bailo* and his son, who had been murdered; but Foscari was overruled by the more

[1] The bull, dated Rome, prid. Kal. Oct. 1453, is in Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* t. ix. p. 616, sqq.

[2] "Nulli neque labori parcens neque impensæ."—Philelphus, *Epist. ad Calixtum III.* lib. xiii. ep. 1.

prudent, or timid, counsels of the Senate. They contented themselves with demanding back their countrymen who had been made prisoners, and with sending a fleet to protect Negropont. At the same time they despatched ambassadors to Adrianople, to lay the foundations of a new and more solid peace. By a treaty[1] concluded in the following year Venice secured her commerce, but precluded herself from taking part in any future struggle with the Moslems: a defection the more important as she was the only Power able to cope with them at sea.[2] The alarm, or rather perhaps the despair, was still greater at Genoa than at Venice. When Constantinople surrendered, Pera delivered its keys to Mahomet by virtue of a capitulation which seemed to secure the rights and privileges of the Peratian colonists. In the preamble Mahomet swore to observe the treaty[3] by God and the Prophet, by the seven volumes of the faith, by the 124,000 prophets, by the souls of his forefathers, by his own head and the heads of his children, and lastly, by the sword which he bore; yet, a fortnight after, he entered Pera, caused the greater part of the fortifications on the land side to be demolished, removed the heavy artillery from the ramparts, and ordered the inhabitants to be disarmed. The commerce of Pera was thus threatened with ruin. The mother city, then torn by domestic factions, had had nothing to do with the capitulation; she dreaded the immediate loss of Caffa and her other settlements on the Black Sea; and the Doge of Genoa, Pietro Fregoso, who was sufficiently employed with his own enemies and rivals, was glad to evade all responsibility regarding these colonies, by making them over, together with Corsica, then menaced by the arms of Alfonso V., to the *Casa di San Giorgio*, or Bank of St. George (November, 1453).[4]

With regard to the other European Powers, whatever might have been their inclination to take part in the proposed crusade, few or none were in a condition to undertake it. France was exhausted by her long struggle with England,[5] and the miseries thereby entailed upon her; while the civil dissensions fermenting

[1] Given by Marino Sanuto, in Muratori, *Ital. Rer. Scriptt.* t. xxii. p. 1154. sqq. Daru's version in his *Hist. de Venise* is incorrect.

[2] "Magna jactura Veneti nominis, sed major Christianitatis; quæ, superatis Venetis, non habet amplius maris imperium. Neque Cathelani [the Catalans] aut Genuenses, quamvis potentissimi, sine Venetis pares poterunt esse Turcis."—Æn. Sylvius (Piccolomini), *Epist.* 155, *Opera*, p. 706 (ed. 1551).

[3] The original treaty in Greek is in Von Hammer, *Gesch. des osman. Reiches*, Th. i. S. 675.

[4] The Casa di San Giorgio was a sort of Genoese East India Company. In 1528 it lost all its territorial possessions, but was compensated by some new taxes raised in its favour. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 31. Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, t. i. p. 31 sq.

[5] See Introduction, p. 72 sq.

in England, precluded all hope of assistance from that country. Spain also was not in a condition to engage in foreign wars; and though Alfonso, King of Aragon and the Sicilies, made the Pope some promises, he only partially fulfilled them. Burgundy seemed to be the only Power that could lend any effectual succour; and Philip the Good would willingly have wiped out the disgrace inflicted by the Turks on his House half a century before at the battle of Nicopolis; but he feared that his neighbour, Charles VII., might attack his dominions when stripped of their defenders. His only contribution to the cause of the Church was a splendid and absurd fête, in which the Knights of the Golden Fleece took part;[1] but the project of an expedition to the East remained a sort of dream, with which the half chivalrous though sensual Philip amused his declining years.

Thus the whole weight of the Turkish war fell upon the Emperor Frederick III., and on Hungary, or rather on the latter country alone, for Frederick was prevented from doing anything by the disturbed state of his own dominions. In 1451 Frederick had proceeded to Rome for his Imperial coronation, taking with him his ward, the young King Ladislaus Postumus of Hungary.[2] During their absence, Count Ulrich of Cilly, great maternal uncle of Ladislaus, and Eyzinger, a Hungarian knight, had excited disturbances on the pretence that the Hungarian King was unlawfully detained. When Frederick returned to Vienna, Eyzinger appeared before the Neustadt with a large army: the Austrians themselves rose against their Sovereign, who was besieged in his palace, and compelled to surrender Ladislaus, then thirteen years of age, to the guardianship of Count Cilly (September 4, 1452). But in 1453, Eyzinger formed a conspiracy against Cilly, whose government had excited great discontent, and, with Austrian help, compelled him to fly. Eyzinger was now installed in his stead as the young King's guardian; and he soon after carried Ladislaus to Prague, where he received the Bohemian crown from the hands of the Bishop of Olmütz (October 28th). During these transactions, Frederick III., almost powerless in his own hereditary dominions, was in still worse condition as Emperor;[3] in fact, he seemed almost to have forgotten Germany, and contented himself with entrusting the affairs of the Empire to commissaries. In such a state of things it was not to be expected that the Pope's

[1] See Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 183; Olivier de la Marche, liv. i. ch. 29.

[2] See above, p. 32.

[3] A letter of Æneas Sylvius (*Epist.* 127) strikingly describes the disorganized state of the Empire at this period.

bull for a crusade should obtain much attention. Frederick indeed summoned a Diet to meet at Ratisbon, in the spring of 1454, which was afterwards adjourned to Frankfurt; but instead of appearing himself, he delegated the matter to Æneas Sylvius. The energy and eloquence of that minister, and the urgent representations of the Hungarian ambassadors, who described the Turks as already threatening their frontier, procured a vote of 10,000 men-at-arms and 30,000 infantry, but without fixing the time at which they should take the field.

The Hungarian ambassadors did not exaggerate. After the capture of Constantinople and submission of Peloponnesus, Mahomet II. turned his views northwards, and in 1454 overran Servia, which, though a tributary State, still obeyed its own Despot, George. In this emergency, John of Hunyad, who had been appointed by the Hungarian Diet Captain-General of the national force, compelled the Turks to raise the siege of Semendria, the most important of all the Servian fortresses on the Danube. Mahomet retired in the direction of Sophia, carrying with him 50,000 Servian prisoners.[1] Hunyad, after defeating another large Turkish division, wrested from the Turks Widdin, which he burnt; and then, recrossing the Danube, took up a strong position near Belgrade.

In the following year the Turks again appeared in southern Servia, but nothing of importance took place. A German Diet, assembled at Vienna-Neustadt, had separated on the announcement of the death of Pope Nicholas V.[2] (March, 1455), without voting any aid to the Hungarians; but an extraordinary character had appeared there, a new Peter the Hermit, who succeeded in extorting from the zeal of the people what could not be raised by the care of the government. This was the Friar Minor, Giovanni da Capestrano, who had already filled all Europe with the fame of his miracles and of his fiery zeal for the Catholic faith. Born in 1386, of a noble family, at the little town of Capestrano, in the Abruzzi, Giovanni had been bred to the profession of the law, but soon abandoned it for one more congenial to his fanatical enthusiasm. Æneas Sylvius describes him as small of stature, mere skin and bone, but strong of mind, cheerful, laborious, learned, and eloquent. Capestrano had travelled through great part of Italy and Germany; and although his discourses were delivered

[1] The campaign is described by Hunyad himself in a letter to the Emperor Frederick, in Katona. t. xiii. p. 963.

[2] Nicholas was distinguished by the architectural improvements with which he embellished Rome, as well as by his patronage of literature. He was the founder of the University of Glasgow.

in Latin, and afterwards translated by an interpreter, he had a singular talent for inspiring the multitudes he addressed with the same enthusiasm which animated himself. Æneas Sylvius had invited him to the Neustadt in hope that his eloquence might work on the assembled Princes. That expectation was disappointed; but Capestrano was daily listened to with avidity by 20,000 or 30,000 Viennese, who received him as an apostle endowed with miraculous powers, and fell down and kissed his garment.[1]

The new Pope, Calixtus III., seconded the efforts of Capestrano, and sent him the Cross. Thus armed, the friar traversed the greater part of Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia and Servia, and collected from those countries and from Germany a large tumultuary host. Calixtus displayed the greatest zeal in the cause. He had solemnly vowed on the Gospels to use every effort, even to the shedding of his own blood, to recover Constantinople from the Infidels; he alienated part of his domains to raise money for the crusade, and even pawned his tiara, as Eugenius IV. had done before him.[2] Yet with all these efforts, added to the tithe collected in Europe under the Papal bull, it was with difficulty that a fleet of sixteen galleys could be equipped! More attention was paid to the Pope's spiritual behests; and if the nations of Europe were disinclined to fight, they at least consented to pray, against the Turks. At noon the "Turks' bell" was daily sounded in every parish, and processions were instituted, and prayers offered up, to arrest the progress of the common enemy of Christendom.[3]

Mahomet II. spent the winter of 1455 in preparing an expedition against Belgrade. Vast stores of ammunition and provisions were collected; a number of cannon of large calibre were cast, many of them near thirty feet long, with seven mortars for discharging stones of enormous size; and a fleet of vessels of small draught was prepared on the Lower Danube, partly to convey the artillery, and partly to prevent Belgrade from being relieved from the river. In June, 1456, the march of the Turkish army began. Mahomet arrived before Belgrade without resistance, and pitched his tent on an eminence within sight of the town; a line of Turkish vessels secured with chains was flung across the stream

[1] Matthew Döring (ap. Palacky, B. iv. S. 283) draws a less pleasing portrait of Capestrano, and describes him as fond of good eating and drinking, impatient of contradiction, &c. It makes a great difference whether the picture be drawn by a Catholic or a Hussite.

[2] Bernini, ap. Zinkeisen.

[3] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* t. x. p. 67.

above Belgrade, near the confluence of the Save and Danube; the town was invested on the land side, and Mahomet's terrible artillery opened on its thick walls and lofty towers.

The whole burthen of the war rested on Hunyad. By the advice of timid counsellors, King Ladislaus, on the approach of the Turks, had fled by night from Buda to Vienna; while the neighbouring Hungarian barons were only roused from their apathetic slumber by the roar of the Turkish cannon. Hunyad's force amounted to about 60,000 men, after the junction of Capestrano with his levies; but these were for the most part mere rabble, without proper arms or discipline—peasants, bankrupt tradesmen, monks, hermits, students, and adventurers of every sort. Capestrano had with him a band of congenial friars, one of whom, John Tagliacozzo, has written a description of the campaign.[1]

After a fortnight's bombardment the walls of Belgrade were beginning to crumble, when John of Hunyad's vessels broke through the line of Turkish galleys; and that commander, accompanied by Capestrano, and followed by the greater part of his army, succeeded in throwing himself into the town (July 14th). The breaches were hastily repaired, the few cannon still serviceable remounted. Enraged at seeing himself thus foiled, Mahomet redoubled his efforts, and at length established his troops on the outworks. On the evening of July 21st a general assault was ordered; the combat was continued through the night, and by morning the Janissaries had penetrated into the fortress, when they were surprised and repulsed by the Hungarian troops whom Hunyad had placed in ambush. Carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment, Capestrano's followers, no longer to be restrained, pursued the flying enemy, carried the first and second lines of the Turkish entrenchments, with all the artillery, and were only arrested by the third, the ramparts and ditches which defended the permanent camp. Here Mahomet himself rushed into the thickest of the fight, clearing a path through the assailants wherever he charged, till a severe wound obliged him to quit the field. The Hungarians had now turned the captured guns against the Turkish fortifications; even the Janissaries began to waver; and though a charge of Osmanli horse seemed for a while to restore the fortune of the day, yet the Sultan, in despair, gave towards evening the signal for a retreat, which was soon converted into a disorderly flight. Furious with rage and disappointment, Mahomet, at Sophia, slew with his own hand many of

[1] Printed in Katona, t. xiii. p. 1098 sqq.; cf. Raynaldus, t. x. p. 70 sqq.

his captains and attendants, or caused them to be slaughtered before his eyes.[1]

The news of the relief of Belgrade diffused a universal joy through Europe, which, however, was soon damped by the death of Hunyad. The pestilential disorders which began to waste his troops compelled retreat; and he himself died suddenly at Semlin, August 11th, 1456, only a few weeks after his victory. Hunyad was of middle stature, and broad-shouldered; his chestnut hair flowed in natural curls; his eyes were large, his complexion ruddy, his countenance open and engaging.[2] Capestrano also expired in the following October, and thus Christendom was suddenly deprived of two of its foremost champions.

Before this event Count Cilly again administered the dominions of the youthful Ladislaus, having, in April, 1455, in turn succeeded in overthrowing Eyzinger. Cilly's policy had had two objects: to annoy Frederick III., and to ruin Hunyad, whom he regarded with implacable hatred. Cilly, assisted by Frederick's own brother Albert, by the Elector Palatine Frederick I., surnamed the Victorious, and by other potentates, had attempted to depose the Emperor, who, with obscure menaces, was summoned to appear before a Diet at Nuremberg, in November, 1456; but that assembly, more intent on their own interests, which throve by the Emperor's weakness, than moved by the grievances of the German nation, declined to second the views of Cilly and his confederates. Cilly's designs against Hunyad were a great deal more atrocious. A little before that commander's expedition to Belgrade, Cilly had invited him to Vienna, and there endeavoured to procure his assassination, which Hunyad escaped only by a fortunate discovery. After Hunyad's death, Cilly continued to plot against his family. Hunyad had left two sons, Ladislaus and Matthias Corvinus; and Cilly, wishing to get possession of Belgrade, invited the elder to the Court of King Ladislaus, at the same time furnishing him with a safe conduct. The interview was seemingly of the most friendly kind: Ladislaus Corvinus promised to give up Belgrade, besides all the other fortresses held by his father's troops, and Cilly and the young King descended the Danube with a considerable army to take possession. An intercepted letter revealed the Count's design of taking the lives of both Hunyad's sons, who resolved to

[1] The principal authorities for the siege of Belgrade are Tagliacozzo and Chalcocondyles, lib. viii. (p. 417 sqq. ed. Bonn); who, however, vary considerably.

[2] Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 197.

anticipate him by a similar stroke. After the King, Count Cilly, and a few followers had entered the gate of Belgrade, the portcullis was suddenly lowered, and they were disarmed. At an interview on the following day, which Cilly attended unarmed, but with a cuirass under his clothes, Hunyad's sons produced the intercepted letter, and charged Cilly with his meditated crime. A warm altercation ensued; the Count, seeing the fate that awaited him, snatched a sword from an attendant and wounded Ladislaus Corvinus on the head, but was immediately cut down and despatched by some guards, who rushed in at a concerted signal (November, 1456).[1]

The hypocritical young King affected to approve of the murder of his guardian and quieted his army outside the walls of Belgrade, which was preparing to come to his rescue. He appeared to bear no ill-will towards Hunyad's sons and accompanied them to the Castle of Temesvar, the residence of their widowed mother, where he bound himself by an oath and a written promise to abstain from avenging the death of Cilly. But in the following year he invited the youths to Buda, where they were immediately arrested; and by a summary process the elder was condemned to be beheaded (March, 1457). Æneas Sylvius describes him as a comely youth of twenty-four, with long light hair hanging loose upon his shoulders, after Hungarian fashion.[2] Clothed in a long garment of gold brocade, his hands tied behind his back, Ladislaus Corvinus walked with undaunted step and cheerful countenance to the place of execution, and met his death with fortitude, though the bungling headsman took four strokes to accomplish it. King Ladislaus then proceeded to Vienna, carrying with him Matthias Corvinus as a prisoner. But he did not long outlive his namesake. George Podiebrad invited him to Prague to celebrate his marriage with Magdalen, daughter of Charles VII. of France; and he had not been long in that city when he was carried off by the plague in the 18th year of his age (November 23rd, 1457). Most of the contemporary chronicles, as well as Æneas Sylvius, accuse Podiebrad and the Hussite Utraquists of having poisoned him.[3]

After the death of King Ladislaus several competitors arose for

[1] The circumstances of Cilly's death are variously related. Coxe (*House of Austria*, ch. xiii.), who places it in March, 1457, attributes it to an accidental rencounter; but there can be no doubt that it was a premeditated murder, which Æneas Sylvius, in a letter to Alfonso of Aragon, even attempts to justify (*Epist.* 253, *Opera*, p. 785). The substance of the account in the text is taken from Engel, B. iii. S. 200, and Palacky, B. iv. S. 400.

[2] *Hist. Bohem.*, *Opera*, p. 140.

[3] Engel, B. iii. S. 213.

the Crown of Hungary; as, William Duke of Saxony and Casimir King of Poland, as sons-in-law of Albert II.; and Charles VII. of France, either for any Prince that might marry his daughter, so inopportunely disappointed, or for one of his own sons; while Frederick III. demanded Bohemia as a lapsed fief which reverted to the Empire. In Hungary the popular feeling was in favour of Matthias Corvinus, who was then in the custody of the Regent of Bohemia; but there was an influential party opposed to the Hunyad family, the chiefs of which summoned a Diet to meet at Buda in January, 1458, for the purpose of electing a King. On the day appointed, Szilagyi, uncle of Matthias Corvinus, drew out a large body of troops under pretext of protecting the electors, and by way of intimidating the opposite party erected a gallows, conspicuous on the banks of the Danube. The populace assembled in great numbers on the frozen river, and the electors, overawed by this display, bestowed the Crown on Matthias Corvinus[1] (January 24th, 1458).

Podiebrad, the Bohemian Regent, who had refused large sums offered by the family of Matthias for his release, was now all complaisance towards his illustrious prisoner, in whose election he foresaw his own. He betrothed his daughter Cunigund to the Hungarian King, and after receiving a ransom of 60,000 ducats and a promise of aid in obtaining the Crown of Bohemia, he conducted Matthias Corvinus over the frontier. The new monarch was then only fifteen years of age; but he had already a manly spirit, and he astonished the Hungarian nobles, as well as his uncle Szilagyi, who had obtained the appointment of Gubernator, or Regent, for a term of five years, by declaring his intention to reign without a tutor. Szilagyi, disgusted at what he deemed his nephew's ingratitude, joined the party which had opposed his election; but Matthias won him back with the government of Bistritz, on condition of his renouncing the title of Gubernator. Such was the temper with which Matthias Corvinus began his long reign. It lasted till 1490; and during that period he rivalled his father as a champion against the Turks, without neglecting, in the midst of his warlike enterprises, the encouragement of literature and art. George Podiebrad was elected to the throne of Bohemia, chiefly by the influence of the Hussite party, at Whitsuntide, 1458. The Emperor flew to arms; but finding small support from the Bohemian Catholics, and being also em-

[1] Matthias particularly affected the name of Corvinus for its Roman sound, though it had not been customarily used by his father. Engel, B. iii. S. 298.

barrassed with the affairs of his hereditary dominions, as well as anxious to seize the Crown of Hungary, he agreed in 1459 to invest Podiebrad with the Bohemian Kingdom, and concluded with him a defensive alliance against all enemies but the Pope.

In Hungary the large party opposed to the Hunyad family favoured the pretensions of Frederick III., who, in February, 1459, caused himself to be crowned at the Neustadt with the crown of St. Stephen, pledged to him by Queen Elizabeth, which still remained in his possession, an object regarded by the Hungarians with superstitious veneration.[1] Frederick shortly afterwards entered Hungary with an army, but the hostilities which ensued are devoid of any events of importance, and were concluded in 1463 by a peace, mediated through the Papal Legates, Cardinals Bessarion and Carvajal. Frederick delivered to Matthias the crown of St. Stephen on receiving 60,000 ducats; but he retained the title of King of Hungary, and stipulated for the succession of his son to that Kingdom in the event of Matthias dying without heirs. In the same year Matthias consummated his marriage with Podiebrad's daughter, who, however, died before the end of it in bringing forth a dead child. Matthias was crowned with the Holy Crown at Alba Regalis, or Stuhlweissenburg, March 29th, 1464.

Meanwhile an insurrection, occasioned by bad government, had broken out in Austria. Wolfgang Holzer, son of a cattle dealer, assisted by the Emperor's brother, Albert the Prodigal, who reigned in Upper Austria, excited the people of Vienna to rebellion and got possession of that capital (July, 1462); and Frederick, who had hastened thither in alarm for the safety of the Empress and his son Maximilian, was kept waiting three days outside the gates till he had signed a capitulation. He was entirely at the mercy of the insurgents, till Podiebrad marched to his relief and mediated a peace between the brothers, by which Albert obtained Lower Austria, with the city of Vienna, for a term of eight years. But his extravagance and tyranny soon became so intolerable that the Lower Austrians regretted the sway of the tame and phlegmatic Frederick. Holzer, now burgomaster of Vienna, directed the fury of the populace against Albert; but he contrived to persuade them that Holzer was playing them false, and the demagogue was tortured and put to death.

[1] Mailath, *Gesch. der Magyaren*, B. iii. S. 40.

The war which again arose between the brothers was terminated by the sudden death of Albert, December 2nd, 1463; and Frederick re-united all the Austrian lands, except Tyrol, under his immediate dominion.

Occupied with these domestic quarrels, Frederick could bestow little attention on the affairs of the Empire, which was torn by domestic wars. These disturbances, and the contest between the Emperor and Matthias Corvinus, favoured the progress of Mahomet II., who had vowed to take vengeance for his defeat at Belgrade. In 1458 he overran nearly all Servia, and carrying a great part of the population into slavery, supplied their place with Osmanlis. Henceforward Servia remained a Turkish province. Mahomet next turned his views towards Bosnia. Stephen Thomas, King of Bosnia, was already a tributary of the Porte; but disgusted with Turkish tyranny, he had appealed to a Hungarian Diet held at Szegedin[1] in 1458, which agreed to protect him, and invested his son with the portion of Servia that still remained unconquered. For the next three or four years Mahomet left Bosnia without much molestation, and in 1462 employed himself in reducing Wallachia. The Voyvodes, or Hospodars, of Wallachia, had been vassals of Poland, but after the fall of Constantinople became, like other neighbouring Princes, tributary to the Porte. Here had reigned since 1456 the cold-blooded tyrant Bladus, son of Drakul. Mahomet himself is related to have shuddered with horror, when, on arriving with his army at Praylab, he beheld the place of execution, a plain more than two miles in extent, planted with stakes, on which upwards of 20,000 persons, men, women, and children, are said to have been impaled by this inhuman monster.[2] In the following year (1463) the Turks overran Herzegovina, reduced the Voyvode of Montenegro, and renewed their attempts on Bosnia. In the last-named country, King Stephen Thomas fell a victim to his own ill-timed generosity and the crimes of his unnatural son. Mahomet II., in the disguise of a monk, had penetrated into Bosnia to inspect its fortresses. He was discovered and brought before Stephen, who, neglecting the opportunity which fortune had thrown in his way, honourably dismissed the Sultan.[3] A large

[1] It was by a decree of this Diet that the troops called *Hussars* were created. The twentieth man of all the vassals of the nobles was ordered to be armed as a trooper, who, from *husz*, signifying in Hungarian twenty, and the suffix *ar*, obtained the name of *Huszar*. Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 229 Anm.

[2] Chalcocondyles (lib. ix. p. 513 sq. ed. Bonn).

[3] Schimek, *Politische Gesch. des Königreichs Bosnien und Rama*, ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 142.

party of the nobles, displeased with this act, joined the party of Stephen's son, who was in open rebellion against his father, and soon after murdered him. Bosnia was now torn by the factions of three claimants of the Crown: that of the murderer, of Ban Radivoi his brother, and of Catharine, Stephen's widow—a state of things which enabled Mahomet to attack that country with advantage. These movements of the Turks were a principal reason with King Matthias for concluding with Frederick III. in 1463 the peace already mentioned. In September of that year, having assembled his vassals at Peterwardein, Matthias crossed the Save into Bosnia, drove the Turks before him, and after a siege of three months recovered the important fortress of Jaicza. At Christmas, having been forced to retire by a want of provisions, he entered Buda in triumph, followed by a long train of Osmanli prisoners clad in purple dresses.[1] In 1464, however, Jaicza, after a memorable defence and in spite of the attempts of Matthias to relieve it, was captured by Mahomet; when all Bosnia, except a few fortresses and a small northern district, fell into the hands of the Turks. Matthias made Nicholas of Ujlak King of the unconquered portion.

During these struggles Matthias Corvinus had in vain looked around for help. The accession of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini to the pontificate in 1458, under the title of Pius II., had, from his well-known zeal in the cause, awakened an expectation that something would be effected against the Infidels. One of that Pontiff's first steps was to assemble a council at Mantua (August 1459) for the purpose of organizing a crusade; but in spite of the eloquence of Cardinal Bessarion, little was done. The complaints of the Hungarian envoys, that the Emperor left them no repose to turn their arms against the common enemy were hushed by Pius himself, Frederick's friend and former minister. On adding up the promises of aid when the council was dissolved in January, 1460, an army of 88,000 men appeared upon paper; but on paper it remained. The crusade was evidently a pious chimæra: yet it continued to be talked of; the Emperor had the vanity to procure himself to be declared generalissimo, and the Pope sent him a sword and hat which he had blessed! Yet the zeal of Pius II. was unaffected, and continued till his death, which indeed it contributed to hasten. He was even enthusiastic enough to fancy that his exhortations might work on a hardened and ambitious

[1] Matthias has himself described this expedition in a letter to Pope Pius II. (in Katona, t. xiv. p. 666 sqq.)

conqueror like Mahomet, and in a remarkable letter (1461) he exhorted the Sultan to be baptized; promising in reward for his compliance to salute him as Emperor of the East, and to confer on him by right what at present he held only by force![1] But the resistance against the Turks, which flagged under the stimulus of religious zeal, was at length roused by the avidity of commerce and the plans of secular ambition. Scarcely had Servia, Wallachia, and Bosnia been conquered by the Turks when a war broke out between them and the Venetians, which during some years diverted the Moslem arms from any formidable attempts against the rest of Europe.

Although by the treaty concluded with Mahomet II. after the fall of Constantinople, Venice had abandoned the common cause of Christendom, yet it might have been foreseen that the interests of her trade and the nature and extent of her dominion, which brought her at so many points into contact with the Turks, must at no distant period involve her in hostilities with them. The treaty had already been frequently violated on both sides in some of its most important articles, when in the spring of 1463 an event that happened in the Morea rendered a war inevitable. A slave belonging to the Pasha of Athens, having robbed his master of 100,000 aspers, fled to the Venetian town of Koron, where Girolamo Valaresso, one of the magistrates, not only sheltered the fugitive, but even divided with him the booty.[2] The enraged Pasha now appeared with a considerable force before Argos, which was betrayed to him by a Greek priest; for the hatred of those fanatics for the Latin heretics outweighed even their fear of the Mussulman yoke. At the same time Omar Bey, the Turkish Governor of the Morea, annoyed and plundered the Venetian districts of Modon and Lepanto, and an unceasing system of annoyance was kept up on both sides. Luigi Loredano, the Venetian admiral, having, according to his instructions, in vain demanded the restoration of Argos, requested his government to supply him with 20,000 men in order to make an attack upon Lesbos; an application which brought the decisive question of war or peace before the *Pregadi*. Pius II. used every exertion to arouse the martial ardour of the Venetians and sent Cardinal Bessarion to promise his aid. After a warm debate, war was decided on by a small majority of the Venetian Senate; and in September an alliance was concluded between Venice, the Pope,

[1] *Opera*, p. 872, *Epist.* 396.
[2] Sanuto, *Vite de' Duchi*, ap Muratori, *SS.* t. xxii. p. 1172.

and the King of Hungary, by which it was agreed to carry on the war for three years, and that none of the contracting parties should enter into a separate peace. The Venetians were to maintain a fleet of forty three-banked galleys, while the Hungarians were to infest the northern Turkish provinces; for which purpose, in consideration of a subsidy of 25,000 ducats, they were to raise an army of 25,000 men. The Venetians also contracted an alliance with the Sultan of Caramania, and with Usan Hassan, chief of a Turkoman horde in Mesopotamia, who subsequently established the dynasty of the White Sheep in Persia.

Nothing could exceed the ardour of Pius II. in this projected enterprise against the Turks. Notwithstanding his years and infirmities, he declared his intention of taking the Cross in person, and summoned the younger Cardinals to accompany him. How, it was thought, could temporal Princes hang back when they beheld their aged Spiritual Father and the Princes of the Church, men whose profession called on them to sheathe instead of draw the sword, hazarding their sacred persons in an encounter with the Infidels? Yet the example failed to produce much effect. Duke Philip of Burgundy, indeed, reiterated his promises, and, to put himself in funds, restored to Louis XI. the towns on the Somme, which had been pledged to the Duke for 40,000 ducats. Yet two ships were the sole and tardy fruits of his engagement. Ferdinand I. of Naples sent 30,000 ducats—half the legacy destined by his father for this holy purpose. The Genoese promised eight ships. The Florentines, so far from aiding the expedition, secretly sided with the Turks, in hope of reaping those commercial advantages which the Venetians would lose by the war; and they are even said to have betrayed the Venetian correspondence to Mahomet, and to have prompted him as to the measures which he should take.[1] Personally at least even the Doge of Venice, Cristoforo Moro, was against the war, and pleaded his great age in excuse for not proceeding to it; but Vittore Capello, the leader of the war party, told him plainly that if he would not go with good words he should go by force, and that the interests of the Republic were of more importance than his life. Such were the power and liberty of the chief magistrate of Venice!

The Venetian fleet was reinforced, and unlimited power was conferred on Loredano to act for the interest of the Republic. The Venetians aimed at nothing less than the conquest of the

[1] MS. *Chroniche di Firenze del Dei*, ap. Hammer, Th. ii. SS. 72 und 550.

Morea. Their army in that country, under command of Bertoldo d'Este, numbered about 30,000 men, including 3,000 or 4,000 Cretan bowmen. Argos was recovered after a short siege, and Corinth was then invested both by sea and land. The wall of the Hexamilion was again repaired, to prevent the approach of succours from the north; and the labour of 30,000 men by day and night completed this structure in a fortnight. It was 12 feet high, and was fortified with 136 watch-towers and a deep ditch on both sides: in the middle stood an altar for Mass, high over which floated the standard of St. Mark.[1]

This defence, however, proved of little avail. It served, indeed, to arrest the advance of Omar Pasha, who was hastening from the south to the relief of Corinth; but the approach of Mahomet himself with a large army on the northern side struck a panic into the Venetians, whose numbers had been reduced by dysentery, and who had lost their commander. They resolved to abandon the isthmus and its defences, and all the guns, ammunition, and provisions were hastily embarked on board the fleet. This ill-considered step caused the loss of their possessions in the Morea. Scarce had the Venetian galleys departed when Mahomet appeared before the wall, breached it with his artillery, and, entering the Morea, speedily reduced the places which the Venetians had acquired either by revolt or capture.

The year 1464 offers little of importance, except the death of Pius II. That learned and enthusiastic Pontiff, whose body was already broken down with age and disease, after a solemn service in St. Peter's, June 19th, set off in a litter for Ancona, accompanied by several Cardinals, to fulfil his intention of leading the crusade in person. But when, exhausted with the fatigue of his journey, he arrived at that port, he found neither soldiers, nor money, nor ships, but only a beggarly rabble without any means of transport. The last of those who had undertaken the crusade at their own expense, tired of waiting for the Venetian fleet, departed under the very eyes of the Pope, while the poorer sort were clamouring for employment and bread. This heartrending scene gave Pius his death-blow. The arrival of the Venetian fleet was signalled on the 10th of August; but on that very night Pius breathed his last, without having seen the Doge. In September, Pietro Barbo, a Venetian, and Cardinal of St. Mark,

[1] Sanuto, *ib.* p. 1173; Sabellico, *Historiæ Rerum Venetiarum*, in the *Istorici delle Cose Veneziane*, Venezia, 1718, t. i. p. 718, ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 300. Sabellico is an important authority for this war.

was elected his successor, and took the title of Paul II. The natural expectation that he would support his countrymen in their struggle with the Turks was not realized; and, indeed, he rather injured their cause, by directing against Bohemia the arm of Matthias Corvinus, the only ally of Venice. The high opinion formed of Paul's talent and virtue was disappointed, and he displayed in his conduct only passion, imprudence, perfidy, and ambition.

The ill success of the Venetians in the campaign of 1465 led them again to seek the alliance of the Albanian chieftain, Scanderbeg, whom Mahomet had long in vain endeavoured to subdue; and Kroja and Scutari received Venetian garrisons. In 1466, Mahomet marched against Albania with an apparently overwhelming force of 200,000 men; but the attacks of Scanderbeg, and the difficulty of providing for so numerous an army, compelled him to retire. In the following January, however, Scanderbeg died at Alessio, from the effects of a fever, recommending with his dying breath his son, John Castriot, a minor, to the protection of the Venetians. When Mahomet, some years afterwards, obtained possession of Alessio, he caused Scanderbeg's tomb to be opened, and his remains to be exhibited to the admiring Osmanlis. Pieces of his bones were sought for with avidity, to be converted into talismans, which were deemed capable of inspiring the wearers with some portion of the valour of that unconquered hero.[1]

For the next two or three years the Turkish and Venetian war offers little of importance. In July, 1470, the Turks made themselves masters of the important island of Negropont, the ancient Eubœa. Towards the north, large bodies of their cavalry had penetrated in 1469 as far as Cilly in Styria, harrying all around, and carrying off 20,000 persons into slavery. The alarm inspired in Italy by their progress produced, at the instance of the Pope, a league, which, besides the Pontiff, included King Ferdinand I. of Naples, the Dukes of Milan and Modena, the Republics of Florence, Lucca, and Siena, and Ferdinand of Aragon, who had begun to reign in Sicily; yet it only added a reinforcement of nineteen Papal and Neapolitan galleys to the Venetian fleet, and achieved nothing of importance except the surprising, plundering, and burning of Smyrna, in 1472. Meanwhile, from their fortress of Schabatz on the Save the Turkish incursions were repeated every year, with a still increasing circle. The inhabitants of Laibach and Klagenfurt beheld those savage hordes sweeping up

[1] Barletius, *De Vita et Gestis Scanderbegi*, in Lonicerus, *Chron. Turc.* t. iii. p. 230; Cf. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 396.

to their very gates, devastating the surrounding country, and carrying off the peasants as well as their flocks and herds. Matthias Corvinus is said to have favoured some of these attacks on his old enemy Frederick; at all events he made no attempt to check them till 1475, when, after taking Schabatz, he penetrated with his army down the Save and Danube to Semendria, driving the enemy before him; a success which shows what might have been achieved by well-concerted efforts. Venetian writers accuse Matthias of having, through mediation of a Jew, concluded a secret peace with Mahomet,[1] to which the Neapolitan King was also a party. The Hungarian monarch had, in 1476, contracted a marriage with Beatrice, daughter of Ferdinand of Naples: and it is certain that the bride, on passing through the Turkish army, on her way to Hungary, was treated with respect.[2] In that year the Turks approached the Salzburg Alps, and the very border of Italy; and in the summer of 1477 their ravages were repeated in a still more dreadful manner. Crossing the Isonzo, they threatened Venice herself, and the sea-queen might have beheld from her towers the columns of fire that rose in the plains between the Tagliamento and the Piave. After the enemy had retired, the Venetians attempted to secure themselves from a repetition of this insult, by throwing up a lofty rampart on the banks of the Lower Isonzo, from Görz to the marshes of Aquileia, protected at each end by a fortified camp. But scarcely was it completed, when a fresh swarm of Osmanlis, under Omar Bey, broke through in several places, and 100 villages became a prey to the flames. The historian Sabellico, who beheld this fearful spectacle from a tower near Udine, likened the whole plain between the Isonzo and the Tagliamento to a sea of fire.[3]

In other respects the arms of the Turks had not been successful. An attempt on Kroja in 1477 had been repulsed; and in Greece Lepanto had been delivered by Loredano and his fleet. But the war had now lasted thirteen years, and the resources of Venice were almost exhausted. The withdrawal of the Pope and the King of Naples from the Italian League, a family alliance between Ferdinand and King Matthias, their reported treaty with the Sultan, their suspected designs on Northern Italy, a dreadful plague which ravaged the Venetian dominions, all these were causes which induced that Republic to enter into negotiations with Mahomet (1478), and their ambassador Malipiero was in-

[1] Cf. Philelphi, *Epist.* p. 195 (ed. 1502).
[2] Engel, B. iii. S. 349 f. und Anm.
[3] *Hist. Rer. Venet.* p. 111, ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 377.

structed to submit to his demands. But his terms rose with the concessions offered, and the Venetians in disgust resolved to continue the war. It went, however, in favour of the Turks. Kroja surrendered on a capitulation, which was not respected; Scutari was twice assaulted and then blockaded. Meanwhile the resources of Venice continued to decline, and Giovanni Dario, Secretary of the Senate, was despatched to Constantinople, with full powers, to conclude a peace on any conditions. A treaty was accordingly signed, January 26th, 1479, by which the Venetians ceded their claims to Scutari and its territory, Kroja, the islands of Lemnos and Negropont, and the highlands of Maina, and engaged to restore within two months all the places which they had captured during the war. They also agreed to pay the Grand Signor a yearly sum of 10,000 ducats, in lieu of all customs on Venetian goods imported into Turkish harbours. The Sultan, on his side, restored all the places in the Morea, Albania, and Dalmatia, except those before specified. Although the States of Europe had done little or nothing to help Venice in her arduous struggle with the Turk, they agreed in condemning the peace which necessity had imposed upon her.

While the Venetian commerce was secured by this treaty, that of the Genoese in the Black Sea had been nearly annihilated during the last few years of the war. In 1475, Caffa, their principal colony, fell into the hands of the Turks, whence Mahomet extended his dominion over the smaller settlements. Although Caffa had capitulated, the Turks, with their habitual disregard of such engagements, carried off 40,000 of the inhabitants; many of the principal citizens were barbarously tortured and killed, and fifteen hundred of the most promising youths were incorporated in the Janissaries.

The peace enabled Mahomet to direct his operations against Hungary and Italy. In 1479 the Turks made dreadful inroads into Slavonia, Hungary, and Transylvania; but Paul Kinis, Count of Temesvar, whose name was long a terror to them, and Stephen Bathory, Voyvode of Transylvania, inflicted on them a memorable defeat on the Brotfeld, near Szaszvaros, or Broos (October 13th). An anecdote will show the brutality of these wars. At a supper after the victory, the bodies of the slaughtered Turks were made to supply the place of tables, and Count Kinis himself fixed his teeth in one of them.[1] This signal defeat put a stop for some time to the Turkish incursions.

[1] Engel, B. iii. S. 366. The Hungarians adopted the Turkish custom of

Mahomet soon after the peace wrested three of the Ionian Islands, St[a] Maura, Zante, and Cephalonia, from the Despot of Arta. This conquest afforded the Sultan an opportunity to display one of those singular caprices in which despotic power alone can indulge. He caused some of the inhabitants to be conveyed to the islands in the Sea of Marmora, where he compelled them to intermarry with Africans, in order that he might have a race of coloured slaves![1] The Turks also made an ineffectual attempt to take Rhodes, which was valiantly defended by the Knights under their Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson.

The aid afforded to the Knights, on this occasion, by Ferdinand of Naples, determined Mahomet to undertake an expedition against that King. The state of Italy was favourable to such an attempt; but, before relating its progress, it will be proper to take a brief review of the history of that country.

The treaty of Lodi before mentioned,[2] to which Alfonso, King of Aragon and the Sicilies, acceded in January, 1455, might have secured the peace of Italy, but for that monarch's implacable hatred of Genoa. The domestic factions of this city, and Alfonso's superiority at sea, compelled the Genoese to purchase the aid of France by submitting themselves to Charles VII., who invested John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, with the government of Genoa. This appointment of his old enemy incited Alfonso to still more vigorous action, and the fall of Genoa appeared imminent, when she was unexpectedly delivered by the death of that King, June 27th, 1458.

In spite of some defects, Alfonso must be regarded as one of the greatest and most generous Princes of the fifteenth century. He was both wise and courageous, he loved and patronized literature, and he was remarkable for a liberality which not unfrequently degenerated into profusion. His chief defects were his immeasurable ambition and his unbridled licentiousness. His last amour with a certain Lucrezia d'Alagna, the daughter of a Neapolitan gentleman, has been recorded by the good Pontiff Pius II., without a word of censure, in the *Commentaries* written after he was seated on the papal throne.[3]

Alfonso, as we have said in the Introduction, appointed by

cutting off the heads of their fallen foes. Two waggon-loads of Turks' heads were exhibited to the Hungarian Diet in 1492 (*ib.* p. 48).

[1] Cantacusino, ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 449.

[2] Introduction, p. 55.

[3] Lib. i. p. 27 (ed. Frankf. 1614). Pius, indeed, believed Lucrezia to be as chaste as her namesake of antiquity. The Life of Alfonso has been written by his counsellor and secretary, Antonio Beccatelli, called Panormita, from his birth-

his will his natural son Ferdinand to be his successor on the throne of Naples; and, in spite of his illegitimacy, Ferdinand had been recognized as rightful heir by two successive Popes, Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. In order to strengthen his son's claim, Alfonso had restored to the Neapolitan States the right of electing their Sovereign and making their own laws; and the States, out of gratitude for the recovery of these privileges, had confirmed the appointment of Ferdinand (1443). Calixtus III., however, who filled the Papal chair at the time of Alfonso's death, refused to invest Ferdinand with the sovereignty of Naples, on pretence that the war of Naples with Genoa prevented the forces of Italy from being employed against the Turks; but in reality, it is said, with the ambitious view of raising one of his nephews, the Duke of Spoleto, to the Neapolitan throne. This Pontiff, by name Alfonso Borgia, a native of Valencia in Spain, founded the greatness of that Borgian family, whose name has become synonymous with infamy. In the year of his accession he bestowed the purple on his nephew Rodrigo Borgia, afterwards under the title of Alexander VI. notorious as the most wicked and profligate Pontiff that ever polluted the Chair of Peter. On the news of Alfonso's death, Calixtus published a bull in which he claimed Naples as a fief escheated to the Church; and he endeavoured to procure the help of the Duke of Milan, in order to carry out his views upon that Kingdom. But the strong matrimonial connection between the Houses of Naples and Milan—Ferdinand's son Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, having married Francesco Sforza's daughter Ippolita (1456), while at the same time the Duke of Milan's third son, Sforza Maria or Sforzino, was betrothed to Ferdinand's daughter, Isabella—as well as political reasons, induced Sforza to support the cause of the Neapolitan King. From the opposition of Calixtus Ferdinand was soon delivered by the death of that Pontiff, August 6th; and his successor, Pius II., acknowledged Ferdinand's claims, exacting, however, a yearly payment, and the cession of Benevento, Ponte Corvo, and Terracina, which had formerly belonged to the Church. Pius also effected a marriage between his nephew, Antonio Piccolomini, and Mary, a natural daughter of Ferdinand's.

That monarch's most formidable opponents were the Neapolitan Barons, who, led by Gianantonio Orsino, Prince of Taranto, the

place, Palermo. This work, entitled *Dicta et Facta Alphonsi Regis Aragoniæ*, has been frequently reprinted.

uncle of Ferdinand's own consort Isabella, revolted against him. The malcontents having in vain offered the Crown of Naples to Charles, Count of Viana, eldest son of John II. of Aragon and Sicily, as well as to John himself, applied to John of Anjou, who was still residing at Genoa as representative of the French King; and from him they met with a more favourable reception. The moderation of John of Anjou had rendered him popular with the Genoese; and when he communicated to their Senate the offer that had been made him, they voted him a force of ten galleys, three large transports, and a subsidy of 60,000 florins. John's father, René, who had renounced in his son's favour his claims to the Neapolitan throne, also assisted him with twelve galleys, which had been assembled at Marseilles for the crusade against the Turks.

Ferdinand endeavoured to detain John of Anjou at Genoa, by inciting against him the former Doge, Fregoso, who was discontented with the French because they had not rewarded him for his cession of that city. On the 13th of September Fregoso, with other exiles, attempted to take Genoa by a nocturnal assault, which, however, was repulsed, and Fregoso slain. Delivered from this danger, John of Anjou hastened on board his fleet, and on the 5th of October appeared off Naples; which city, as Ferdinand was absent in Calabria, would probably have fallen into his hands but for the vigilance and courage of Queen Isabella. In all other respects John's enterprise was eminently successful. He was joined by the chief Neapolitan nobles, and Nocera opened its gates to him. The events of the following year (1460) were still more in his favour. He defeated Ferdinand with great loss in a battle near the Sarno (July 7th), and that King with difficulty escaped to Naples with only twenty troopers. Towards the end of the same month, Ferdinand's captains, Alessandro Sforza and the Count of Urbino, were also signally defeated in a bloody and obstinate battle at S. Fabriano. All the strong places in Campania and the Principato now surrendered to John of Anjou, who, had he marched directly on Naples, would probably have taken that city, in which there was a large party in his favour. Ferdinand, in this low ebb of his fortunes, is said to have owed the preservation of his Crown to the great qualities of his consort. Isabella, accompanied by her children, requested contributions for her husband's cause, in the streets and public places of Naples; and her fine countenance, her dignified, yet modest and engaging address, proved in most cases irresistible. In the disguise of a Franciscan friar, she also

proceeded to the camp of her uncle, the Prince of Taranto, and besought him that, as he had raised her to the throne, he would permit her to die in possession of that dignity. Moved by her entreaties, Orsino adopted a policy which caused John of Anjou to lose the fruits of his victories, and by interposing delays led him to fritter away his strength in small undertakings.

From this time the cause of the Duke of Anjou began to decline. In 1461 Ferdinand was assisted by Scanderbeg at the head of 800 horse, who are said to have been paid by Pope Pius II. out of the money raised by the Council of Mantua for a crusade against the Turks. Pius also assisted Ferdinand with his spiritual weapons, threatening with excommunication all who should favour the Angevin cause. The loss of Genoa by the French through the impolitic conduct of Charles VII., which will be related in the next chapter; the death of that King and consequent accession of Louis XI., who was little disposed for foreign enterprises, were also fatal blows to the cause of John of Anjou. Louis even formed an alliance with Francis Sforza, the friend of Ferdinand, and from motives of self-interest, the warmest opponent of French influence in Italy. John was defeated by Ferdinand in an engagement near Troia, August 18th 1462; and in the following year the defection of some of his adherents, and the death of Orsino, by which all the possessions and fortresses of that Prince came into the hands of Ferdinand, determined John to quit Italy. His aged father René had indeed come to his aid with a fleet; but as the French King had abandoned both to their fate, they returned to Provence (1464), and subsequently enrolled themselves among the enemies of Louis XI. About the same time Genoa, with the concurrence of the French King, fell under the dominion of the Duke of Milan.

The same year (1464) was marked by the death of Pius II., already related, and also by that of Cosmo de' Medici. During the last years of his life, Cosmo, debilitated by ill-health, had intrusted the administration of Florence to Luca Pitti,[1] who availed himself of his friend's retirement to promote his own advancement. His rule was harsh and tyrannical, and is said to have been regarded by Cosmo with sorrow. His contemporary, Pope Pius II., who could have been swayed by no motives of self-interest, has left a noble portrait of Cosmo in his *Commentaries*.[2] It was not so much

[1] This Pitti erected the palace still bearing his name, which, with its beautiful gardens and rich collections of works of art, continues to form one of the chief attractions of Florence.

[2] Lib. ii. p. 50, ed. Frankf. 1614.

by the extent of his wealth, as by the application which he made of it, that Cosmo gained his influence and credit. Far from relying on that pomp and show which are so captivating to the vulgar, his manner of life, both public and private, was of the plainest and most unostentatious kind. He employed his riches, not in dazzling the eyes of his fellow-citizens with his personal magnificence, but in the patronage of learning and the arts, and in the erection of unequalled monuments. He encouraged the architects Michelozzi and Brunelleschi, the sculptor Donatello, the painter Masaccio, and with their assistance erected and adorned several churches, convents, and palaces in Florence and its neighbourhood. His agents, throughout Europe as well as in the East, were instructed to buy or procure copies of all newly discovered manuscripts; he founded two private libraries, one at Florence and the other at Venice; whilst his private collection formed the basis of the present Bibliotheca Laurentiana, so named after his grandson Lorenzo.[1] He was not, however, a mere *dilettante*. He took an interest in the higher speculations of philosophy, especially those of Plato, in which studies he displayed a just and profound judgment: nor did he neglect the improvement of the more useful and practical arts of life, and especially agriculture. But this man, so wise, so enlightened, so accomplished, and so munificent, preferred the interests of himself and his family to those of his country. By the charms of literature and art, and of a noble and splendid public luxury, he imperceptibly subjugated a lively and sensitive people: and Florence under Cosmo, somewhat like Athens under Pericles,[2] remained indeed nominally a Republic, but under a *first man*, or Prince.

Nothing can more strongly show the firm hold of power which the great qualities of Cosmo had enabled him to seize, than his transmitting it to his son Peter, who, besides that he lacked the abilities of his father, was so great an invalid that he resided chiefly in the country, and was accustomed to travel in a litter. Yet the dominion of Peter survived the attacks of the able, experienced, and treacherous statesmen by whom he was surrounded. Pitti, who had allied himself with Diotisalvi Neroni, Nicholas Soderini, Angelo Acciajuoli, and other influential Florentines, encouraged by the death of Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan (1466), the firm ally of the House of Medici, attempted an insurrection,

[1] Capponi, *Storia di Firenze*, lib. v. c. 3, *fin.*

[2] Εγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή.—Thucyd. ii. 65.

which, however, was frustrated by the vigilance of Peter de' Medici and the neutrality of the *Signoria;* and Galeazzo Maria Sforza, the son and successor of Francis, remained true to his father's policy.[1]

This abortive conspiracy only strengthened the hands of Peter. Pitti, whom he had gained over, and who had helped to dissipate the plot, lost all his influence and power; most of his confederates fled and were declared enemies of their country; others were banished, and some were even tortured and put to death. Peter now began to govern dictatorially; and he assumed those airs of princely state which his more prudent and moderate father had carefully avoided. Yet a grand festival was celebrated to thank God that the democracy had been preserved! The Florentine exiles, with help of Venice, raised a considerable army, which they placed under the command of Bartholomew Coleone, a famous *condottiere*. The Florentines also armed, and were assisted with troops by Ferdinand of Naples and Galeazzo Maria Sforza. The latter joined the Florentine army with a body of cavalry; but, either through cowardice or inability, proving rather a hindrance than a help, Peter de' Medici invited him to Florence, whilst the Florentine general, Frederick of Montefeltro, Count of Urbino, was instructed to deliver battle in his absence; and accordingly a bloody but indecisive engagement took place near La Molinella, July 25th, 1467. Galeazzo Maria, offended by this slight, returned to Milan; and the Venetians were obliged to abandon an enterprise which they had formed against that city in case Coleone should have proved victorious. Pope Paul II., with a view to compose these differences, but without consulting the parties interested, published the terms of an arbitrary peace (February 2nd, 1468), in which he appointed Coleone commander of a league against the Turks, with an annual subsidy of 100,000 ducats, to be paid rateably by the different States; and he threatened to excommunicate those who should refuse to accede to the treaty. Venice alone, however, in whose favour it was drawn, could be brought to assent; and as Milan, Florence, and Naples refused to contribute, and answered the threat of excommunication with the counter one of a General Council, Paul was induced to retract, and in April published a more moderate and equitable peace, to which all the belligerent States agreed.

[1] It may serve to show the still barbarous state of manners, that Galeazzo, who was in France at the time of his father's death, deemed it prudent to travel in disguise, lest some lord through whose territory he passed should seize his person in order to extort a ransom. Muratori, *Annali*, t. ix. p. 295.

Peter de' Medici, whose violence is lamented by Macchiavelli, took fearful vengeance on the families of those who had promoted the war. The short remnant of his life offers little of importance. He died December 2nd, 1469, leaving two sons, Lorenzo and Julian, and two married daughters. Lorenzo, now twenty-one years of age, was tall and robust; but his countenance was disfigured by a flat nose and large jaws; his sight was weak, his voice hoarse. He had received the rudiments of his education among the eminent literary men who frequented his father's house; the chief of whom, Marsilio Ficino, had initiated him in the then fashionable study of the Platonic philosophy. By these and other pagan studies, and by a loose manner of life, the religious principles instilled into him by a devout mother were much effaced, though never entirely lost. His father had completed his education by sending him to the most splendid Courts of Italy. A lofty genius, combined with patient industry, fitted him for statesmanship rather than arms; and he had, even in his father's lifetime, been intrusted with some share of the public business, in which he displayed considerable ability. We learn from his own memoirs that on his father's death he was requested by the leading men of Florence to assume the charge of the Republic, as his father and grandfather had done before him.[1] His younger brother Julian, of a quieter and less ambitious temper, was wholly engrossed by the pursuit of pleasure.

On July 26th, 1471, Pope Paul II. died of apoplexy. Vanity and selfishness were his chief characteristics. He was only forty-eight years of age at the time of his elevation to the tiara, and being remarkably handsome, proposed to take the title of Formoso; a folly from which it was difficult to dissuade him. Paul was also suspicious and cruel, and rendered himself notorious by his persecution of learned men. He regarded the members of the Roman Academy, established towards the close of his pontificate by Pomponio Leto, Platina, and other distinguished men, as enemies who were plotting against his own safety and the peace of the Church; and under pretence that they were heretics or atheists, caused several of them to be apprehended and subjected to torture, at which he himself presided. Agostino Campano died under the hands of his officers; yet neither plot nor heresy could be discovered.

The impunity with which the Popes escaped the Councils held in the early part of the fifteenth century, was well fitted to inspire

[1] *Ricordi*, ap. Fabroni, *Documenti*, p. 42; Capponi, t. ii. p. 354.

them with a reckless contempt for public opinion; and from that period down to the Reformation, it would be difficult to parallel among temporal Princes the ambitious, wicked, and profligate lives of many of the Roman Pontiffs. Among these, Francesco della Rovere, who succeeded Paul II. with the title of Sixtus IV., was not the least notorious. Born at Savona, of obscure family, Sixtus raised his nephews, and his sons who passed for nephews, to the highest dignities in Church and State, and sacrificed for their aggrandisement the peace of Italy and the cause of Christendom against the Turks. Of his two nephews, Julian and Leonard della Rovere, the former, afterwards Pope Julius II., was raised to the purple in the second year of his uncle's pontificate, while Leonard was married to an illegitimate daughter of King Ferdinand of Naples. Peter and Jerome Riario, who passed for the sons of Sixtus's sister, were commonly supposed to be his own. Peter Riario, bred as a low Franciscan friar, became, in a few months, and at the age of twenty-six, Cardinal of San Sisto, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Archbishop of Florence; but in a few years debauchery put an end to his life (1474.) For Jerome Riario was obtained the County of Imola from the Manfredi family, and he was married to Catharine Sforza, a natural daughter of the Duke of Milan.

Italy was at that period in the highest bloom of material prosperity, destined soon to wither through the decay of Genoese and Venetian commerce, and the losses inflicted on the Church by the Reformation. But its manners, though cultivated, were stained with a shameless libertinism, and many of its Princes, as well as its Popes, were models of tyranny and profligacy. Among such Princes, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, was conspicuous. He was not altogether devoid of the talent which had distinguished his father; he possessed some eloquence, and his manners were elegant and dignified. But he was a tyrant after the old Greek and Roman type. Not content with the death of his victims, he buried them alive, or amused himself with their tortures; he not only dishonoured the wives and daughters of the noblest families, but sought further gratification in acquainting husbands and parents with their shame. Among those whom he had wronged, two men of nobler race than himself, Carlo Visconti and Girolamo Olgiato, with Lampugnano, a patrician friend, animated by the exhortations of Cola de' Montani, a distinguished scholar, resolved to rid the world of such a monster, and to establish a Republic at Milan. The confederates executed their plot during the celebra-

tion of an annual festival in the cathedral, on the 26th of December, 1476. The Court, with its attendants, being assembled in the Church, Lampugnano approached the Duke as if to ask a favour, and, saluting him with his left hand, stabbed him twice or thrice with the other; while Visconti and Olgiato, pretending to hasten to Galeazzo's help, completed the work which their companion had begun. But to their shouts for a Republic not a voice replied. Lampugnano was cut down in the church; his confederates escaped for the moment, but were discovered a few days after. Visconti was cut to pieces at the time of his capture; Olgiato was reserved for an execution preceded by dreadful tortures, during which he made his political confession, founded on the maxims of the ancients. As John Galeazzo, the son of the murdered Duke, was a child of eight years, his guardianship, as well as the regency, was assumed by his mother Bona, of Savoy, sister-in-law of King Louis XI. Bona entrusted the conduct of affairs to Ciecco Simonetta, brother of the historian, who had been in the service of Francis Sforza. In May, 1477, four of Galeazzo Maria's brothers, namely, Sforza, Duke of Bari, Lodovico, surnamed Il Moro,[1] from a mother's mole, Ottaviano, and Ascanio, took up arms, and attempted to seize the government. Their plan was frustrated by Simonetta; Ottaviano was drowned in attempting to escape by fording the Adda; the other three brothers were captured and banished. A fifth, the eldest, Philip, acquiesced in the regency of Bona.

Italy was at this time divided into two great parties or leagues. So intimate a connection, cemented by the marriage already mentioned, had been formed between Sixtus IV. and Ferdinand of Naples, as excited the jealousy and suspicion of the northern States of Italy; and Lorenzo de' Medici, alarmed by the circumstance that Frederick of Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, who had commonly fought in the service of Florence, had joined the Pope and Ferdinand, had, towards the end of 1474, succeeded in forming a counter-league with Venice and Milan. The Venetians were offended with Sixtus because he had diverted to his own purposes the sums which he had raised under pretence of a crusade, and left them to struggle unaided with the Turks; and with Ferdinand, because he had opposed their design of obtaining possession of Cyprus, by availing themselves of the dissensions in that island. For some years, however, the peace of

[1] This appellation was not uncommon in Italy; and it is probable that, from a mistranslation of it, the Othello of Shakespeare is represented as a Moor.

Italy remained undisturbed, till the affairs of Florence afforded Sixtus IV. an opportunity to gratify his enmity against the House of Medici. Under the name of a Republic, Lorenzo and Julian reigned almost despotically at Florence. The old forms of government had been changed, the chief power was in the hands of a few adherents of the Medici; the taxes had been augmented, and the people were consoled for the loss of their ancient liberties by the splendour and magnificence of the ruling house. In a plutocracy such as Florence then was, it is not surprising that the rivalry of commerce should affect the affairs of State.

The family of the Pazzi, one of the greatest and most ancient in Florence, vied with the Medici in the extent of their trade; but pride and haughty manners made them less acceptable to the people, and they had not been able to obtain any of the leading offices of the State. Hence a hatred between the two families, which was increased by commercial collisions. Sixtus IV. had deprived the Medici of the office of treasurers to the Holy See, and given it to Franceso Pazzi, who had established a Bank at Rome. And when Sixtus purchased the lordship of Imola for his nephew Girolamo Riario, Lorenzo de' Medici, who wished to secure that place for Florence, had tried to thwart the bargain, by preventing Francesco Pazzi becoming security for the purchase-money. By this act he drew on himself the virulent enmity both of Girolamo and Francesco. They formed the design of overthrowing the Medici, and drew into their plans Francesco Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, who was likewise their enemy, and who commonly resided in Rome. The Pope also aided the conspiracy, though without sanctioning the shedding of blood. Thus in 1478 was formed that plot against the Medici known as the "Conspiracy of the Pazzi;"[1] and Sixtus was base enough to make his great-nephew, Raphael Riario, a mere youth of eighteen, who was studying at Pisa University, an instrument in the plot. Raphael was made a Cardinal, and sent to Florence on his way to Perugia as Legate, in order that his house might become the rendezvous of the conspirators. One Giambattista di Montesecco, a soldier, was also sent to Florence with instructions that the Pope wished a revolution there; and he succeeded in gaining over the whole of the Pazzi family, though one of them was married to a sister

[1] For this conspiracy see Capponi, *Storia di Firenze*, lib. v. cap. 5. An account of it has also been written by Politian, the friend and *protégé* of the Medici (*Conjurationis Pactianæ Commentarium*).

of Lorenzo. The plan was to assassinate Julian and Lorenzo, and then to seize the government. After one or two failures, it was resolved to perpetrate the murders, which were to be simultaneous, in the Cathedral itself, during the celebration of a solemn High Mass, on the 26th of April, 1478; and the elevation of the Host was to be the signal for the deed of blood. But here a difficulty arose. Montesecco, who was to have despatched Lorenzo, scrupled to commit the act at the very altar of God, although it had been sanctioned by the Archbishop of Pisa, as well as by Cardinal Riario. By a not uncommon union of superstition with the perpetration of the darkest crimes, this feeling prevailed so extensively among the *bravi* of the time, that it was found necessary to secure the services of two priests; the only order of men, according to an observation of the historian Galli, sufficiently at ease inside a church to make it the scene of an assassination.[1]

The Cathedral was filled with people, but Julian was not among them. Francesco de 'Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini went to his house, accompanied him to the church with every mark of friendship, and, when the bell announced the elevation of the Host, despatched him with their daggers. The priests who were to murder Lorenzo were either less adroit or determined than their confederates, or Lorenzo was more wary or more active than his brother. He succeeded in gaining the sacristy with only a slight wound in the neck; and, bolting the door, secured himself till some friends came to the rescue.

Meanwhile the Archbishop Salviati and his associates had gone to the Palace of the Signory to seize the magistrates; but the Gonfaloniere Petrucci and the Priors, assisted by their servants, made a stout resistance, till the populace, who mostly favoured the Medici, came to their aid. The attempt of Francesco Pazzi's uncle Jacopo to rouse the people, as, parading the town with a body of soldiers, he called on them to assert their liberty, utterly failed. He was only answered with shouts of *Palle! Palle!* the rallying cry of the Medici.[2] When the magistrates learned the death of Julian, and the attempt upon Lorenzo, their indignation knew no bounds. Salviati, who had been secured during the tumult, was immediately hanged in his archiepiscopal robes outside one of the windows of the Palazzo Pubblico; Francesco de' Pazzi, who was captured soon afterwards, underwent the same

[1] Ap. Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* ch. lxxxv.
[2] From the *palle d'oro*, or golden balls, borne in the escutcheon of the Medici.

fate. The populace executed summary justice on seventy persons of distinction belonging to the Pazzi party, including the two priestly assassins; and 200 persons more were subsequently put to death. Thus ended a conspiracy whose nature, the persons engaged in it, and the place of its execution, all tend to show, as a modern writer[1] has observed, the practical atheism of the times.

Many European Sovereigns manifested on this occasion their sympathy with Lorenzo. Louis XI., especially, expressed in a letter to him the greatest indignation at the Pope's conduct; he even threatened to cite Sixtus before a General Council, and to stop annates; and he sent Philip de Comines to Florence to assure Lorenzo of his protection. Even Mahomet II. showed a friendly feeling towards the Florentine ruler by delivering up Bandini, who had sought refuge at Constantinople. But the Pope, supported by King Ferdinand, and impelled by the ambition of his nephew, displayed the most cynical contempt for public opinion. He fulminated against the Florentines the censures of the Church for hanging an Archbishop and imprisoning a Cardinal; he placed them under an interdict, annulled their alliances, and forbade all military men to enter into their service. Thus his spiritual weapons were pressed into the support of the carnal ones, which he also adopted. In conjunction with King Ferdinand he despatched an army into Tuscany; and, to prevent the Florentines from being succoured by Milan, he created employment for the forces of the Regent Bona by exciting an insurrection at Genoa, which, however, was only partially successful. At the instigation of Sixtus, Prosper Adorno, who governed Genoa for the Regent, threw off his allegiance, and defeated a Milanese army in the pass of the Bochetta, August 7th, 1478. But the success of Adorno was frustrated by raising up against him a rival, Battista Fregoso, who, with the help of Ibletto de' Fieschi and his party, drove out Adorno, and made himself Doge. The Riviera di Levante, however, still remained in the hands of Adorno. The Pope also excited the Swiss League to hostilities against Milan, and this step was combined with a profitable speculation. A board of priests was established in Switzerland to decide cases of conscience, as well as to sell indulgences, which were despatched thither in great abundance, and proved a very marketable commodity among a people who hired themselves out to slay and plunder; insomuch that Sixtus himself was astonished at the large sums which he

[1] Voltaire, *Essai sur les Mœurs.*

drew from so poor a country. The Papal Legate excited the animosity of the Swiss against the Milanese Government on the subject of a chestnut wood in the Val Levantina, on the southern side of the St. Gothard, which had been made over to the Canton of Uri by Galeazzo Maria in 1466, by a treaty called the *Capitulate of Milan*.[1] The wood had remained in dispute, and towards the close of 1478 the men of Uri, assisted by other Cantons, carried their devastations as far as Bellinzona. Hostilities were continued with varied success till Louis XI. succeeded in mediating a peace.

Meanwhile the combined Papal and Neapolitan armies had entered Tuscany, the former under command of the Duke of Urbino, while that of Ferdinand was led by his son and heir, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria. The Pope demanded that Lorenzo de' Medici should be surrendered into his hands. As the Florentines had at first neither captain nor army, the Allies succeeded in taking several places; but Lorenzo at length procured the services of Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, as well as of Robert Malatesta, Lord of Pesaro, Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, and other experienced captains; and the Florentine cause was proceeding pretty favourably in 1479, when it received a severe shock by a revolution which occurred at Milan. Ludovico Il Moro, paternal uncle of the young Duke of Milan, having formed an alliance with Sanseverino, a celebrated *condottiere*, appeared suddenly before the Milanese town of Tortona (August 10th), and was admitted by the Governor; whence marching upon Milan, he found the same reception. The Duchess Bona was now advised to reconcile herself with Ludovico: but that Prince, in whose hands the chief fortresses had been placed, soon displayed his true colours. Three days after entering Milan, he caused Simonetta to be confined in the Castle of Pavia, where he was subjected to a trial accompanied with dreadful tortures, and in the following year he was beheaded. Ludovico then caused the majority of Galeazzo, who was only twelve years of age, to be proclaimed, in order that he himself might reign in his nephew's name, and Bona withdrew to Abbiate Grosso.

This revolution deprived Lorenzo de' Medici of the alliance of Milan, as the new Regent was on good terms with the King of Naples, who restored to him his brother's Duchy of Bari. The Florentines were also alarmed at the defeat of their army by the Duke of Calabria at Poggio Imperiale; and even the friends and

[1] Planta, *Helvetic Confederacy*, vol. ii. p. 204.

partisans of Lorenzo threatened to desert him. In this crisis of his fortunes, Lorenzo adopted the bold step of proceeding in person to the Court of the treacherous Ferdinand; where by his talents, address, and eloquence he made such an impression on that monarch that he succeeded in effecting not only a peace but a league with him (March, 1480). This clandestine treaty made the Venetians as angry with Lorenzo as the Pope was with King Ferdinand, and they found no difficulty in persuading Sixtus to form a league with themselves; of which his nephew, Jerome Riario, Count of Imola, was appointed Captain-General. Jerome now diverted his arms from Tuscany into Romagna, drove the noble house of Ordelaffi from Forlì, and was invested by Sixtus with the lordship of that city.

Such was the state of Italy when Mahomet II. determined on the expedition before referred to (p. 102), against Ferdinand of Naples, in revenge for the aid which he had given to the Knights of Rhodes. It is admitted by Venetian historians that their Republic, with the view of ruining Ferdinand, not only made the peace just mentioned with the Pope, but also sent ambassadors to the Grand Signor to incite him to invade Ferdinand's dominions, by representing to him that he was entitled to Brindisi, Taranto, and Otranto, as places formerly remaining to the Byzantine Empire: though it is probable that they did not communicate this step to Sixtus.[1] The landing of the Turks in Apulia induced the Pope to pardon the Florentines and reconcile them with the Church. Twelve of the leading citizens of Florence were despatched to Rome, where they were compelled to make the most abject submission, and to receive at the hands of the Pope the flogging usually inflicted on such occasions; and by way of penance the Florentines were ordered to fit out fifteen galleys against the Turks.

Notwithstanding the peace between King Ferdinand and Lorenzo de' Medici, the Neapolitan army, under the Duke of Calabria, was still in Tuscany, when, in August, 1480, the Turks, under Ahmed Keduk, Pasha of Vallona, effected the landing in Apulia already referred to. They took Otranto, put the greater part of the inhabitants to death, sawed the Commandant and the Archbishop in half, and committed many other atrocities. They also attacked Taranto, Brindisi, and Lecce; but the approach of the Duke of Calabria compelled them to re-embark, leaving,

[1] See Navagiero, *Stor. Venet.* in Muratori, *Ital. Rer. SS.* t. xxiii. p. 1165; Sanuto, *ibid.* xxii. p. 1213. Cf. Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xviii. §§ 3, 4.

however, a garrison of 8,000 men in Otranto. The Pope, alarmed by the Turkish invasion and the menacing demands of King Ferdinand, who threatened that if he were not immediately assisted, he would treat with the invaders, and facilitate their march to Rome, formed a league with Milan, Ferrara, Genoa, and Florence;[1] and in order to provide speedier succour, he sent his own plate, as well as that of some of the churches, to the mint. Ferdinand also received a few troops from his son-in-law, King Matthias of Hungary, and from Ferdinand of Aragon. The Venetians, on the other hand, assisted the Turks to victual Otranto. In 1481 the Turks made a fresh attempt on the Terra di Otranto, but could not penetrate the lines of the Duke of Calabria; and as the Neapolitan fleet was superior at sea, the garrison of Otranto began to feel the approach of famine. The unexpected news of Sultan Mahomet's death added to their discouragement, and on the 10th of September they capitulated. The Duke of Calabria, following their own example, violated the capitulation, and having captured some of the Turks after they had set sail, compelled them to serve in the army and in the galleys.

Mahomet died May 3rd, 1481, in his camp near Gebseh, while on his way to Byzantine Scutari; and with him expired his magnificent projects, which amounted to nothing less than the utter extinction of the Christian name. He was fifty-one years of age at his death, of which he had reigned thirty. Possessing some of the qualities of a great and noble nature, he was nevertheless the slave of passion and caprice, which often betrayed him into acts of the basest perfidy and most revolting inhumanity. He was, perhaps, the greatest conqueror of his martial race; yet not a mere destroyer, for he could also construct and organize, as appears from the laws which he prescribed for his own State, and from the manner in which he preserved and adorned Constantinople.

Having thus brought down the conquests of the Turks and the affairs of Italy to the death of Mahomet II., we shall now direct our attention awhile to the nations of Western Europe.

[1] See the bulls in Raynaldus, t. x. p. 610 sq.

CHAPTER II.

AFTER the expulsion of the English from France, the remainder of Charles VII.'s reign affords few events of importance, besides his quarrel with his son, the Dauphin Louis, and the flight of the latter to the Court of Burgundy. Louis, after his relegation into Dauphiné,[1] displayed in the government of that land, in a manner remarkable in so youthful a Prince, the same principles which afterwards guided his conduct as King of France. He cultivated the friendship of the people, and endeavoured to depress the nobles, whom he forbade to exercise the right of private war; he introduced many reforms into the administration of the country, which gave it the air of a little kingdom; he established a Parliament at Grenoble and a University at Valence; he coined money bearing his own superscription; he raised a considerable army, and he negotiated with foreign Princes on the footing of an independent Sovereign. Against his father he waged open war. The hatred and jealousy between Charles VII. and his heir went on increasing, and in 1456 Charles resolved on reducing his rebellious son, and bringing Dauphiné under power of the Crown. Louis felt that, from the want of *gens d'armes*, he could bring no force into the field able to cope with his father's,[2] and under pretence of joining the expedition which the Duke of Burgundy talked of preparing against the Turks, he fled to the Court of that Sovereign, where he met with a magnificent reception.

Philip, however, would offer nothing but his mediation; and he even made a sort of apology to Charles VII. for receiving Louis, protesting that he meant only the good both of father and son. But all negotiations proved unavailing, and Louis remained in Brabant, where he was treated with regal splendour: a residence was assigned him at Genappe, near Nivelle, with a monthly pension of 2,500 livres; and it was here that, to amuse his leisure hours, the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* were com-

[1] See above, p. 76.
[2] See his letter, ap. Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 99.

posed, in imitation of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Charles VII. was accustomed to say that the Duke was sheltering the fox that would at last devour his hens. The residence of Louis at the Court of Burgundy afforded him, indeed, ample opportunity to observe all the weak points of his future enemy, and the foundation was now laid of that antipathy between the heirs apparent of Burgundy and France, which afterwards proved of so much political importance. No characters could well be more dissimilar than those of the two young Princes. That of Louis offers the picture of a personage not often seen in the world—a royal cynic. Amidst the pomp and magnificence so pre-eminently cultivated at the Burgundian Court, Louis felt and displayed a profound contempt for all the trappings of state, and for everything that savoured of chivalry. In public conferences and assemblies, where the nobility and Crown vassals vied with one another in all the splendour of silk and velvet, gold and precious stones, Louis appeared in a short coat, an old doublet of grey fustian, and a scurvy felt hat. Such a temper was naturally accompanied with a turn for irony and raillery. Louis took no pride in his rank; the only thing on which he piqued himself was, being more dexterous and able than others. Yet his simple, or rather mean, way of life, did not arise from the love of hoarding, but from the desire of employing the money which he saved in undertakings that might be useful to his interests. Expediency was his only rule; and throughout his life he preferred diplomacy to arms. In disposition he was sly and dissembling, also cruel where he deemed it necessary for his purpose. But there was a singular, and apparently incongruous, trait in the character of this hard-hearted man of the world—he was weakly superstitious: not according to the superstition of his age, which delighted in the splendour of public worship, in magnificent religious foundations, and in the glorification of the clergy, but a superstition trivial, debasing, centering wholly in himself. He cared little for the precepts of religion, and delighted in humiliating the clergy; yet he constantly wore round his neck a huge wooden paternoster. In short, he was directly opposed to the spirit of the middle ages, which it seemed to be his mission utterly to destroy.

Such a disposition, as it had led the Dauphin to hate and despise his father, the trifling, dissipated, extravagant Charles, so it now set him at variance with the Count of Charolais, the son and heir of Philip, afterwards known as Charles the Bold. That

young Prince, though sedate and devout, was haughty, imperious, obstinate, and inflexible; a great admirer of that ancient chivalry which Louis despised; and finding his chief amusement in reading books relating to it. War was his favourite passion, and he delighted in feats of arms and in bodily exercises. Like Louis, he was at variance with his father, being displeased with the favour shown by Philip to his ministers, the Croys, and on this subject a violent scene took place in 1457, when the old Duke was so enraged as to draw his sword upon his son. In pursuance of his habitual policy with regard to France, Philip the Good had compelled Charles to marry a French Princess, Isabella of Bourbon, though the Count of Charolais's own views were directed towards a daughter of Richard, Duke of York, a connection which might have afforded him a prospect of the English throne.

After the flight of Louis Charles VII. took possession of Dauphiné, which was now finally joined to the French monarchy, and never again administered as a separate sovereignty.[1] Charles did not feel himself strong enough to make war upon the Duke of Burgundy, but jealousy and hatred were rankling in his breast; he took every occasion to thwart Philip's interests, and affected to treat him with a hauteur which must have been very galling to "the great Duke of the West." Charles suffered no further serious disquietude from the English. A ray of glory might have been shed over his declining days had he known how to use the opportunity which fortune threw in his way by the making over to him of the sovereignty of Genoa by the Doge Pietro Fregoso in 1458, when Charles, as already related, made John of Anjou Governor of that city. But the ill policy of the French King soon proved fatal to his dominion at Genoa. During the wars of the Roses in England, Charles naturally sided with Margaret of Anjou and the House of Lancaster, while the cause of York was espoused by the Duke of Burgundy. Charles was unreasonable enough to insist that the Genoese should aid Margaret with a fleet, and urged them to spend their blood and treasure, while he husbanded his own, in a cause to which they were perfectly indifferent. The anger of the Genoese was roused by this injustice; they rose and expelled the French Governor and garrison (March 9th, 1461); and an army which Charles despatched against them in the following July was utterly defeated.

Towards the end of his life Charles VII. seems to have contemplated disinheriting the rebellious Louis, and leaving the

[1] Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xiv. p. 3.

Crown to his second son, Charles, Duke of Berri, a purpose from which he is said to have been diverted by the counsel of Pope Pius II.[1] His last days were passed in an alternation between a wretched listlessness and those sensual pleasures which hastened his end. At last he fell into so deep a state of dejection as to fancy that all the world, and especially his son, the Dauphin, were engaged in a league to poison him, and obstinately refusing all sustenance, he literally died of starvation, July 22nd, 1461.

The Dauphin, now Louis XI., was still at the Court of Burgundy when his father expired.[2] With his characteristic dislike of pomp and magnificence, he declined Philip the Good's offer to escort him into France with a numerous retinue of knights; and he set off with only a few attendants to take possession of his new Kingdom. The contrast between the Sovereigns was strikingly displayed at Louis's coronation, which took place shortly afterwards at Rheims. The Duke of Burgundy appeared there with the splendour worthy of an Emperor; whilst the French King, as he rode before in mean and shabby attire, resembled some valet sent to announce the approach of the Duke. The latter's retinue, both men and horses, were almost buried under the weight of rich velvets adorned with jewels and massy golden chains; the very beasts of burden had velvet housings embroidered with the Duke's arms, and silver bells tinkled on their necks. One hundred and forty superb chariots, over which floated Philip's banners, conveyed his gold and silver plate, the money that was to be thrown, the wine that was to be distributed, to the populace; while fat Flemish bullocks and small sheep of the Ardennes, destined to supply the banquets, closed the procession. The King, on the other hand, in his ostentatious poverty, assumed a corresponding air of humble devotion. He was constantly on his knees; he could not be raised from them when he received the chrism of the *sainte ampoule*, or when the Duke of Burgundy, as premier Peer of France, put the crown upon his head. Yet amidst all this affected humility, Louis's penetrating glance, the ironical smile that played about his lips, betrayed his true character to the intelligent observer.

After the coronation magnificent tournaments were celebrated at Paris, at one of which Louis contrived an exhibition that

[1] Raynaldus, anno 1461, t. x. p. 282.

[2] Louis's first act was to arrest the Duke of Somerset, who had entered Burgundy with a safe-conduct to treat with the Duke. Martin, t. vi. p. 522.

at once gratified his cynicism and gave presage of what he was meditating against the degenerate feudal lords. After the Count of Charolais and the rest of the nobles had jousted, and paraded before the spectators their splendid accoutrements, their jewellery, and their plumes, a strange champion, grotesquely attired, as well as his horse, in the skins of wild beasts, suddenly entered the lists, and dismounted one after another all those gorgeous knights; while the King, hidden behind some Parisian ladies, quietly enjoyed the spectacle from a window. He had selected and handsomely paid a tall and vigorous *gendarme*, who, mounted on a strong and fiery steed, overthrew all who ventured to oppose him.

Louis's first acts foreshadowed the policy of his future reign—to lower the nobility, the Church, and everything that could offer a counterpoise to the royal authority. After the coronation banquet, Philip the Good had knelt down before him and solicited pardon for all who had offended him during his father's life; and Louis, who could hardly refuse the first request of his benefactor, promised compliance, with certain exceptions. But he did not keep even this qualified promise, and Philip foretold the resistance of the persecuted nobles. The way in which Louis received the addresses of the clergy was in the highest degree rude and unmannerly. He stopped the Archbishop of Rheims, who was also Chancellor of France, at the first word; and his reception of the celebrated Cardinal Bessarion, whom the Pope had sent to compliment him, was still worse. The learned Byzantine had prepared a long and somewhat pedantic speech; but the King cut him short with a line from the Latin grammar: *Barbara Græca genus retinent quod habere solebant!*[1] On the other hand, he despatched letters to his "good towns," calling on the inhabitants to hold them well for the King—that is, against the governors, whom he suspected. These demonstrations did not remain mere idle words, but were soon followed up with corresponding acts. In order to curtail the jurisdiction of the Parliaments of Paris and Toulouse, he created that of Bordeaux; he established at Bourges a rival University to that of Paris, which intercepted the students of the south; and he published several ordinances respecting ecclesiastical matters, claiming the disposal of benefices, and forbidding all appeals to the Pope. One of the most remarkable of these was the ordinance of July 20th, 1463, commanding the clergy to make within a year a return of all Church property,

[1] Michelet, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 206.

"in order that they may no longer encroach on our signorial rights, nor on those of our vassals." He banished the Papal collectors, and seized the temporalities of two or three Cardinals; among them, those of the Cardinal of Avignon, one of the richest of pluralists, from whom he obtained the revenues of the bishoprics of Carcassone and Usès, of the abbey of St. Jean d'Angély, and several others.[1]

In order to degrade the aristocracy, Louis elevated farmers and lawyers to the rank of nobles. But his main efforts were directed against the holders of the large French fiefs, several of whom might be regarded as rivals to the Crown. After Burgundy, the principal of these was the Duke of Brittany, whose fief was dissimilar to those of the rest of France. There prevailed in Brittany a sort of clanship somewhat analogous to that of the Scotch Highlands; the Duke styled himself Duke "by the grace of God;" he spoke of his *royal* and ducal powers, and wore a crown instead of the ducal hat. The pretensions of the Dukes of Brittany to independence had been favoured by the long struggle between France and England, and the question of homage to the Crown of France had been renewed at the accession of each Duke. The celebrated Constable Richemont, who had succeeded to the Duchy of Brittany in 1457, with the title of Arthur III., had done only *simple* homage: that is, he neither took off his belt nor bent his knee, but standing, and girt with his sword, he placed his hands between those of Charles VII., and pronounced the accustomed formula, which, however, was received with reservation by the French monarch. The latter claimed a *liege* homage, which would have obliged the Duke to follow his banner everywhere in war, and to sit in his courts of justice, in short, to be a Peer of France—a title by which the Dukes of Brittany would have thought themselves degraded. The question therefore was not one merely of rank and honour: it involved the more substantial points of feudal services and payments, as also what were called the *droits régaliens*, or the privilege of appointing to bishoprics and receiving the fruits and revenues during avoidances.

At the accession of Louis XI. Brittany was held by Duke Francis II., the nephew of Richemont, who demurred to the King's demand of formal liege homage; and, in order to fortify himself against any attempt at compulsion, he contracted an alliance with the Duke of Normandy. The latter duchy, by a

[1] Michelet, *Hist. de France*, p. 185 sqq.

policy which it is difficult to explain, Louis had conferred on the Count of Charolais, together with a revenue of 36,000 livres and the Hôtel de Nesle at Paris. Louis can hardly be suspected of gratitude. One motive might have been that Charolais was at variance with his father; or Normandy might have been considered more easy to reduce if placed in the hands of a sort of foreign Sovereign. Be this as it may, Louis, with his usual caution and foresight, did not immediately resort to open violence against the Duke of Brittany, but first of all proceeded to place the French Kingdom in such a state as might enable him to enforce his demands with safety. He first directed his views to the south, and, in an expedition which he undertook in 1462, he received the Catalan County of Rousillon in mortgage from the King of Aragon, and assigned it to the Count of Foix. This grant was accompanied with other acts calculated to make him popular among his subjects in those parts. Thus, he exempted Dauphiné from the game laws, and granted to Toulouse, which had suffered from a great fire, an exemption from taxes for a century. A little afterwards he renewed his alliance with the Swiss, or Old League of High Germany, and with Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, to whom, as we have said, he abandoned all the French claims on Genoa and Savona, with reservation of the sovereignty. But what lay nearest his heart was the recovery of the towns on the Somme, which had been pledged to the Duke of Burgundy, and by which that potentate might have opened to the English the road to Paris.

By the Treaty of Arras, Louis was entitled to redeem these towns; but he seems to have promised the Count of Charolais that he would not do so during the lifetime of Charolais's father. He preferred, however, that his money should go into the hands of Philip's favourites, the Croys, rather than into those of his heir; and Charolais protested in vain. Thus, in October, 1463, the towns of St. Quentin, Péronne, Amiens, Abbeville, in short, all those on the Somme and in Picardy, were redeemed and re-annexed to the Crown of France; but Orchies, Douay, and Lille, which had been pledged at an earlier period, remained in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. In order to raise the necessary sum of 400,000 crowns, the King, besides taxing his towns, also laid his hands on the sacred deposit in Notre-Dame, the money of suitors, widows, and wards placed there by the Parliament of Paris. Another measure of precaution was the truce which he concluded with Edward IV. at Hesdin (October 27th,

1463. This Prince had mounted the throne only a few months before Louis, but the wars of the Roses still continued in England. Soon after his accession, Louis had lent some help to Henry VI.; and on the other hand, a large naval expedition, under command of the Earl of Warwick, had been fitted out against France in 1462; but Warwick had contented himself with making a trifling descent at Brest.[1]

After these precautions Louis prepared to strike a blow against the Duke of Brittany, who on his side had not been improvident or idle. He had confirmed his alliance with the Count of Charolais, as Duke of Normandy (March, 1464); he was negotiating with Edward IV., to whom he promised to transfer the homage of Brittany; and he entered into a league with the malcontent Dukes of Bourbon and Berri, and with John of Anjou, Duke of Lorraine and Bar, son of René, titular King of the Sicilies. To crush so dangerous a vassal, Louis caused an army to assemble gradually and secretly on the frontier of Brittany; and he then announced to Francis II. that he would no longer be permitted to style himself Duke "by the grace of God," nor to exercise the prerogatives of a sovereign Prince. The Duke of Brittany did not venture directly to reject these commands; but he alleged the necessity of consulting the States, and the whole matter was referred to an assembly to meet at Chinon in September, by which nothing was concluded.

Louis knew that his policy had roused the distrust and hatred of the French nobility, and that a great confederacy was organizing against him. His dissembling yet decisive character inspired the nobles with fear; and Pierre de Brezé concentrated this feeling in an epigram, when he remarked that the King's horse did not carry him alone, but all his council. Not that Louis repelled advice; on the contrary, he gave everybody an attentive hearing, but ended by deciding for himself. The lurking discontent wanted only an occasion to explode, which was soon afforded by a hasty step of the King's. Louis was aware that Romillé, Vice-Chancellor of Brittany, was one of the chief agents in hatching the confederacy against him; that he was accustomed to travel about disguised as a monk, and was now at Gorcum, in Holland, with the Count of Charolais. The King, therefore, resolved to seize him and his papers, and it is said the Count of Charolais

[1] Michelet (*Histoire de France*, t. viii. p. 146) insinuates that Warwick had already been *bought* by Louis; and observes, that not a word of all this is to be found in Lingard or Turner. We shall return to this subject further on.

also; and he despatched thither the Bastard of Rubempré, a notoriously bold and desperate character, in a smuggling vessel; but Rubempré's appearance in the streets of Gorcum excited suspicion, and he was apprehended. The Duke of Burgundy was informed that Louis, guided by certain astrologers, who had foretold the Duke's approaching death, had resolved on kidnapping his successor; and the King's known addiction to astrology lent colour to the charge. To clear his honour the King sent an embassy to the Court of Philip, consisting of the Count d'Eu, the Archbishop of Narbonne, and the Chancellor, Pierre de Morvilliers. The last discharged his mission with insolence. He reproached the Count of Charolais with his connection with the Duke of Brittany, demanded that Rubempré should be released, and that Olivier de la Marche,[1] who had incriminated the King, should be surrendered, as well as a Jacobin friar, who had abused him in his sermons. When the Ambassadors were departing the Count of Charolais bade the Archbishop of Narbonne recommend him very humbly to the King, and tell him that he had received a fine reprimand from his Chancellor, but that Louis should repent of it before a year was past.

This breach with Burgundy encouraged the French nobles to fly to arms. They communicated with one another by means of envoys, who were recognized by a knot of red silk at their girdles; and towards the end of 1464 was concluded at Paris the confederacy known as the *Ligue*, or *Emprise du Bien Public;* a name, as Sismondi observes, which shows that some deference was beginning to be paid to public opinion. More than five hundred princes, lords, and ladies, are said to have enrolled themselves in this League. It was favoured by the clergy, whom Louis had offended by the measures before adverted to as well as by excluding Bishops from the Parliament of Paris; and they allowed the agents of the nobles to meet in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. Philip the Good, fearing the rash and headstrong temper of his son, at first stood aloof from this confederacy: and it was only on persuasion of his nephew, John, Duke of Bourbon, that he was at length induced to join it. Bourbon, who had done good service against the English, had been alienated from the King by the refusal of the constableship on the death of Richemont, as well as

[1] The author of the contemporary Memoirs. At the period of this embassy begin the Memoirs of Philip de Comines, who was then in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, but afterwards attached himself to Louis XI.

by being deprived of the government of Guienne. The Duchy of Bourbon lies in the heart of the French Kingdom, but John also possessed many lands in the south, so that his territory might be said to reach from Bordeaux to Savoy. Among other principal leaders besides the Duke of Brittany, were the Duke of Alençon, the Count of Armagnac, and John of Anjou, who had joined the League much against the inclination of his father, King René. The Angevin House of Provence and Lorraine had been hurt by the surrender of Genoa, which diminished their chance of recovering Naples; while the Orleans family had also been offended by the King's alliance with Francesco Sforza, the old Duke Charles claiming Milan, as we have said, through his mother, Valentina Visconti. The confederates published violent manifestoes, in which they denounced the acts of the King, and they declared that their revolt had no other object than the good of the people. The King on his side despatched letters through the kingdom in which he pointed out the evils which would spring from this "false and damnable rebellion;" and he asserted, perhaps with truth, that if he had consented to increase the pensions of the nobles, and allowed them to oppress their vassals as before, they would never have thought of the public weal.

Stratagem and negotiation, Louis's familiar arts, were now of no avail; it was necessary to oppose force by force, and he applied himself to the levying of an army. He increased the pay of the military, and, to meet this charge, he laid on taxes which considerably damaged his popularity. Abroad he entered into alliances with the Bohemians and with Venice, and he endeavoured to conciliate the Pope; but the only foreign aid which he actually received was from the Duke of Milan and the King of Naples, who were naturally pleased that he should support them against the pretensions of his own vassals. Francesco Sforza sent his son, Galeazzo Maria, with troops; and King Ferdinand despatched some galleys to cruise on the coast of Provence. Louis also courted the Medici; and it was now that he allowed Pietro to insert the lilies of France in his armorial bearings—a favour that was probably bought. It was at this conjuncture (June, 1464), that, in order to procure rapid intelligence from all parts of the realm, Louis first established posts, in imitation of those of ancient Rome, with relays of horses at every four leagues; a very necessary step towards his policy of centralization.

In March, 1465, the King's brother, Charles, Duke of Berri, from whom he had been some time estranged, joined the League,

and went into Brittany. This was the signal for the civil war which ensued, known as the *guerre du bien public*, or War of the Public Weal; and in May, almost the whole Kingdom, except Lyon, Dauphiné, the greater part of Auvergne, Languedoc, and Guienne, had risen in arms. The King first led his forces against Bourbon; but learning that the Duke of Brittany was in his rear, and that the Count of Charolais was marching on Paris at the head of 26,000 men, he hastened towards the north. The Duke of Brittany was on the Loire, Charolais on the Somme; and their design was to form a junction in the Isle of France, and occupy Paris. Charolais's military character was precipitate and rash, and his natural imprudence was increased by his father's advice to strike hard, accompanied with a promise that he himself, if necessary, would come to his aid at the head of 100,000 men. Charolais penetrated to Paris without waiting for the Duke of Brittany; but his army was ill organized and disciplined, and the Parisians made a valiant defence. Whilst the Count was hesitating whether to retreat or to await the arrival of his confederates, Louis unexpectedly approached, the Oriflamme glittering in his ranks, which, during the domination of the English, had lain forgotten. This is the last time that the appearance of this celebrated standard is recorded. Louis attacked the Burgundian army at Montlhéry, July 16th, 1465. The accounts given of this battle by the two contemporary chroniclers, Philip de Comines and Olivier de la Marche, are not easily to be reconciled. Both leaders are said to have displayed personal valour, and both claimed the victory. Charolais remained in possession of the field, but he retired next day to Etampes, where he was joined by the Dukes of Brittany and Berri, while Louis seemed to have reaped the more substantial advantage of the day, as he lost fewer men, and entered Paris as a conqueror.

About the middle of August, the army of the League, which had received large reinforcements, and had been joined by many of the confederate princes, reappeared before Paris. Louis had gone into Normandy to hasten the levies in that quarter, and meanwhile the Duke of Berri invited the Parisians to a negotiation at Beauté-sur-Marne, where he endeavoured, though without success, to persuade them to open their gates to him. In a few days Louis returned with the Norman levies; but though the hostile armies lay opposed to each other till September, only a few unimportant skirmishes took place. As Louis was master of the Seine down to the sea, he could always command a supply of pro-

visions, and was therefore in no hurry to risk a battle; he trusted rather to delay, and the effects which he hoped to produce through intrigue and address on princes of such dissimilar characters and interests as those now leagued against him. He also relied on some diversions that were making in his favour. Galeazzo Maria Sforza had entered Dauphiné with 5,000 men, and the citizens of Liége, with whom Louis had signed a treaty at the breaking out of the war, had risen against the Duke of Burgundy, and after sending him a defiance at Brussels, had laid siege to Limburg. The King also had incited the inhabitants of Dinant to war; and they had ravaged the County of Namur, and hung up on a gallows before the gates of Bouvignes, an effigy of Charolais, with an insulting inscription, designating him as a bastard of the old Bishop of Liége. These were blows struck in the heart of the enemy's dominions; the Count of Charolais became anxious to make his peace with Louis, in order that he might be able to chastise the insolence of his rebellious subjects; and negotiations between the King and the League were opened at Charenton. Louis, who had no pride, or at all events never suffered it to interfere with his interests, flattered the vanity of Charolais by going thither in person, without asking for securities or hostages. He even condescended to say that the Count had fulfilled the promise made to his ambassadors—namely, that their master should repent his insolence before a year was expired, for he confessed that he repented of it already.

Rouen had opened its gates to the Duke of Bourbon; the example had been followed by some other towns of Normandy, and the demands of the princes and nobles became so extravagant, that Louis at first refused to listen to them. They were all, however, for the private advantage of the confederates; not a word about the "public weal," except that they stipulated for an assembly to consider of some reforms. Francesco Sforza advised Louis to concede everything, in order to dissipate this formidable conspiracy, and to fulfil the conditions or not, according to circumstances. But Louis was not behind the subtlest Italian as a diplomatist. He improved upon this advice, and granted even more than the confederates asked; seeing that the more he now conceded, the more ready would the people be to help him hereafter. He distinguished the Duke of Burgundy from the other members of the League, and concluded with him a separate treaty at Conflans, October 5th. The terms seemed most disadvantageous to the Crown of France; that especially by which

the Count of Charolais recovered for himself, and his next heir, the towns of Picardy, with liberty to the King of France, after the demise of both, to repurchase them for 200,000 gold crowns.

The treaty with the other princes was signed at St. Maur des Fosses, October 29th. The King's facility was calculated to rouse suspicion; but the nobles were carried away by the advantages offered them, as well as by the example of Charolais. Nothing was said by them respecting the *Etats Généraux*, who might have questioned the concessions they had obtained; but in order to save appearances, they stipulated that the King should call an Assembly of Notables, to consist of twelve prelates, twelve knights and squires, and twelve lawyers. At the very time he was making these concessions, Louis entered a formal protest against them in the Parliament of Paris, as extorted by force, and therefore null and void; and the Parliament on their side registered the protest with reservations, declaring themselves under constraint.

By the failure of the League of the Public Good—for the treaty of St. Maur, notwithstanding its vast concessions, must be regarded as the consummation of its failure—not only was the fate of the French nobility decided, but also the future colour of the French constitution. The barons of England, uniting their cause with that of the commons against King John, established their own influence and the liberty of all. The French nobility, standing by themselves, and contending at once with King and people, finally lost every remnant of power, and paved the way for democracy and despotism. But their success would perhaps have been still more fatal to France. Under an aristocratical oligarchy public liberty might have been still more compromised; while France, instead of becoming a compact and powerful monarchy, would probably, like Germany, have had the elements of its strength dissipated among a confederacy of feudal Princes.

The first employment of Louis after his deliverance from immediate danger was to upset the treaty by which he had effected it. With this view he entered privately into negotiations with the princes and nobles. He seemed mindful of the old fable of the bundle of rods, fragile separately, though infrangible while united. To conciliate Bourbon, the King made him his Lieutenant in the south, and conferred on the Bastard of Bourbon the office of Admiral of France. The renowned Dunois, the old Bastard of Orleans, was detached from the interests of that House by giving

his son the hand of Agnes of Savoy.[1] The Constable St. Pol, uncle to the Queen of England, was seduced by the prospect of advantageous marriages for himself and family. Even the Count of Charolais, now a widower, was propitiated by the offer of the hand of Louis's infant daughter, Anne, afterwards the celebrated Anne of France, with Champagne and the Laonnois as a dowry. But most of these promises Louis had no intention to keep, and his treacherous projects were favoured by the mutual jealousy of the Princes. The Dukes of Brittany and Normandy (Charolais) quarrelled on their journey from Paris to Rouen. Duke Francis wanted to seize the governorship of that city, and the principal offices, civil and military, of Normandy, in order to indemnify himself for the expenses of the war. He appealed to force, and was supported by the King, who ceded to him the *droits régaliens* of that province, made him a present of 120,000 gold crowns, and came to his assistance with an army. Their united force soon reduced Normandy, the towns of which made no defence, and that land was declared re-annexed to the French Crown (Jan. 21st, 1466). This event was accompanied with a double perfidy. The King neglected to fulfil his promise of bestowing Normandy on his brother the Duke of Berri, and the offer of Anne was transferred to John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, but with no better intention of fulfilling it. In this state of things, small attention was paid to the provisions of the treaty. The Notables, charged with the reformation of abuses, assembled, indeed, but were so selected as to leave the King nothing to fear from their proceedings.

Meanwhile the Count of Charolais was employed in punishing the towns of Liége and Dinant, in whose favour Louis had made no stipulations in the Treaty of Conflans, though it was he who had incited them to war. He sacrificed Liége to his desire of conciliating Bourbon, whose brother Louis had been made Bishop of that principality by influence of Philip the Good; and in order that Louis might re-enter his bishopric, from which he had been expelled, it was necessary that the King should withdraw his protection from the insurgent citizens. The Liége towns were reduced, condemned in heavy fines, and compelled to recognize the Duke of Burgundy as their hereditary protector. From this arrangement, however, the town of Dinant was specially excepted; and in August (1466), Charolais appeared before Dinant with a

[1] Louis himself had married Charlotte, daughter of Louis, Duke of Savoy, and sister of Agnes.

large army, battered it with his artillery, sacked it, razed it to the ground, and massacred the inhabitants in cold blood, 800 of whom, tied together in couples, were thrown into the Meuse. This horrible example procured the renewed submission of Liége.[1]

Charolais must not bear alone the execration merited by these atrocious acts. The old Duke Philip was present before Dinant, and, though he was deemed more merciful than his son, he refused to listen to any conditions. It was one of the last acts of his reign; he died June 15th, 1467. His title of "the Good" was derived from a certain sensual good humour, which often passes with the vulgar for good nature, and supplies the place of virtue. By his last will he directed that his heart should be carried to Jerusalem; for the Asiatic Princes at this time leagued against the Sultan Mahomet II. had promised to place him on the throne of that visionary Kingdom.[2]

By the accession of Charles to his father's dominions, Louis foresaw that a war with Burgundy would soon become inevitable; and in contemplation of it, he used every art to increase his popularity among his own subjects. He particularly cultivated the friendship of the Parisians, spoke familiarly with all, dined and supped with the principal magistrates and citizens, and engaged his Queen to make bathing parties with their wives. From his former intimacy with Charles, he was well acquainted with all the weak points in his character, and he prepared to take advantage of them. That Prince, who has obtained the surnames of "the Terrible," "the Bold," and "the Rash," was of middle stature, dark complexion, and commanding aspect. In many respects he was the reverse of his father. He was temperate and true to his marriage vow, warlike, inured to hardship and fatigue, but improvident, overbearing, and cruel. While Philip was regretted, his son soon became universally hated by the people, for his hostility to their municipal privileges, and the heavy taxes which he imposed upon them; by the nobles, for the haughtiness of his manners, and the inexorable severity with which he punished their excesses. Peace, order, and economy were the things chiefly coveted by the commercial Netherlanders: Philip had studied to maintain them, but by Charles they were neglected. The luxury and splendour of the Court and nobles were excessive, while the

[1] Charles, however, appears to have protected the women and children. Kirk, *Charles the Bold*, vol. i. p. 374. For a general defence of Charles's character, see the same author, vol. ii. p. 299 sqq.

[2] Sanuto, *Vite de' Duchi*, ap. Muratori, *SS.* t. xxii. p. 1184.

middle and commercial classes, though wealthy, were frugal and orderly in their mode of living; and they were particularly annoyed by the troops, commanded for the most part by bastard sons of the nobility, who lived almost at free quarters upon them. The elements of discontent were, therefore, sufficiently abundant; and, in order to foment it, Louis retained agents in the principal Burgundian towns.

Soon after his accession, Charles had repaired to Ghent, when the citizens, discontented with a tax called the *Cueillette*, rose in insurrection, subjected the Duke to a kind of durance, and compelled him to repeal the obnoxious tax. This example operated in other towns, and Louis availed himself of the conjuncture to excite fresh disturbances in Liége. But that town was again soon reduced by Charles; Louis, as usual, having abandoned it to its fate. The state of the western provinces of the French Kingdom rendered it highly inexpedient for Louis to provoke immediate hostilities with the Duke of Burgundy. That Prince, in spite of their recent quarrels, was again leagued with the Duke of Brittany, at whose Court the Duke of Berri, enraged at his disappointment respecting Normandy, was now residing; and all the King's endeavours to conciliate his brother proved unsuccessful. The Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were negotiating with Edward IV. of England, and towards the close of 1467 the long-protracted endeavours of these Princes were brought to a fortunate conclusion.[1] A marriage was arranged between Charles and Margaret of York, Edward's sister, which was celebrated with great pomp at Bruges in July, 1468; and thus the blood of the House of Burgundy was once more mixed with that of the Plantagenets. Edward promised 3000 English archers to assist in an invasion of Normandy, on condition that the places conquered should be made over to England.

But before any fruits could be derived from this alliance, Louis had contrived to render harmless the league between the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany. In accordance with his usual policy, he appealed against the princes to the people, and summoned the States General to meet at Tours in April, 1468. Their composition was more than usually democratic. Most of the Peers of France were absent, whilst 192 deputies attended from sixty-four

[1] An elaborate treaty of commerce, to be in force thirty years, was concluded between Edward IV. and the Duke of Burgundy, November 24th, 1467. Rymer, t. xi. p. 591. An abstract in Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 683. In the following June a treaty of the same kind, but on broader and more liberal principles, was also concluded with Brittany. Rymer, *ibid.* p. 618.

of the principal towns of the realm. The indignation roused by the alliance of the Dukes with England operated in favour of the King. The Assembly, although it complained of many domestic grievances, unanimously disapproved a separation of Normandy from the Crown; and they were of opinion that "Monsieur Charles" (the Duke of Berri) ought to be very well satisfied with his brother's handsome offer of a pension of 60,000 livres, seeing that an edict of Charles the Wise assigned only 12,000 to a younger son. Armed with this decision of his States, Louis hastened to strike a blow against Brittany, before the English succours could arrive. Besides the dread inspired by his arms, the King had gained by his liberalities the Sire de Lescun, the chief counsellor and favourite of Duke Francis, who persuaded his master to a truce, and finally to subscribe the peace of Ancenis, September 10th, 1468, by which he abjured all alliances except the King's, and submitted the question of "Monsieur Charles's" appanage to the arbitration of the Duke of Calabria and of the Chancellor of Brittany. The Duke of Berri subsequently acceded to this treaty.

One motive with Francis for entering into it was the non-appearance of the Duke of Burgundy. Charles had been retarded by fresh symptoms of an outbreak at Liége; whither had returned, armed with clubs and other rustic weapons, a crowd of half-naked, half-starved fugitives, who had been living in the woods. When Charles arrived on the Somme, nothing could equal his surprise at receiving a copy of the treaty: he could not be persuaded but that it was a stratagem contrived to arrest his advance, and he was on the point of hanging for an impostor the herald who brought the document. But when the truth, by further confirmation, at length stared him in the face, he displayed a readiness to negotiate; and the King himself, although he seemed to have Charles at an advantage, according to his habitual policy, preferred diplomacy to arms. His reliance, however, on his own superior dexterity brought him into a very awkward dilemma. He resolved on personally visiting Charles at Péronne, as he had previously done at Charenton during the War of the Public Weal; though he had no security but a letter of the Duke's, in which he said, that happen what might, the King should come, remain, and depart in safety.

On October 10th, the day after Louis's arrival at Péronne, news came to the Duke of Burgundy that the citizens of Liége had surprised Tongres on the night of St. Denis (8th to 9th October),

and killed the Bishop of Liége and several canons in presence of Louis's agents. At this news Charles affected a violent rage, and confined Louis in the castle, whence he could descry the tower where Charles the Simple had died as the prisoner of Herbert of Vermandois. The Duke's courtiers begged him not to spare "the universal spider," now at last caught in his own web; but Charles would have gained nothing by the King's death, and he contented himself with extorting from him some very hard conditions. Louis was required to confirm the treaties of Arras and Conflans, to convert the Duke of Burgundy's dependence on the French Crown into a mere empty homage for separate provinces, to abrogate the appellate jurisdiction of the Paris Parliament in Flanders, to abandon the revenues of Picardy, and to confer on his brother, the Duke of Berri, the provinces of Champagne and Brie instead of Normandy. Louis subscribed these terms, October 14, but with the secret determination, in this case perhaps in some degree justified, to break them on the first opportunity. The Duke of Burgundy, aware of the King's superstition, would not receive his oath except on a piece of the Cross of St. Lô, which Louis always carried with him. This precious relic, which derived its name from having been long kept in the church of St. Lô at Angers, was reputed to be a portion of the true Cross; it had always accompanied Charlemagne on his journeys, and Louis was known to entertain the opinion that if he perjured himself upon it he would die within the year.

But the hardest condition of all, if Louis retained any moral sense or feeling of honour, was, that he was compelled to accompany the Duke of Burgundy to Liége, and to behold the chastizement of those very citizens whom his own arts had excited to rebellion. He carried out, however, to the last the new character he had assumed of Charles's friend. Far from appearing at Liége as a mere forced and unwilling spectator, he exhibited himself before the town with the cross of St. Andrew in his hat, and to the citizens' cry of *Vive la France!* responded with a shout of *Vive Bourgogne!* Yet on this occasion he displayed as much military courage as moral cowardice, and repulsed a sortie from the town with great coolness, when the Duke had quite lost his head.

Liége was taken by assault on Sunday, October 30th, when the Duke of Burgundy exhibited the most deliberate cruelty in his treatment of the citizens. Those who had survived the assault and sack were proceeded against for weeks, nay months, after-

wards, with a show of judicial inquiry; but few escaped except those who could purchase their lives, and thousands were either hanged or drowned in the Meuse. The town was burnt with the exception of the religious edifices and the houses belonging to the clergy, and *gens d'armes* were despatched into the Ardennes to make an end of those miserable fugitives who had not already died of cold and hunger.

Louis had been permitted to return to France, November 2nd, more vexed perhaps at being overreached than at the loss of his honour: but for the present, at least, he considered it advisable to carry out the stipulations of Péronne; and he ordered the treaty to be published at Paris, and to be registered by the Parliament. Yet with all his cynicism he could not help feeling his degradation. He displayed an unaccustomed sensitiveness to public opinion, especially that of his capital, and passed on to Tours instead of entering Paris. On the other hand, Charles the Bold now began to push those ambitious projects of founding a Burgundian Kingdom which had been entertained by his father; and with that view he entered into negotiations with the Austrian Duke Sigismund of Tyrol, surnamed the Weak, who was then staying in the Netherlands. In consideration of a sum of 80,000 ducats, Sigismund pledged to Charles in 1469 all the rights and possessions of the House of Habsburg in Alsace, the Breisgau, the Sundgau, the forest towns of the Rhine, and the lordship of Pfirt, or Ferrette. Charles thought of nothing less than overthrowing the King of France, and even obtaining the Imperial crown after the death of Frederick III.; little dreaming that his aspiring aims were only preparing the way for his own destruction.

An unguarded expression of the Duke of Burgundy's seemed to the superstitious yet unscrupulous mind of Louis to afford him a loophole of escape from his oath. He had suddenly asked the Duke at parting what he should do in case his brother were not content with the portion assigned him? And Charles had carelessly answered that he must satisfy him in some other way, and that he left the matter to them. Regarding this answer as absolving him from his terrible oath, Louis offered his brother the Duchy of Guienne in place of Champagne and Brie; but the Duke of Berri, who was at that time governed by the counsels of Cardinal Balue, would by no means consent to the exchange. Balue, a roguish simoniacal priest, whom Louis had raised from low condition to the height of trust and power, had sold himself

to the Duke of Burgundy, and it is suspected to have been through his machinations that Louis was entrapped at Péronne: after which, finding that he had lost the King's confidence, he attached himself to the Duke of Berri. This was far from being the only instance in which Louis was betrayed by his ministers; for, clever and unprincipled himself, he selected his advisers for the same qualities. He was a great admirer of Italian politics, and especially of the government of Venice, in whose principles he had employed two Venetians to instruct him. A certain flexibility of conscience was in his view a recommendation of a statesman, provided it were combined with the requisite dexterity and audacity; and thus, for instance, Pierre de Morvilliers, Bishop of Orleans, was actually under prosecution for malversation in his judicial functions as *conseiller-clerc* in the Parliament of Paris, at the very time when he was made Chancellor. It was, therefore, no wonder that Louis was often deceived, for which he had nobody but himself to blame. On discovering Balue's treachery, he caused him to be apprehended, together with the Bishop of Verdun, his creature; he sequestered the Cardinal's enormous wealth, and he requested the Pope to send Apostolic Vicars into France to try the Roman prelate. But the Court of Rome replied that a Roman Cardinal could be tried only in Consistory; and Louis, afraid to put Balue to death, subjected him to a punishment which the Cardinal himself is said to have suggested in the case of another criminal, and which had been long in use in Spain and Italy. Louis confined him in an iron cage eight feet square, in the Castle of Loches, in Touraine, where he remained ten years without being brought to trial. The Bishop of Verdun was sent to the Bastille. After the removal of these counsellors, the King effected an arrangement with the Duke of Berri, April 1469; the latter consenting to accept Guienne in compensation for Normandy, and binding himself by oath on the Cross of St. Lô not to marry Charles's daughter, the heiress of Burgundy. By this arrangement Louis removed his brother from the sphere of the Duke of Burgundy's influence, rendered him an object of suspicion to the Duke of Brittany, and opposed him to the English, whose views were still directed towards Guienne.

The Duke of Burgundy expected that his brother-in-law, Edward IV., would make a descent on Guienne in 1470; but this was prevented by the insurrection of the Duke of Clarence, undertaken at the instigation of Warwick, whose daughter that Prince had married. The secret history of the Courts of England and

France at this period is so important that we must take up the subject a little earlier. After the marrige of Edward IV. with Elizabeth Woodville, in 1464, the advancement of Elizabeth's family gave great umbrage to many of the old nobility, and especially to the Earl of Warwick, who had also other causes of discontent. That powerful nobleman, with his two brothers, the Archbishop of York and Lord Montague, now Earl of Northumberland, had hitherto governed the kingdom, but since the appearance of this rival family, the King seemed to have grown weary of Warwick's counsels. The first open symptom of coldness, however, between Edward and that nobleman arose on the occasion of the marriage of Margaret of York and the Duke of Burgundy, before mentioned. Warwick had advised a union with a French Prince, and Edward had authorized him to negotiate with Louis on the subject; for which purpose Warwick proceeded to Rouen, in 1467. Here he was treated by the French King in the most intimate and confidential manner. The wall between their lodgings was pierced, in order that they might confer at all hours unobserved; Louis, by his presents and flattering attentions, converted Warwick into a lasting friend, and from this time they appear to have kept up a constant secret correspondence.[1] At the very same time the Bastard of Burgundy was in London, employed, it was suspected, in negotiating the marriage which afterwards took place between Charles and Margaret. Warwick returned in a month or two, accompanied by certain French ambassadors, whose object it was to prevent this marriage and the alliance that must spring from it between Edward and Charles, now become, by the death of his father, Duke of Burgundy; and they offered Edward an annual pension from the King of France, as well as to refer his claims to Normandy and Aquitaine to the decision of the Pope. Bribery and corruption were Louis's familiar arts; and it is not improbable that the bearer of such a message to his Sovereign was himself not insensible to the charms of gold; a supposition which would at least explain much that is acknowledged to be unaccountable in Warwick's conduct.[2] Edward disdainfully rejected the proposals of France, and Warwick retired in discontent to his castle at Middleham, in Yorkshire. In his absence he was accused of being a secret partisan

[1] Michelet, *Histoire de France*, t. ix. p. 42; Hearne's *Fragments*, p. 296 sqq. ap. Turner, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 281.

[2] See Hume, vol. iii. p. 234. M. Michelet does not hesitate to charge Warwick with having received bribes from Louis as early as 1462 (*Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 146), but there seems little in his conduct, previously to Edward's marriage at least, to justify the suspicion.

of the House of Lancaster at the French Court, and a watch was set upon his actions; but a reconciliation took place between him and Edward; Warwick again appeared at Court in 1468, and even escorted Margaret through London on her way to her husband in Flanders.

Clarence's marriage with Isabel, daughter of Warwick, took place at Calais, in July, 1469, against the will of King Edward. At this very time an insurrection broke out in Yorkshire, in which county the Nevilles possessed their principal interest. The Earl of Northumberland, Warwick's brother, though he defeated the rebels, did not efficiently quell the rising; and the insurgents were subsequently headed by two kinsmen of Warwick, Lords Fitzhugh and Latimer, who openly avowed their aim to be the removal of the Woodvilles. The King now summoned Clarence and Warwick to meet him at Nottingham, where he told Warwick that he did not believe the reports that were circulated against him. But soon after the royalists were defeated by the insurgents, when Earl Rivers and Sir John Woodville, the father and brother of Queen Elizabeth, being captured, were executed, by the order, or pretended order, of Clarence and Warwick. The two last, together with the Archbishop of York, now sought the King at Olney, and in fact made him their prisoner, and he was placed at Middleham, under custody of the Archbishop.[1]

There are still some circumstances in Warwick's conduct at this period which it is difficult to explain, even on the assumption that he was the secret and bribed partisan of Louis and the House of Lancaster. Such was his putting down the insurrection in Scotland, in favour of Henry VI., in August, 1469; which, if that assumption be adopted, can only be attributed to his not being yet thoroughly decided. For the release of Edward IV. a little after, an explanation has been offered. It appears from the Chronicle of John of Wavrin, a contemporary writer,[2] that the Duke of Burgundy addressed a threatening letter to the mayor and citizens of London, in case they did not behave loyally to their King, and that Warwick, though feigning to know nothing of the letter, permitted Edward to depart to London. It is probable enough that the large commerce which the Londoners enjoyed with the Low Countries would have rendered a war with the Duke of Burgundy highly unpopular; and they may have

[1] See Lingard, *History of England*. Lingard is the first *modern* historian who has revived this well-authenticated fact.

[2] See Michelet, *Hist. de France*, liv. xvi. (t. vi. p. 299).

remonstrated with Warwick and procured the liberation of Edward. A reconciliation now took place, which seemed to be sincere: Edward granted a pardon to Warwick, Clarence, and all the other rebels, and promised his youthful daughter to the son of Northumberland.

Early in 1470 the project above referred to of invading France in concert with the Duke of Burgundy was agitated; but suspicion still prevailed between the King and Warwick, and the expedition was prevented by an insurrection in Lincolnshire, headed by Sir Robert Welles, and supported by Clarence and Warwick. The rebels were defeated; Warwick and Clarence were proclaimed traitors, and sailed for Calais with a few ships, but Warwick's lieutenant in that place, instead of admitting him, fired on and repulsed his little fleet. Warwick then sought an asylum from Louis, who placed Harfleur at his disposal (May 1470); and his ships, on their way to that port, seized and carried fifteen Flemish coasting vessels into the Seine, and publicly sold at Rouen the goods captured from the Duke of Burgundy's subjects. Charles the Bold remonstrated with Louis, who promised satisfaction, but at the same time instructed his Admiral to repel any attack that the Duke's fleet might make on the English ships. Louis was not prepared, however, for an open rupture with that Prince, and with a view to conciliate him, he sent, in July, an embassy to St. Omer, which Charles received with more than his usual haughtiness. He had caused a throne to be erected higher than any ever raised for King or Emperor; the canopy was of gold, the steps were covered with black velvet, and upon them were ranged in due order his nobles, his knights of the Golden Fleece, and the great officers of his state and household. Although the French ambassadors fell upon their knees, Charles did not even deign to salute them, but with his hand making a sign to them to rise, addressed them in a speech interlarded with oaths; refused to listen to their proposals, and finally dismissed them from his presence with marks of the greatest anger.

Meanwhile Louis had succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between Warwick and Margaret of Anjou, who was then residing in France. The powerful Earl had put her friends to death, had thrown her husband into prison, and proclaimed her infant son a bastard born in adultery; yet, such are the victories often achieved by political interest over the most sensitive feelings of human nature, an alliance was effected between these once mortal enemies, and it was agreed that this very son of Margaret's, the

last hope of the House of Lancaster, should be married to Warwick's second daughter. In order to effect this reconciliation, Louis had assured Margaret that he was more beholden to Warwick than to any man living: an extraordinary confession, which strongly confirms the suspicions of the Earl's integrity.[1] An armament was then prepared in the French ports: Warwick, accompanied by the Admiral of France, landed at Dartmouth; the standard of the Red Rose was again displayed in England; and in the short space of eleven days was accomplished that surprising revolution which restored Henry VI. to the throne. Edward IV., abandoned both by nobles and people, fled to Lynn in Norfolk, where he embarked for Holland (September, 1470). The Duke of Burgundy afforded his brother-in-law an asylum, but at once declared that he could not openly interfere in the affairs of England; and he acknowledged the restored Henry.

This revolution encouraged Louis to dispute the validity of the Treaty of Péronne. In spite of his order that it should be registered, the Parliament of Paris had demurred to do so, on the ground that its provisions were at variance with the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, and consequently *ipso facto* null and void; and they proceeded to resume their jurisdiction in Flanders, which the treaty had abrogated, by summoning Flemish subjects before them, and by receiving appeals from Flemish tribunals. These proceedings threw Charles into transports of rage. He caused the French summoning officers to be imprisoned, and put to death such of his subjects as had appealed to the Paris Parliament. But Louis proceeded steadily in his plans. His next step was to declare certain bailiwicks, for which the Duke of Burgundy should have done homage, escheated to the Crown; and as he turned a deaf ear to all Charles's remonstrances on the subject, the latter called upon the Dukes of Lorraine and Brittany, who had been securities for the due execution of the treaty, to enforce its provisions. The King, who had made up his mind to proceed to extremities, in order to support his cause by the public voice of the nation, summoned an assembly of Notables to meet at Tours, to whom he submitted the whole question (November, 1470). This assembly declared the Treaty of Péronne to be null and void, and pronounced the Duke of Burgundy guilty of high treason on a long list of charges that had been brought against him; in pursuance of which verdict the Parliament of Paris was instructed to proceed against Charles,

[1] Harl. MSS. ap. Turner, *Midd. Ages*, vol. iii. p. 284.

and an officer was despatched to Ghent to summon him to appear before that tribunal. The astonishment and rage of the haughty Duke at this summons may be readily imagined. With savage eyes he glared in silence on the messenger, then cast him into prison; but after a few days sent him back without an answer.

The conjuncture was unpropitious for Charles. His finances were burdened by the aid he was secretly lending to Edward IV. for the recovery of his throne; and the fate of the expedition undertaken by that Prince, which we need only briefly recall to the reader's memory, was still undecided. Edward, accompanied by his brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester, sailed from Veere in Zealand, March 10th, 1471, with some Netherland vessels and a force of 2,000 men; and having landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, he marched to London, entered that city without opposition, and re-committed Henry VI. to the Tower. Warwick despatched Clarence against his brothers; but that Prince, as Edward knew before he sailed, had returned to his allegiance, and instead of opposing the King's advance, joined him near Coventry with all his forces. Warwick, who had himself marched against Edward, was defeated and slain at Barnet, April 14th. On the very same day Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales, accompanied by a small French force, had landed at Weymouth, and were afterwards joined by the Cornish and Devon partisans of the Red Rose and by the remains of Warwick's army. But Edward defeated them at Tewkesbury, May 4th, before they could form a junction with the Welsh; the young Edward, Prince of Wales, who was captured together with his mother, was murdered, almost in the King's presence, by Clarence and Gloucester, and Margaret was thrown into the Tower, in which fortress her unfortunate husband died a few days after, murdered, it has been supposed, but without adequate or indeed probable testimony, by the hand of Gloucester.

Louis, meanwhile, had commenced hostilities with the Duke of Burgundy, though not in an open and vigorous manner, but by instructing the Constable Dammartin to inflict what injury he could. Charles on his side had invaded France with a large army, burnt Pequigny, crossed the Somme, and laid siege to Amiens, when all of a sudden, without any apparent motive, except perhaps the uncertain state of things in England, he began to negotiate with the King, and on April 4th a provisional truce of three months was concluded. Louis, besides his habitual dislike of war, was induced to agree to this suspension of arms

from his knowledge that his brother, as well as the Duke of Brittany, was in correspondence with Charles. The truce, which was subsequently prolonged till June 13th, 1472, brought a good deal of obloquy on the King: the Duke of Brittany called him the *roi couard*, and the Parisians vented their contempt and ridicule in libels and abusive ballads. Louis combated this feeling by striving to render himself popular. He visited the leading citizens, showed himself at the Hôtel de Ville, and on St. John's day lighted with his own hand the accustomed bonfire. By such arts did he secure the affection of the volatile Parisians.

Edward's success in England turned the scale in favour of the Duke of Burgundy, and, instead of Louis receiving, as he had expected, 10,000 English archers from Henry VI., the might of England was now ranged on the side of Burgundy. Nevertheless, Charles observed the truce, though both parties stood watching each other, and resorted to all the arts of cabal and intrigue. The chief source of Louis's anxiety was the conduct of his brother. After their reconciliation, the King had presented the Duke of Berri, now called Duke of Guienne, with the order of St. Michael, which he had recently instituted. These orders were not then regarded as merely honorary. The members of them were obliged to the observance of very strict duties towards the head and chapter of their order, and bound themselves by oath not to enter any other; and hence the acceptance by the Duke of Brittany of the Burgundian order of the Golden Fleece was naturally regarded by Louis as an act of hostility. But, notwithstanding this pledge of reconciliation with Louis, by accepting the order of St. Michael, the Duke of Guienne had kept up his connection with Charles. The birth of a Dauphin in June, 1470, afterwards Charles VIII., by disappointing any hopes which the Duke of Guienne might have entertained of succeeding to the Crown of France, naturally rendered him more disposed to seize all present advantages. Contrary to the oath which he had taken, he was now in warm pursuit of Charles's daughter Mary, the heiress of Burgundy; though, in order to throw dust into the King's eyes, he pretended to be seeking the hand of a daughter of the Count of Foix.

Charles the Bold, taking advantage of the embarrassed state of the King's relations, both foreign and domestic, pressed the conversion of the truce into a peace, October 3rd, 1471, by which,

among other advantageous conditions, the Duke recovered the towns of Amiens, St. Quentin, Roye, and Montdidier. But Louis delayed to ratify the treaty; Charles continued to intrigue with the French princes, and in 1472 the league was re-organized. At the head of it were the Dukes of Guienne and Brittany, the Count of Foix, heir presumptive of Navarre, and even the King's own sister, the Duchess of Savoy. Nearly all the south of France seemed ready to arm against the King. But the grand project of the league, the marriage of the Duke of Guienne to Mary of Burgundy, was distasteful to their ally, Edward IV., as, in case of the death of the infant Dauphin, it would have invested the Duke of Guienne with a power very formidable to England; and Edward made it a condition of his joining the league that they should abandon a project which, indeed, was not very palatable to the Duke of Burgundy himself.

While matters were in this state the Duke of Guienne died, at Bordeaux, May 24th, 1472. He had long been in an ill state of health; but his death happened so opportunely for the King that it was immediately ascribed to poison, though the suspicion seems to rest on no adequate foundation. Louis had made every preparation to take advantage of his brother's death: large bodies of troops had been assembled on the borders of Poitou and Saintonge; parties had been organized in Bordeaux and the other principal cities; and no sooner had the Duke expired than the King's captains entered Guienne, and without striking a blow reduced that great province to obedience under the Crown. The government of it was then intrusted to the Lord of Beaujeu, brother of the Duke of Bourbon.

Fortified by this event, the King refused to ratify the treaty, and Charles the Bold, burning with rage and mortification, prepared for immediate war. His military force, which was modelled on that of France, was of the most formidable description. He could bring into the field 2,200 lances, each attended by a squire, an arm-bearer, and eight heavily armed foot soldiers; also 4,000 archers, 600 musqueteers, and 600 artillerymen, making a total of near 30,000 men. Having crossed the Somme, Charles took Nesle by storm, a small place defended by only five hundred *francs-archers;* who, little accustomed to regular warfare, had let fly some arrows during a parley and killed a herald. When master of the town, Charles took terrible vengeance. Entering on horseback a church where the archers and many of

the inhabitants had taken refuge, he encouraged his men to slaughter them in cold blood. On the following day he ordered the town to be burnt, and such of the archers as had escaped his fury to be hanged or mutilated. These and similar deeds obtained for him the name of "Charles the Terrible." The Duke then proceeded to Roye, which immediately capitulated; and it was here that he first published his declaration of war against the King, in a violent manifesto, in which he accused Louis of attempting his life, as well as of poisoning his own brother. The progress of the Duke was arrested at Beauvais, which, although unfortified, made so obstinate a defence, that towards the end of July he was obliged to abandon his attempt upon it. He then proceeded into Normandy, where he took and burned several towns and committed terrible devastation. But he was unable to make himself master of Rouen; his army had dwindled down to 8,000 men; and as the season was drawing to a close, he began a retreat in September.

Meanwhile the arms of the King had not been unattended with success. The French garrisons in Amiens and St. Quentin had made incursions far into the Netherlands, and other bodies of French troops had overrun and ravaged Burgundy and Franche-Comté. Louis himself, at the head of a large force, had not only prevented the Duke of Brittany from forming a junction with Charles the Bold, but had even penetrated as far as Nantes. He was at the same time making conquests more congenial to his temper and habits. He had gained over Lescun, the chief counsellor of the Duke of Brittany; and it was about the same time that Philip de Comines abandoned the service of Charles the Bold for that of the King, with whom he had become acquainted at Péronne. Comines foresaw that the violence, cruelty, and obstinacy of Charles must ultimately work his destruction, whilst he found every day fresh reason to admire the prudence and ability of Louis. Notwithstanding his successes, Louis concluded a year's truce with the Duke of Brittany, and another of five months with Charles the Bold (November 3rd, 1472), during which affairs were to remain *in statu quo*. The truce was frequently renewed, for Charles, after this repulse, changed his whole line of policy, and abandoning his designs against France, endeavoured to extend his power on the side of Germany. Louis, on the other hand, was seeking to enrich his subjects by the benefits of commerce. In 1472, by his granting to the town of La Rochelle the singular privilege of liberty to trade with the

English and other enemies of the State, even while they should be waging war with France, that city became a sort of independent maritime republic. In the following year Louis concluded treaties with Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, and other Hanseatic towns, the commercial rivals of the Netherlands, which were admitted to an unrestricted trade with France.

CHAPTER III.

THE mind of Charles the Bold at first floated among uncertain schemes; he thought of a Kingdom of Belgic Gaul, a Kingdom of Burgundy, a vicariate of the Empire with the title of King; and he even entered into negotiations with George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, who undertook to help him to the Empire after the death of Frederick III. It was with these views that Charles had obtained from Sigismund the Weak the assignment of the Rhenish lands before referred to; and in 1472 he added to these acquisitions by the purchase of Gelderland.

It was through one of those revolting crimes not uncommon in those ages among sovereign Houses, that Charles obtained possession of this province. Arnold, Duke of Gelderland, had in his old age married a young wife, who soon became weary of him, and to get rid of him, entered into a conspiracy with her stepson, Adolf. On a cold winter's night, in 1470, the unnatural Adolf seized his old father, who was sick and in bed, dragged him five leagues barefoot over the snow, and confined him in the basement of a tower, lighted only by a small loophole. The Duke of Burgundy, perceiving the advantage that might be made of this event, contrived that both the Pope and the Emperor should require him to liberate Duke Arnold, who was his kinsman; and, in obedience to their commands, Charles summoned Adolf to appear at his Court, and to bring his aged father with him. In this meeting before their judge, the aged father is said to have challenged his unnatural son to mortal combat. Charles's perhaps not very sincere attempts to reconcile them were unavailing; Adolf proved refractory both to reason and coercion; and, having attempted an escape from the durance in which he was placed, was recaptured and kept in prison till Charles's death. Arnold now sold the Duchy of Gelderland and the County of Zutphen to Charles for the almost nominal sum of 90,000 ducats and a yearly pension; when Charles took armed possession of these territories; and in order to obtain investiture of them from the Emperor, as well as to negotiate with

him respecting other schemes of ambition, he invited Frederick to an interview at Tréves, in September, 1473. His plans seem now to have settled in the revival of the ancient Lotharingian or Middle Kingdom, into which, however, Charles's French fiefs could not enter; and it was, therefore, to consist of his Netherland provinces held of the Empire, the Bishoprics of Utrecht and Liége, Franche-Comté, and the Austrian possessions in Alsace and Suabia, pledged to Charles by Duke Sigismund.

With these views, Charles represented to Frederick that he would make him more powerful and respected than any Emperor had been for three centuries; and he vividly described the irresistible force that must necessarily spring from the union of their rights and possessions.[1] The chief inducement, however, held out to the Emperor to place the new crown upon the brow of Charles was a marriage between Frederick's son Maximilian and Charles's daughter Mary, the heiress of Burgundy. But this marriage of policy would never have been effected had not love lent its aid. Maximilian, then a youth of fourteen, with blooming countenance and flowing locks, dressed in black satin and mounted on a superb brown stallion, won all hearts at his entry into Tréves, and especially that of Mary. In all other respects, nothing could be more unsuccessful than this interview. The two Sovereigns were of the most opposite characters: Frederick, slow, pedantic, and cautious, was hurt and offended by the pride and insolence of the Duke; while Charles could not conceal his contempt for the poverty of the Germans and the impotence of their Emperor, who was quite thrown into the shade by his own magnificence. Louis XI. employed his arts to sow dissension between them, and secretly warned Frederick that the Duke cherished designs upon the Empire. But there was little need of the French King's intrigues to defeat a negotiation in which neither party was sincere. Charles had been offering his daughter to Nicholas, Duke of Lorraine, grandson of old King René, at the very time when he proposed her to the Austrians; and Frederick was alarmed at the opening prospect of Charles's ambition,—by his demand to be made Imperial Vicar. The interview, which had lasted two months, amid a constant alternation of fêtes and negotiations, was unexpectedly brought to an abrupt close. Charles was so sure of success that he had made all the necessary preparations for his expected coronation in the minster; seats had been prepared, and a splendid throne erected; a crown

[1] Schmidt, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vii. Cap. 24.

and sceptre, a superb mantle embroidered with jewels, in short, all the insignia of royalty had been provided, and his Duchess had been brought to Tréves to share in the august ceremony. But two days before the time appointed for it, Frederick, whose suspicions had been roused by Charles's refusal that Maximilian and Mary should be betrothed previously to the coronation, suddenly left Tréves, and stole by night down the Moselle in a boat, without so much as taking leave of the Duke, or even acquainting him with his intended departure! Charles was deeply wounded by the Emperor's flight, which cast upon him an air of ineffaceable ridicule; and we may imagine that Louis XI. was not among those who laughed least.

Charles, however, had obtained investiture of Gelderland and Zutphen: and he soon after prosecuted his ambitious plans, and avenged himself for the Emperor's slight at the expense of the Electorate of Cologne. Robert of Wittelsbach, Archbishop-Elector of Cologne, had been involved in disputes with his Chapter; some of his towns, as Bonn, Cologne, and Neuss, had thrown off their allegiance; and the Chapter had elected Hermann, Landgrave of Hesse, as administrator of the bishopric,[1] between whom and Robert a war arose. After his flight from Tréves, Frederick proceeded to Cologne, where he took part with Hermann and the Chapter against Robert. The Archbishop sought the assistance of Charles the Bold, who, in July, 1474, appeared with a large army before Neuss, which was defended by Hermann.

Neuss was among the most strongly fortified places of that period, and the siege of it, which lasted nearly a year, is one of the most remarkable of the fifteenth century.[2] It is unanimously agreed by contemporary writers that Charles's efforts on this occasion were the cause of his ultimate ruin. Besides his own large army, and his immense artillery, he had hired some thousands of mercenaries, and especially several Italian *condottieri;* and for these preparations, though he was the richest Prince in Europe, he had been obliged to procure a loan from the Bank of Venice. At the opening of the siege, the Duke caused 6,000 cavaliers, clothed in the superb armour of that period, to parade round the town; a spectacle whose grandeur could not be equalled by any

[1] Ecclesiastical establishments frequently placed themselves under some secular protector, called in German *Kastenvogt*, or *Schirmvogt*, in Latin *Castaldus*, or more frequently *Advocatus*. See Planta, *Helvetic Confederacy*, vol. i. p. 112, note.

[2] The details of the siege of Neuss are related by Loehrer, *Gesch. der Stadt Neuss* (1840), from original documents.

modern army. The Duke himself made the most active personal exertions; but though the little garrison of 1,500 Hessians was reduced to the extremity of eating horse-flesh, whilst Charles's camp abounded with provisions, and he himself kept a splendid table, at which foreign ambassadors and other distinguished guests were daily entertained, he could not prevail over that little band.

Frederick had promised to take the command of an Imperial army which he intended to raise; but with the characteristic slowness of the Germanic body, it was not ready to march till the spring of 1475; and the Emperor then prudently resigned the command to the Elector Albert Achilles of Brandenburg, an able general, with whom was joined Albert of Saxony. The contingents of the different lands marched under their particular standards. At the head of the troops of the Imperial cities the little ensign of the Empire was alternately borne by the captains of the towns of Strasburg, Cologne, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Ulm; while the immediate nobility of the Empire marched under the famous banner of St. George, the guard of which was confided by turns to the knights of Franconia and Suabia. The Chapter of Cologne and the Rhenish Princes had also entered into treaty with Louis XI., who promised to attack the Duke of Burgundy with 30,000 men; but he did not keep his word, and was perhaps retarded by a league which Charles had formed against him with Edward IV. Louis, however, lent some money to the Swiss Confederates, who invaded the Burgundian lands, committed considerable devastation, and took the town of Héricourt, November 13th, 1475; and they subsequently united in their confederacy some of the places belonging to the Duke of Burgundy.

Charles had already delivered many fruitless assaults on Neuss, when, in May, 1475, on the approach of the Imperial army, which numbered upwards of 50,000 men, he ordered another attack; but his troops were repulsed with great slaughter. Charles had now lost the pith of his army, and if an attack had been made upon it, according to the advice of the Elector of Brandenburg, it might no doubt have been annihilated. But Frederick listened to the proposals of the Duke for a renewal of the marriage treaty between Maximilian and Charles's daughter, together with an immediate payment of 200,000 crowns; and Charles raised the siege of Neuss. A peace was concluded (July 17th) between the Emperor and Charles, by which both parties sacrificed those whom they had pretended to help; and

the Duke of Burgundy was thus extricated from this immediate danger, but only to precipitate himself soon afterwards into another which proved his destruction.

The league just referred to between him and Edward IV. had been contracted in July, 1474. Edward stipulated to pass the seas with an army, and to challenge the Crown of France; he was to obtain at least the Duchies of Normandy and Guienne, while Charles reserved for himself only Nevers, Champagne, and the towns on the Somme. He was probably never serious in the matter, and wished merely to divert the attention of Louis; but the English, after losing a great deal of time in preparation, at length, in July, 1475, landed at Calais an army of 15,000 men-at-arms and 15,000 archers, led by the King in person. Charles had now raised the siege of Neuss; and though he joined the English about the middle of July, he gave them no assistance, and would not permit them to enter his towns; St. Pol, also, the Constable of France, who was in league with the Duke, but alarmed with what he had undertaken, fired on the English army when it appeared before St. Quentin. Disgusted at this reception, Edward listened to the overtures of Louis XI., and on August 29th a peace was concluded at Pequigny. Louis agreed to pay down 75,000 crowns, and 50,000 more during the joint lives of himself and the English King, and it was stipulated that the Dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter.[1] Louis is said to have obtained this peace by a liberal distribution of bribes to some of the chief English nobility. The most honourable part of it is the stipulation which he made for the release of his unfortunate kinswoman, Margaret of Anjou, for which he paid 50,000 crowns more. She was liberated from the Tower in the following January, and conducted into France.

The Duke of Burgundy had now leisure to turn his arms against the Duke of Lorraine, who, during the siege of Neuss, had joined the Swiss, had defied Charles in his camp, and had invaded and plundered Luxemburg. In order to explain this conduct of the Duke of Lorraine, we must trace his history a little further back. René of Anjou, titular King of the Sicilies, had succeeded to the duchy on the death of Charles of Lorraine, as his son-in-law; but his title was contested by Antony, Count

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. xi. p. 804 sqq. t. xii. p. 15. Louis engaged that the Bank of the Medici should guarantee the payments; a fact which has escaped Roscoe and other historians of the Medici, though calculated to convey a high notion of the commercial greatness of that house. See Macpherson's *Hist. of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 698, note.

of Vaudemont, nephew of Charles of Lorraine, who, with the help of the Duke of Burgundy, had defeated and captured René. René, to procure his release, was obliged to give his daughter Yolande in marriage to Antony's son Frederick; and he afterwards vacated the duchy in favour of his son John, titular Duke of Calabria. John, on his death in 1470, was succeeded by his son Nicholas, the Prince to whom, as before mentioned, Charles the Bold offered his daughter; but Nicholas dying suddenly, in August, 1473, the duchy again reverted to René, who was still alive, but too old to reign, and it was conferred on his daughter Yolande. She vacated it in favour of René II., her youthful son by Frederick of Vaudemont, and thus it returned to the old House of Lorraine: but Charles the Bold, who hated and suspected that family, caused the young Duke to be seized, and carried into his own territories; nor would he release René till he had wrung from him a treaty which made Lorraine completely dependent on Burgundy. It was in revenge for this treatment that René II. had joined Charles's enemies, as before related.

After the peace with the Emperor, the Duke of Burgundy took the field against the Duke of Lorraine, having first concluded at Soleure a nine years' truce with Louis XI. Each abandoned to the other his *protégé*—Louis, the Duke of Lorraine; Charles, the Constable of St. Pol, who had taken refuge at his Court. St. Pol had committed great treasons against the King; and he was brought to trial and beheaded on the Place de Grève, December 19th. The judicial execution of so great a nobleman, descended from the House of Luxemburg, and allied to most of the Sovereigns of Europe, showed that the times had much changed since the League of the Public Weal. Louis's abandonment of René, though not so heartless as the conduct of Charles, who had trafficked with the life of the man who had trusted in him, was still a glaring example of his faithless policy; for he had sworn by the *Pasque Dieu* that if he thought René in danger, he would come to his assistance: yet he did not stir a finger. Lorraine fell an easy prey to Charles, who took Nancy before the end of November, 1475. Contrary to his usual custom, he spoke the inhabitants fair, declared his intention of making Nanci his residence, and of incorporating Lorraine in his dominions.

Charles next turned his arms against the Swiss, whom he hoped to overcome as easily as Lorraine. He had to deal, however, not only with the Swiss Confederates, but also with the German towns

pledged to him by Sigismund of Tyrol. Charles had made himself personally unpopular with the Swiss and Alsatians by his proud and overbearing conduct; and the Alsatians were also further alienated by the insolence, cruelty, and extortion exercised by Charles's bailiff, Peter von Hagenbach, and the knights whom he favoured. This discontent was fomented by Duke Sigismund. Hagenbach was seized, brought to a solemn trial, and illegally sentenced to be executed at Breisach.

Louis had watched these political blunders of Charles, and he used all his endeavours to increase the animosity which they were naturally calculated to excite. He had contracted an alliance with Frederick III. against the Duke of Burgundy; and though the enmity between the Swiss and the House of Habsburg seemed irreconcilable, yet, with the same view of injuring Charles, he had succeeded in bringing about a treaty between the Emperor and the Swiss League. Louis had himself formed, in January, 1474, a compact called the "Perpetual Alliance," with the eight Cantons of which the Swiss Confederacy then consisted; and this remarkable treaty served as the basis of all subsequent ones between France and Switzerland down to the French Revolution. It secured troops for the French Kings, subsidies for the Swiss proletarians, commissions and pensions for the higher classes. Louis promised yearly 20,000 francs in quarterly payments so long as he lived, and the Swiss undertook to provide soldiers whom he was to pay; the Cantons were to enter into no truce or alliance without the French King's consent, and he on the other hand promised to make them parties to all his treaties. But though Louis had thus strengthened himself by alliances against the Duke of Burgundy, he did not openly break the truce which he had made with that Prince; and taking up his residence at Lyon, he remained on the watch for any opportunities which the rash expedition of Charles might throw in his way.

The Burgundian army which marched against the Swiss in January, 1476, was chiefly composed, after feudal fashion, of men of various nations, called together only for a short time, and having different kinds of weapons and methods of fighting; so that they were no match for the Swiss and other German levies, composed of soldiers inured to arms, and exercised in military discipline. Charles was joined on his march by large bodies of Italians, whose leaders were men of the worst character; yet he gave them all his confidence. He had especially employed two Neapolitans to raise troops for him among the Italian bandits,

James Galiotto and Count Campobasso; the latter of whom traitorously sold the Duke's secrets to Louis XI., and hinted how the King might seize and murder him. A more respectable coadjutor was Frederick, son of the Neapolitan King Ferdinand, whom Charles had lured with the offer of his daughter.

When the Swiss heard of the approach of the Duke of Burgundy, they were seized at first with fear. They represented to him that theirs was a poor country, and that the spurs and horses' bits of the Burgundian knights were of more value than the whole Swiss League could pay, if captured, for their ransom; and they offered, but without effect, to restore the Pays de Vaud, which they had conquered from the Count of Romont, a Prince of the house of Savoy. The Pays de Vaud was occupied by the men of Berne, and they had garrisons also in Granson and Yverdun; but Charles's army had already occupied the Jura district, when he himself appeared, early in the spring of 1476, before Granson, and took the town and castle. The Swiss army had concentrated itself at no great distance, and everybody advised Charles not to abandon his advantageous position, covered by the Lake of Neuchâtel on one side, and by his artillery on the other.[1] He was, however, too proud and rash to listen to any counsels, and on March 3rd he delivered battle. Nothing could be more unskilful than his array. He himself led the van, which, instead of consisting of bowmen and light troops for skirmishing, was composed of his choicest *gens d'armes*, and as the road was hemmed in by the lake and mountains, they had no room to deploy. To receive the charge, the Swiss had fixed the ends of their long lances in the earth; and in order to draw them from this position by a feint the Duke ordered his first line to retreat; but this manœuvre alarmed the second line, which took to flight. At this crisis the troops of other Cantons arrived; the cry of *Sauve qui peut!* rose among the Burgundians; nothing could stop their flight, and the Duke himself was carried away by the stream of fugitives. But the loss was ridiculously small on both sides. The Swiss captured all the Duke's artillery and camp, and rifled his vast and splendid tent. Among the spoils was the large diamond which had once sparkled in the diadem of the Great Mogul.[2]

[1] Those who desire a fuller account of this and the other Swiss battles of Charles than our limits will allow, may consult the descriptions of Mr. Kirk, taken from Swiss sources and illustrated with plans. *History of Charles the Bold*, vol. iii. book v.

[2] This diamond was sold by a mountaineer for a florin to a neighbouring *curé*, and passing from hand to hand, was at length bought by Pope Julius II. for 20,000 ducats. It still adorns the Pope's tiara. Barante, *Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne*, t. vii. p. 220 (ed. 1836).

This victory, though so easily won, acquired great military reputation for the Swiss. But they did not use their advantage skilfully. Although they occupied the passes leading into Burgundy, they neglected those towards the Pays de Vaud, and Charles penetrated through them to Lausanne, in the neighbourhood of which he long lay encamped, till his army was sufficiently recruited to venture another attack. He then marched against the town of Morat; but it was so valiantly defended during a fortnight by Hadrian of Bubenberg that the Swiss army had time to come to its relief. The united force of the Cantons had been joined by the nobility of Suabia and Tyrol, by the vassals of Duke Sigismund, and by the contingents of Basle and of the towns of Alsace; the young Duke René of Lorraine also fought with them. The Burgundian army is said to have been thrice as strong as the Swiss; yet the latter began the attack, June 22nd, and Charles again rashly abandoned an advantageous position to meet them. This time his defeat was bloody, as well as decisive. His loss is variously estimated at from 8,000 to 18,000 men,[1] including many distinguished nobles and knights; among them the Duke of Somerset, who led a band of English archers in the service of Charles. Duke Charles, with only eleven attendants, after a flight of twelve leagues, arrived at Morges on the Lake of Geneva, and proceeded thence into Gex. He had sunk into the deepest despondency; he suffered his beard and nails to grow; and his countenance resembled that of a madman, so that his courtiers and servants feared to approach him.

René II. took advantage of Charles's distress to attempt the recovery of his Duchy of Lorraine; with which view he hired some Swiss and German mercenaries and opened a secret correspondence with Campobasso. With this force and the help of his own subjects, René drove the Burgundians from the open country into the town of Nanci, to which he laid siege. Rubempré the commandant relied for the defence of the place chiefly on a body of English archers, who not choosing to endure the famine which ensued in a cause in which they were engaged merely as mercenaries, compelled him to surrender the town (October, 1476). The rage of Charles at this news was uncontrollable; though winter was approaching, he resolved immediately to

[1] The force of armies, and the numbers of killed or wounded are very little to be relied upon in these remote periods; but the bones of those slain in this engagement formed during three centuries a hideous monument, which the French, or rather perhaps some Burgundian regiments, destroyed when passing this spot in 1798.

attempt the recovery of Nanci, which he instructed Campobasso to invest: and he himself joined the besieging army in December, though he had been able to procure but little aid from his subjects.

Meanwhile René was approaching to raise the siege with a well disciplined army, which it was evident Charles's force would be unable to withstand. Charles made an assault on the town, which was repulsed, and René then offered him battle, January 5th, 1477. Before it began, Campobasso went over to René with his Italian troops. Charles displayed both valour and conduct in the fight, and was well supported by his nobles; but it was from the first a hopeless struggle, and he was obliged to retreat towards Luxemburg. Campobasso, however, had taken up a position to intercept him; Charles's army broke and fled in all directions, and he himself, urging his horse over a half-frozen brook, was immersed and killed unrecognized. Thus perished miserably, in the midst of his ambitious dreams, Charles of Burgundy, the great Duke of the West. The peasants now rose on all sides, and for many days Lorraine presented a scene of murder and pillage. On January 10th a messenger of René appeared before Louis XI. to relate the finding of the Duke of Burgundy's body, and bearing with him Charles's battered casque in proof of his tale. By this victory young René II. recovered Lorraine.

Louis betrayed an indecent joy at the death of an enemy whom he had not ventured openly to oppose. He had begun to profit by the Duke's misfortunes immediately after his defeat at Granson. He instituted a process for high treason in the Parliament of Provence against the aged René, who had assisted Charles; and to frighten the old man, a dreadful sentence was pronounced against him. But Louis then entered into negotiations with him; and he was compelled to make his daughter Margaret, just set free from her captivity in London, renounce the inheritance of Provence in favour of Charles du Maine, the childless son of her father's brother, at whose death in 1481 the County of Provence devolved to the French Crown. René was compensated with the Duchy of Bar, and the payment by Louis of Margaret's ransom.

The death of Charles offered the opportunity of seizing Burgundy, the most important of all the French fiefs. Immediately on receiving intelligence of that event the King ordered La Trémoille, who commanded a corps of observation in the territory of Bar, and Chaumont d'Amboise, Governor of Champagne,

to take military possession of both Burgundies, and to announce to the inhabitants his intention of affiancing Mary of Burgundy, his god-daughter, to the Dauphin. At the same time royal letters were addressed to the "good towns" of the Duchy to recall to their recollection that the said Duchy belonged to the Crown and Kingdom of France, though the King protested that he would protect the right of Mademoiselle de Bourgogne as if it were his own. Louis also revived his claim to Flanders, Ponthieu, Boulogne, Artois, and other lands and lordships previously held by the Duke of Burgundy. To conciliate John, Prince of Orange, whom he had formerly despoiled of his principality, and who had been confidentially employed by the Duke of Burgundy, the King named him his Governor in the Burgundian Duchy and County, and promised to restore his lands. Commissaries were appointed to take possession of Burgundy, who required the Burgundian States, assembled at Dijon, to do homage to the King of France: but the States raised a difficulty by asserting that they did not believe in Charles's death; a very common opinion, though his body had been exhibited six days at Nanci. A report ran that he was a prisoner in Germany; another that he was hidden in the Forest of Ardennes. In their dilemma, the States appealed to Charles's daughter, Mary, and the faithful counsellors by whom she was surrounded; who answered, that Louis's claim to Burgundy was unfounded, that Duchy being in a different situation from other fiefs vested as appanages in French Princes; and at all events, if the King insisted on uniting Burgundy to the French Crown, that it contained several lordships to which he could make no pretensions; especially the Counties of Charolais, Mâcon, and Auxerre. The Burgundians, however, did not think it wise to incur Louis's anger, and did him homage, January 19th, 1477; though a few towns, as Chalon, Beaune, Semur, made some show of resistance. Franche-Comté also submitted, though this province was feudally dependent, not on the Crown of France, but on the Empire.

Mary herself was in still greater embarrassment than the Burgundians. The different provinces of the Netherlands had their own separate rights and privileges, and all of them had more or less felt themselves aggrieved by the despotic and military authority exercised by Charles's ministers. The wealthy and industrious citizens of Bruges, Antwerp, Brussels, and other towns had been oppressed and disgusted by the insolence and extortion of Charles's nobles; and they rose in opposition to the collectors of

the taxes. The States of Flanders assembled at Ghent, before they would support the government with their money, obtained a promise from Mary that their privileges should be confirmed, and the abuses of the previous government abolished. It was now that she granted to the Hollanders and Zealanders the charter called the Grand Privilege, by which all the effectual rights of sovereignty were transferred to the local States. Mary agreed by this instrument that she would neither raise taxes nor conclude a marriage without their consent; that they might assemble without her authority; that she would undertake no war, not even a defensive one, without their approval; that the right of coining money should be vested in them; lastly, that they should choose their own magistrates, she only enjoying the privilege of selecting from the names presented to her.

Meanwhile Louis was engaged in reducing the towns in Picardy. At Péronne he was waited on by Mary's Chancellor, Hugonet, and the Sire d'Humbercourt, with a letter, in which she signified that the government was in her hands, naming the members of it, and that Hugonet and Humbercourt had full powers to treat. In reality, however, Mary was now entirely under the control of the Flemish States, who contemplated erecting a sort of Republic, and had appointed a regency quite independently of her. Louis listened not to her envoys, who had scarcely departed when a deputation came to him from the States of Flanders and Brabant to negotiate a peace; and they remarked that Mary was entirely guided by the advice of her three Estates. "You are mistaken," answered Louis; "Mademoiselle de Bourgogne conducts her affairs through people who do not wish for peace; you will be disavowed," and he handed to the deputies the letter presented to him by Mary's envoys. The deputies returned in fury to Ghent, where they presented themselves at the levée of the Duchess to give a public account of their mission. When they mentioned the letter, Mary exclaimed that it was an imposture, and that she had never written anything of the kind. At these words the Pensionary of Ghent, the head of the deputation, drew the fatal despatch from his bosom, and handed it to her before the assembly. Mary was struck dumb with astonishment and shame.

The same evening Hugonet and Humbercourt were arrested. They had previously been very unpopular; the people were lashed into fury against them by the addresses of certain intriguers; they were arraigned, and after being dreadfully tortured, were con-

demned to death. Having vainly entreated in their favour the judges at the Town Hall, Mary hastened to the Vrijdags Markt, where the people were assembled in arms; and ascending the balcony of the Hoog-Huys, with tearful eyes and dishevelled hair, implored the people to spare her servants. Those in the neighbourhood of the Hoog-Huys cried out that the prisoners should be spared; but the remoter crowd, who beheld not the spectacle of Mary's touching grief, persisted in the sentence. After a short contention, the merciful party were forced to yield; and Mary returned to her palace, her heart swelling with unspeakable anguish at the treachery of Louis. Three days after Hugonet and Humbercourt were beheaded (April 3rd, 1477).

After this bloody catastrophe Louis altered his tone. He complained loudly of what had been done; stepped forward as the protector of Mary, who had been kept a kind of prisoner, and declared the democrats of Ghent and Bruges guilty of high treason. Nothing seemed to resist the progress of the French; they occupied Hainault, threatened Luxemburg, and penetrated into Flanders. At length Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres awoke, and put on foot an army of 20,000 men, though scarcely to be called soldiers. The command of them was given to the unnatural Adolf of Gelderland, who after the death of Charles had been liberated from imprisonment by the citizens of Ghent, and had set up pretensions to Mary's hand. He led the Flemings to Tournay; but here the men of Bruges began to quarrel with the men of Ghent; the French seizing the opportunity, routed both, and Adolf of Gelderland, after a brave defence, was slain (June 27th, 1477).

Such was the end of one of Mary's suitors. She had had several more: as the Dauphin; the son of the Duke of Cleves; the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV.; Lord Rivers, Edward's brother-in-law, and others. Various circumstances had prevented the Emperor from pursuing the Burgundian match for his son during the lifetime of Charles, and indeed, as we have seen, he had been leagued with the Swiss against that Prince; but in April a formal embassy arrived at Bruges, whither Mary had withdrawn after the bloody scene at Ghent, to demand her hand for Maximilian. That prize was an object of so much contention and intrigue that it required all the address of Mary's confidants, Madame Hallewyn, Olivier de la Marche, and Charles's widow, Margaret of York, to procure the ambassadors an audience. It had been arranged by Mary's council that she should postpone

her reply; but when the ambassadors recalled to her recollection a written promise which she had made to marry Maximilian, and a ring which accompanied the letter, and inquired if she was willing to keep her promise, policy gave way to love, and she at once acknowledged her engagement. She was betrothed April 21st; but four months elapsed before the Austrian Prince came to seek his bride in Flanders. This was owing partly to the want of money, partly to the dilatoriness of Frederick. The bridegroom was so poor that Mary is said to have advanced him 100,000 florins in order that he might make a befitting appearance at Ghent. The marriage, which took place August 18th, 1477, laid the foundation of the increased greatness of the House of Austria.

The lands and towns of the Netherlands had employed the interval between the death of Charles and the betrothal of his daughter, not only to obtain from Mary the confirmation of their ancient privileges, but also to extort new ones. Maximilian, brought up in the tenets of the Habsburg family respecting the divine rights of Princes, looked with no favourable eye on these citizens; and his own character in turn was not much calculated to please a somewhat coarse commercial people. He was a polished knight and even a poet, after the fashion of those times; and worse still, a poring, tasteless devotee of the old school learning. Instead of marching against the French, who were burning several Belgian towns, he repeated at Bruges the celebration of his wedding, and then retired to Antwerp, where he lived in ease and luxury.

The attention of Louis, however, was diverted from Belgium by the affairs of Franche-Comté and Burgundy. Louis had got Franche-Comté, chiefly through the influence of John, Prince of Orange, whom, as we have said, he had made Governor of the Burgundies; but being jealous of Orange's influence there, he soon began to raise up rivals against him, and he refused to restore John's lands. This drove the Prince into open rebellion. He renewed his allegiance to Mary, whose father-in-law, the Emperor, in a proclamation, reminded the inhabitants of Franche-Comté of their duty to the Empire. The Prince of Orange at the head of a considerable force defeated Louis's lieutenant Craon, at Vesoul (March 19th, 1477), and took possession of that town, as well as of Rochefort and Auxerre, in the name of Mary. In this state of things Louis proposed a truce to Maximilian and Mary, to which they foolishly assented (September). The French King likewise

secured himself on the side of England by renewing the truce of Pequigny for the term of his own life and that of Edward IV. The House of York was indeed hampered by its own home quarrels, in which, early in 1478, Clarence fell a victim to the unappeased resentment of the King and to the machinations of his brother the Duke of Gloucester. Louis is said to have been consulted respecting that unfortunate Prince, and not obscurely to have advised his death by quoting a line from Lucan.[1]

In January, 1478, Maximilian and Mary purchased a peace with the Swiss League by the payment of 150,000 florins; but Louis was still able, by means of bribery, to secure the services of those venal mountaineers. Little, however, was done in that year, and in July the truce between the French King and the Netherland Sovereigns was renewed for a twelvemonth: only to be broken, however, in the spring of next year, when the Netherlanders resumed the offensive, seized Cambray, and invaded the Vermandois. Louis contented himself with holding them in check, and directed all his efforts towards Franche-Comté, where Chaumont d'Amboise, helped by large bodies of Swiss, soon overran the whole province. Dôle, the capital town, though valiantly defended by the students of the University, who were cut to pieces in a sally, was taken, sacked, and burnt, when most of the other towns quietly submitted. Yet they were plundered by the Swiss, for pillage, as well as pay, was the motive of their service.

The French were not so successful in the Netherlands, where they had to contend with the terrible leaders of the Walloons; men whose character may be inferred from their names, as "the Boar of the Ardennes" and "the Bull-calf of Bouvignes." These leaders, with the Prince of Chimai and others, invaded Luxemburg with 10,000 men. Maximilian himself entered Artois and Hainault, and completely defeated the French at Guinegate, a hill near Térouenne in Artois; but he neglected to make any good use of his victory, which, in fact, had cost him so dear that he had been obliged to abandon the siege of Térouenne. War was still conducted in a most barbarous manner. Maximilian caused the French commandant of the little town of Malaunoy to be hanged, because his stubborn resistance had delayed the Netherland army three days; and Louis, in retaliation, hanged near fifty of his prisoners of the highest rank: seven on the spot where his commandant had been executed, and ten before the gates of each of the four towns of Douay, St. Omer, Lille, and Arras. The letters

[1] *Cabinet de Louis XI.*, ap. Martin, t. vii. p. 136.

of Louis at this period abound with a sinister gaiety; he talks of nothing but hanging and making heads fly.[1]

The war after this period offers nothing worth recording. On August 27th, 1480, a truce was concluded for seven months, which was afterwards prolonged for a year. During this truce the King reviewed, near Pont-de-l'Arche, in Normandy, an army of 30,000 combatants, including 6,000 Swiss—the first instance on record of a camp of manœuvre in time of peace. In 1481 died Charles du Maine, the last heir of the second Angevin House of Provence. The agreement by which Provence was to fall to the French Crown on this event has been already mentioned, and as Charles made Louis his universal heir, Anjou and Maine also fell to him, as well as the claims of the Angevin House on Naples: a fatal legacy, which Louis XI.'s practical and prosaic mind neglected to pursue, but which was destined to be the source of many misfortunes to his successors. René had died in the previous year. The annexation of Provence with its ports made France a great Mediterranean Power.

Another important death was that of Mary of Burgundy, March 27th, 1482, in consequence of a fall from her horse at a hawking party near Bruges. She left a son and a daughter, Philip and Margaret; a second son, born in September, 1481, had died immediately after baptism. Mary with her last breath recommended her husband to the Flemings as the guardian of her son Philip, now four years of age; but they erected a kind of Republic, and paid not the slightest heed to Maximilian. He was recognized, indeed, as Regent in Hainault, Namur, Brabant, and some other lands where the *Kabbeljauwen*,[2] or democratic party prevailed; but the *Hoeks*, or aristocrats, were against him, and the Flemings would not hear of his guardianship. The citizens of Ghent seized the person of young Philip, and the Flemish Notables, supported by a cabal long since entered into with the French King, appointed a regency of five nobles, who immediately began negotiations for peace with France. They opposed Maximilian on all points, even the disposal of his daughter, whom they wished to betroth to the Dauphin, and to send into France for her education.

The health of Louis was now fast declining. He had been

[1] Martin, t. vii. p. 130.

[2] These two parties sprang up in Holland after the death of William IV., Count of Hainault, in 1345; with whom expired the Avesnes line of Hainault, which since 1300 had held also Holland and Zealand. The original principles of these parties are not known, but at a later period the *Kabbeljauwen*, or Cod-fish party, represented the municipal faction, while the *Hoeks* (hooks) were the nobles, who were to catch and control them. Motley, *Dutch Rep.* vol. i. p. 40.

struck with an apoplexy, which had impaired his mental as well as his bodily faculties, and had reduced him to a living skeleton; yet he still persisted in directing everything. He was grown so suspicious that he avoided all the large towns, and at length almost entirely confined himself to his Castle at Montils-lez-Tours, in Touraine, which, from the triple fortification of ditch, rampart, and palisades with which he surrounded it, obtained the name of Plessis.[1] Forty crossbow-men lurked constantly in the entrenchment, and during the night shot at everybody who approached; while a strong guard surrounded the Castle and occupied the rooms. All round Plessis were to be seen corpses hanging on the trees; for Tristan l'Ermite, Provost of the *Maréchaux,* whom Louis called his *compère,* or gossip, caused persons to be tortured and hanged without much troubling himself for proofs of their misdeeds.[2]

Louis had sent his wife into Dauphiné; his son was educating, or rather growing up without education, at his birthplace, the Castle of Amboise. Louis was accustomed to say that he would always be wise enough if he knew these five Latin words: *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare.*[3] Even Louis's daughter Anne, and her husband, the Sire de Beaujeu, were rarely permitted to see the King, though they had always been faithful and affectionate. He was attended only by astrologers and physicians, and some of those low people in whose society he delighted. In order to divert himself, he sent for rare animals from distant climes, and hired musicians and peasants, who danced before him the dances of their countries. From the King's fear of death, Jacques Coithier, his physician, gained a great ascendency over him, and being a brutal and avaricious man, extorted 10,000 gold crowns a month, besides making the King give him several lordships and the presidency of the *Chambre des Comptes.* Pope Sixtus IV., aware of the King's abject superstition, sent him so many relics from Rome that the people became riotous at the spoliation of the churches. Among them were the *corporal,* or linen cloth, on which "Monseigneur St. Pierre" had said Mass, the rods of Moses and Aaron, &c. Yet, which is a most singular trait in his character, Louis remained to the day of his death inaccessible to the influence of the clergy.

[1] In Low Latin, *Plexitium,* enclosure (locus undique clausus, Ducange).

[2] Such is the account of Claude de Seissel, which, from his enmity to Louis, may be a little exaggerated; but Comines shows that great cruelties were exercised at Plessis and elsewhere. See Martin, t. vii. p. 145.

[3] "He who cannot dissemble, knows not how to rule."

It was from such a retreat that Louis pushed his old policy of bribery, espionage, and cabal, with more vigour than ever. We have already alluded to his intrigues with the Flemings: he caballed not only with the Flemish aristocracy, but also with the demagogues of Ghent. Maximilian, who kept *memoranda* of all the insults and injuries he had ever received from the French, maintained the war as a sort of point of honour, though it had been unattended with any important operations; but his influence ceased with the death of his wife, and he concluded a peace at Arras, December 23rd, 1482. The principal article stipulated a marriage of Margaret, Maxmilian's daughter, then two years old, with the Dauphin Charles, and that she should be brought up in France. Artois and Franche-Compté, with Auxerre, Mâcon, Noyers, Bar-sur-Seine, and the Charolais, were to be her dowry; but the Duchy of Burgundy was left to Louis. On the other hand, the lands forming her dowry were to revert to her brother Philip if the marriage was not consummated, or if Margaret died without children. In pursuance of the treaty, the infant Margaret was carried to Paris.

Louis XI. died August 30th, 1483, in his sixty-first year. He was a bad man but a politic King, and laid the foundation of that centralization and that absoluteness of the French monarchy which were at length brought to completion by Cardinal Richelieu. In these plans, however, Louis was much assisted by fortunate circumstances. The death of his brother gave him Guienne; that of Charles the Bold enabled him to take possession of Burgundy; while Anjou, Maine, and Provence fell to him by the extinction of the House of Anjou. Louis favoured industry, and encouraged all ranks of men, even ecclesiastics and nobles, to devote themselves to commerce; he planted mulberry trees, and endeavoured to introduce the culture of the silkworm into France; he brought skilful workmen from Italy to establish the manufacture of stuffs of gold, silver, and silk; and Tours became under his auspices what Lyon is now on a larger scale. Yet in spite of the favour he had always shown to the middling and trading classes, he was as unpopular among them as he was among the nobility. It was indeed impossible that such a character should inspire love; and even without any personal considerations, and merely in a political point of view, the popularity which his other measures were likely to win was forfeited by the heavy taxes which his system of policy compelled him to impose. Taxation had been almost tripled since the death of Charles VII., owing to the

large army maintained by Louis, the number of his spies and secret agents, and the vast sums which he spent in bribery and corruption in most of the Courts of Europe. Louis XI. was the first French King to assume officially and permanently the titles of "Most Christian King" and "Majesty," though the former had been occasionally used before.[1]

Charles VIII., the son and successor of Louis, was in his fourteenth year at the time of his father's death, and therefore, according to the ordinance of Charles V., had attained his majority. But though there was no occasion for a regency, Charles's tender years, coupled with his feebleness both of mind and body, rendered him unfit immediately to assume the reins of government; and Louis had foreseen and provided for this contingency by naming Charles's sister, Anne, who was eight years his senior, to carry on the government till her brother should be in condition to undertake it. Anne had secured the favour and approbation of Louis by many qualities which resembled his own; and he was wont to say of her, in his usual cynical way, that "she was the least foolish of any woman in the world: for as to a wise woman there is none." Her masculine understanding and courage would indeed have rendered her worthy of the throne of France, if it could have devolved to a female. Anne's husband, Peter of Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu—whence she was commonly called "la Dame de Beaujeu"—a man of good sense and some practical ability, was little consulted by her in the administration of affairs, though a useful instrument in carrying out her views.

Louis Duke of Orleans, who had married Jeanne, second surviving daughter of Louis XI., and who, as first Prince of the Blood, considered himself entitled to direct the King, felt himself aggrieved by this arrangement. The first days of emancipation from the iron rod of his father-in-law were, however, devoted not to ambition, but to pleasure. This young Prince of twenty-one was united to an ugly wife, for whom he felt no affection; and immediately after the King's death he began a round of dissipation, in which women, dice, tournaments, and the luxuries of the table succeeded one another. He soon, however, occupied himself with the more dangerous schemes of ambition, and entered

[1] The principal authorities for the reign of Louis XI. and the affairs of Burgundy during that period are, the *Mémoires* of Philippe de Comines, of Olivier de la Marche, and of Jean de Troyes, all of which are in Petitot's collection. Of Comines there are several separate editions. The *Chroniques des Ducs de Bourgogne* of Chastellain, and those of Jean Molinet, are in Buchon's *Chroniques nationales Françaises*, t. xli. sqq. The reader may also consult Duclos, *Hist. de Louis XI.*

into intrigues with Maximilian of Austria, Francis II. Duke of Brittany, and several of the French nobles; and thinking to obtain his ends through the people, he persuaded the Council to summon the *Etats-Généraux* to meet at Tours, January 5th, 1484.

To divert the storm which she foresaw, Anne sought by her measures to gain the love and confidence of the people. She threw aside the hated tools of her father, and among them Oliver Necker, who was condemned to death for various crimes, one of the blackest being his having caused a prisoner to be executed whose wife had sacrificed to him her honour as the price of her husband's life. Even Philippe de Comines was compelled to retire. The taxes which weighed heaviest on the people were abolished, and a body of 6,000 Swiss, besides other mercenaries, was dismissed. With the princes and nobles Anne adopted the politic arts of her father, and gained many of them to her cause by a skilful distribution of money and honours; and by these means she contrived to render the proceedings of the *Etats* harmless.[1]

The Duke of Orleans, however, was not appeased by the pensions and honours which she had bestowed on him, and some disturbances in Brittany afforded him an opportunity to display his discontent. Pierre Landais, a tailor by origin, the minister and favourite of Duke Francis, had driven the Breton barons to revolt by his cruelties, who, having failed in an attempt to seize him at Nantes, had assembled at Ancenis; and hereupon Landais, with consent of Francis, invited the Duke of Orleans into Brittany, holding out to him the prospect of marrying Francis's eldest daughter and heiress, although negotiations were actually on foot for betrothing her to the Archduke Maximilian. Francis himself was the last male representative of the House of Montfort; but he had two daughters, Anne and Isabella, and as Brittany was not a male fief, it would of course descend to the elder. The Duke of Orleans listened to the proposal, and in April, 1484, proceeded into Brittany; but the story of his having been captivated by the personal charms of Anne can hardly be true, as that Princess was then only seven years of age.

The Breton nobles were now proceeded against with the greatest rigour. Their houses were razed, their woods cut down, and in their despair they resorted to the French Regent for

[1] Their proceedings are published among the *Documens inédits sur l'histoire de France*, and throw great light on the system of government, both civil and ecclesiastical, of those times.

protection, binding themselves by oath to acknowledge the French King as their natural lord after the death of Duke Francis, with reservation, however, of the ancient laws and customs of Brittany. On the other hand, the Duke of Orleans, proclaiming that he intended to deliver the King from those who held him prisoner, formed a league with Count Dunois, the Duke of Alençon, the old Constable of Bourbon, and other malcontent lords; and he persuaded the Parliament of Paris to annul the decree of the *Etats-Généraux* which invested Anne with the regency. But the machinations of this faction were disconcerted by the death of Landais, who was the soul of it. Duke Francis and his minister having despatched an army to reduce the malcontent barons at Ancenis, the ducal forces, inspired by the universal hatred against Landais, joined the insurgents, and marched upon Nantes; the inhabitants of that city rose, Landais was seized in the very chamber of the Duke, and hanged after a summary process, July 18th, 1485.

The Duke of Orleans and the confederate lords had also lost an ally by the revolution which placed Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, on the throne of England. The flight of that Prince to Brittany after the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1474, and his abortive expedition to England after the death of Edward IV., in which, with a view to effect a marriage between him and the heiress of Brittany, he had been assisted by Landais, are well known to the English reader. About Christmas, 1483, the English emigrants in Brittany, who were pretty numerous, held a meeting in Rennes Cathedral, and swore allegiance to Henry, on condition that he should marry the eldest daughter of Edward IV. The news of this proceeding caused Richard III. to strain every nerve to get rid of Richmond; and Landais, who found his own designs frustrated by the projected marriage between Henry and Elizabeth of York, entered into negotiations with Richard. The English King promised military aid against the insurgent Breton barons, engaged to confer the estates and honours of Richmond on the Duke of Brittany, and to present Landais with the confiscated properties of the English emigrants, on his undertaking to seize and imprison Henry; but the latter having got intelligence of this design, escaped with great difficulty into Anjou a little before the day appointed for its execution; and Duke Francis, who does not appear to have known the whole extent of his minister's base plan, dismissed the other English emigrants, who were received and sheltered by the French Regent. In 1485, Richmond, with

the help of the French Court, made preparations in Normandy for another invasion of England. The Regent was induced to take this step by Richmond's promise to convert the truce between England and France into a peace, and to withdraw the pretensions of the English Crown to Normandy, Guienne, and the other lands which had formerly belonged to it. The result of Richmond's second attempt we need not detail. He sailed from Harfleur August 1st, 1485, with less than 2,000 men, and landing at Milford Haven, was joined by large bodies of Welsh and English; Richard was defeated and slain in the battle of Bosworth, August 22nd; and Richmond mounted the throne of England with the title of Henry VII.

By the death of Landais and of his ally Richard III. the French confederate lords found all the plans of their faction disconcerted; and although they had armed their vassals and hirelings, they were glad to submit to the terms dictated by the Regent Anne. Dunois was banished to Asti, in Piedmont, a town belonging, by maternal descent, to the Duke of Orleans; while the Duke himself was obliged to allow the King's troops to take possession of all his fortresses. The Constable of Bourbon escaped with impunity, in consideration of his great age, and because the Regent's husband was his brother and heir. The Duke of Brittany, in a treaty concluded at Bourges (November), acknowledged himself the vassal of France, though the question whether he owed simple or liege homage was left in abeyance, and thus ended what has been called *la guerre folle*, or the foolish war. But a step of the Regent Anne, who in order to strengthen her brother's claim to Brittany procured from the house of Penthièvre a confirmation of their transfer, in the preceding reign, of their pretensions to Brittany to the French Crown, occasioned another war. Francis was so incensed by the Regent's act that he called the Breton States together in 1486, and extorted an oath from them on the consecrated Host, the Gospels, and the relics of the Holy Cross, that after his death they would recognize his two daughters as the only true heirs of the Duchy, and would oppose with all their might any other pretenders. He also formed, in 1486, a fresh coalition among the French Princes, which included, besides the Duke of Orleans, Dunois, who had now returned from Asti, the Count of Angoulême, the whole house of Foix, the Sire d'Albret, and his son John (who had become by marriage King of Navarre), the Prince of Orange, the Governor of Guienne, the Duke of Lorraine, and several other princes. The hope that the

Archduke Maximilian, who had hitherto been prevented by troubles in his own dominions from accomplishing anything for his confederates, would now be able to assist them, in a great degree prompted this new coalition. But we must here take a brief view of these disturbances.

In 1485 Maximilian seemed to have brought his disputes with his Netherland subjects and neighbours to a happy termination. Having quieted the disturbances in Liége, Utrecht, and Holland, he had leisure to proceed against the Flemings, who had forced him to intrust his son Philip to their guardianship, just as they had obliged him to send his daughter Margaret into France. Appearing before Ghent, the seat of the Flemish Regency, he compelled it to a capitulation, by which he recovered the guardianship of his son Philip. He now deprived Ghent of its fortifications and artillery; he imposed taxes, publicly tore the charter of the city, abolished the democratic government of the guilds, and established in its place an aristocratic council. In February, 1486, he had been elected King of the Romans, and in the following April he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the Archbishop of Cologne.

Maximilian now determined on breaking the treaty of Arras, and entering Artois with a considerable army, he took Térouenne and Sens; but Crèvecœur, the French general, by keeping within the fortified places, exhausted Maximilian's resources, and obliged him to dismiss his mercenaries and retreat. In the following year, 1487, the French took St. Omer, and gained a victory near Béthune. The war, however, was carried on by neither side with vigour. Maximilian was now involved in contentions with Ghent and Bruges, which prevented his making any vigorous diversions in favour of the confederates; whilst the Regent wished to destroy their faction before putting forth her whole strength in Artois.

The disturbances in Flanders soon assumed a very serious aspect. Maximilian having caused Adrian de Vilain, one of the Ghent demagogues, to be seized and carried off to Brabant, the prisoner contrived to escape by the way, and returning to Ghent, succeeded in exciting an insurrection. Meanwhile Maximilian had been entrapped to Bruges by a stratagem. Against the advice of all his friends, he accepted the invitation of the inhabitants to attend the celebration of Candlemas; but he had not been long there when news arrived that Ghent was in full revolt (February 10th, 1488); and on Maximilian's preparing to pro-

ceed thither, the citizens of Bruges shut their gates, and tumultuously demanded the dismissal of his obnoxious counsellors. Maximilian, who had displayed considerable intrepidity in this conjuncture, was at last obliged to take refuge in the house of a grocer in the market-place, where he was made prisoner. His suite were pursued by the infuriated populace; several were seized and tortured, and sixteen put to death, among whom was Peter de Langhals, the *schout* or Mayor of Bruges. In vain did the States of the other provinces threaten and remonstrate. Maximilian was kept prisoner till May 16th, nor was he released till he had agreed to a burdensome and disgraceful capitulation, and given three of the leading nobles as hostages for its performance. By this capitulation he promised the Flemish malcontents to observe the treaty of Arras; to renounce the guardianship of his son Philip, so far as Flanders was concerned; to restore popular government in Ghent and Bruges; and to withdraw his German troops from Flanders within three days, and from the rest of the Netherlands within eight. He was obliged to read these conditions from a lofty scaffold erected in the market-place, and to swear in the most solemn manner to observe them.

These occurrences prevented Maximilian from assisting the French princes. A want of concert also prevailed among them. By prompt action the Regent succeeded in occupying Guienne, the seat of the greatest danger, and in compelling the submission of Angoulême and D'Albret. The rest of the malcontents fled to Brittany; but the principal nobles of that duchy, in number more than fifty, were jealous of the Duke of Orleans, and suspected some of the other confederates of treachery; and they entered into an agreement with the French Court to compel Duke Francis to dismiss them. Accordingly, when a royal army entered Brittany, Francis found himself deserted by a great part of his troops.

We shall not pursue the details of the war which followed. In May, 1488, the Dukes of Brittany and Orleans were declared guilty of high treason, and to enforce this decree against them, a fresh army of 12,000 men, under La Trémoille, was despatched into Brittany. The malcontents were completely defeated in the battle of St. Aubin du Cormier, July 28th, 1488, when the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were made prisoners. Among the forces of the Duke of Brittany was a body of 400 English archers, commanded by Lord Woodville, brother of the Queen

Dowager, who had obtained secret permission from Henry VII. to lead them into Brittany. After the defeat, Woodville and all the English were mercilessly put to death by the French; as well as a body of Bretons accoutred in the garb of Englishmen, and wearing the red cross in order to strike greater terror into the enemy. The Prince of Orange had put on the red cross, and only saved himself by tearing it off, and hiding himself under some dead bodies. He was sent to the Castle of Angers. The Duke of Orleans, after being carried to several fortresses, was at length confined in the Tower of Bourges.

After this defeat the rest of Brittany speedily submitted, and Duke Francis was obliged to accept at Sablé the hard conditions imposed upon him in the name of Charles VIII.; one of the principal of which was that neither of his daughters should be given in marriage without the French King's consent. Scarce was the treaty signed when Francis died, September 9th, 1488; upon which the Council of France immediately claimed the guardianship of his daughters, and required that the eldest, Anne, should not assume the title of Duchess till commissioners had decided between her claims and those of Charles. Francis by his will had appointed the Marshal de Rieux to be Regent, or protector, of the Duchy, and guardian of his daughters. Rieux would have married Anne, who had not yet attained her twelfth year, to the Sire d'Albret, who was at least forty-five, though Anne showed the greatest repugnance to the match; and as Rieux pressed his plan, and as great part of Brittany was occupied by French troops, Anne fled to Redon, and afterwards took up her abode at Rennes by invitation of the citizens, where she patiently awaited the aid promised by Henry VII. of England.

The alliance of that cautious and niggardly monarch had been sought both by the Regent of France and the Duke of Brittany; the former had pressed, if not for help, at least for neutrality; while Francis had urged all his former services towards Henry as a claim for his support. The English King, with his usual temporizing policy and aversion to war, had left matters to take their course, trusting that Brittany would prove a match for the French arms; and had only rendered the small and indirect assistance of Woodville's corps. But the warlike spirit and old animosity of the English towards the French revived at the prospect of Brittany being swallowed up by France, and Henry saw himself under the necessity of taking some decisive step. In the present temper of the English nation it was not difficult to procure

a considerable subsidy; and by a treaty concluded with the Marshal de Rieux, Henry agreed to maintain at least 6,000 men in Brittany from February till November, 1489; the cost of which, however, he was to be repaid, and to receive two seaport towns as security. One of the conditions of the treaty was, that the hand of Anne should not be disposed of without Henry's consent.[1] Alliances were at the same time made with Maximilian and with Ferdinand of Aragon.

In pursuance of this treaty, the English landed in Brittany early in 1489, under command of Lord Willoughby de Broke, and in May, 2,000 Spaniards made a descent in Morbihan. The French retired into their garrisons, and left the English and their allies masters of the open country, hoping to wear them out by the length and desultory nature of the warfare. And so indeed it proved; for the English, finding they could get no assistance from the feeble and divided Court of Brittany, departed when the term of their engagement had expired, without having achieved anything considerable.

Rieux had brought Henry to consent to Anne's marriage with the Sire d'Albret; but the aversion of Anne, seconded by the Breton Chancellor Montauban, who represented that Albret's power was not sufficient to be of any use to Anne in her present necessities, at length obtained a commutation of this marriage for one with Maximilian, which was celebrated by proxy in 1490. But neither was Maximilian in condition to lend any effectual assistance; and all that Anne obtained by this union was the title of Queen of the Romans.

We shall here resume Maximilian's history. The Emperor Frederick III. would not acknowledge the capitulation which his son had made with the Flemings, and he endeavoured to raise an army in order to take vengeance on them for the insult offered to the Empire by the imprisonment of the King of the Romans. The Diet assembled for that purpose produced, however, little but long speeches; and but for the zeal and patriotism of Duke Albert of Saxony, who furnished troops from his own resources, nothing could have been attempted in the Netherlands. Frederick accompanied the Imperial army of which Duke Albert was general; and in a Diet held at Mechlin he procured the treaty extorted from Maximilian to be annulled, and the warmest resolutions to be adopted against the Flemings. The war which followed, however, does not present any events of importance. The siege of

[1] Rymer t. xii. p. 362.

Ghent was attempted, but abandoned (July, 1488); and the French, on their side, alarmed at the prospect of having to contend at once with Germany, England, and Aragon, did not venture to attack Duke Albert. In 1489 the Regent Anne made proposals for a peace to the German States assembled at Frankfurt; and though Maximilian was at first averse to it, a treaty was concluded by the advice of the German Princes, July 22nd, on the basis of that of Arras. Charles VIII. promised his friendly intervention to restore the obedience of the provinces of Flanders, Brabant, and their adherents to Maximilian, and he engaged to re-establish in their lands, Albret, Dunois, and their allies, Maximilian making the same promise with regard to the adherents of France in the Netherlands; but the question respecting the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, as well as some other points, was referred to an interview to take place in three months between the Most Christian King and the King of the Romans. Charles agreed to evacuate his acquisitions in Brittany, but certain conditions were attached which afforded a loophole for opening up the whole treaty.

The assistance of the French being thus withdrawn from his domestic enemies, Maximilian soon got the better of them. Having assembled his Kabbeljauwen adherents at Leyden, under the name of the States of Holland, he pursued the war with the Hoeks, and took from them the town of Rotterdam. The Flemish towns and Philip of Cleves, their leader, now submitted, and a treaty was concluded, October 1st, 1489, by which they agreed to recognize Maximilian as Regent, to pay him a compensation of 300,000 gold pieces, and to compel the counsellors who were in office at the time of his imprisonment to ask pardon on their knees, bareheaded, dressed in black, and without their girdles. Having brought the affairs of the Netherlands to this happy conclusion, Maximilian proceeded into Austria, leaving Albert of Saxony, the Count of Nassau, and the Prince of Chimai stadholders in the Low Countries. In the following year their fleet of thirty-eight ships, commanded by Jan van Egmont, obtained a complete victory over that of the Hoeks, July 21st, 1490, and captured the Hoek leader, Francis van Brederode, who died soon afterwards of his wounds. Duke Albert remained Imperial stadholder in the Netherlands till his death in 1500.

We have mentioned Maximilian's marriage with Anne of Brittany in 1490. The method of its celebration by proxy, conducted after a German fashion, afforded the French some

merriment. The Duchess being put to bed, a naked sword was placed at her side, and Maximilian's representative, the Count of Nassau, holding his credentials in his hand, placed his naked leg next to the sword. This laughable consummation was at first regarded as legal; but as Maximilian delayed to appear in Brittany, the French jurists found occasion to declare the wedding null; and their decision was confirmed by a decree of the Council, which pronounced the ceremony an unseemly trick.

In fact the French Court had determined that the heiress of Brittany should marry Charles VIII.; and the Sire d'Albret, then commandant of Nantes, who had given up all hope of Anne for himself, was bribed to forward their views by a large sum of money, a pension of 25,000 francs, the restitution of his lands, and other favours. Early in 1491 Albret betrayed Nantes to the French. The young Duchess, who was at Rennes, was now in a dangerous position, and Maximilian's lieutenants were precluded from lending her any aid by insurrections in the Netherlands. The heavy taxes and the tampering with the currency had caused symptoms of rebellion in Ghent. In Friesland, Jan van Egmont having put two men to death for refusing to pay the tax called Knight-Money, the people rose and assembled under a banner in which was depicted a loaf and cheese; whence these insurgents were called the bread-and-cheese folk. Towards the end of 1491 they seized Alkmaar. A third insurrection was excited by the French, who persuaded the young Duke of Gelderland, then in their custody, to make an attempt for the recovery of his Duchy, and they supported him with 1000 horse. His cause was also espoused by Robert and Eberhard de la Mark, by the Bishop of Liége, and by René II., Duke of Lorraine.

Meanwhile Charles VIII., qualified by his advancing years, had begun to take a greater share in the government. The Sire de Beaujeu, husband of the Regent Anne, had become Duke of Bourbon by the death of his elder brother in April, 1488; he and his consort often retired to their estates, and Anne no longer appeared so frequently in the Council, though her influence continued paramount with the King. The first decisive step by which the King showed that he was no longer in tutelage, was the liberation of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Orleans. Notwithstanding the Duke's neglect of Jeanne, and his project of obtaining a divorce, she was devotedly attached to him; she had insisted on sharing his captivity, and had frequently, but in vain, implored her sister, the Regent, for his liberation. She had

more success with Charles. She threw herself at his feet, and by tears and entreaties obtained her prayer; though Charles could not help remarking, that he prayed Heaven she might never have cause to repent it. One evening, on pretence of hunting, Charles rode towards the Tower of Bourges, and stopping at a little distance, sent for the Duke of Orleans. It was nearly three years since Louis had crossed the threshold of his prison. As he approached the King, he threw himself on his knees and burst into tears, while the King fell on his neck, and gave him every token of esteem and affection. A solid proof of these sentiments was his bestowing the government of Normandy on Louis (May, 1491).

After his liberation, the Duke of Orleans abandoned all his designs upon Anne of Brittany, from gratitude both to his wife and to the King; and indeed any further prosecution of them would have been unavailing. Charles VIII. having entered Brittany with large forces, and sat down before Rennes, where the Duchess was residing, her counsellors and friends advised her to capitulate. On November 15th a treaty was made, by which Charles and Anne agreed to refer their respective claims to the decision of twenty-four commissaries; Rennes was to be placed in the hands of the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon; and a pension of 40,000 crowns was assured to Anne in case her pretensions were rejected. Anne also stipulated that she should have liberty to retire into Germany to her husband, the King of the Romans. But this was only meant for the public eye, and to deceive the representative of Maximilian. In secret another engagement had been entered into, which was to deprive that Prince at once of a wife and a son-in-law.

It has been already related that Charles VIII. had been affianced to Maximilian's daughter, Margaret of Austria, who had been sent into France for her education. Her tender years, for she was now only eleven, had prevented the consummation of the marriage, and Charles resolved to substitute Anne of Brittany in her place. The acquisition of that Duchy seemed to outweigh the probable loss of Artois and Franche-Comté, the dowry of Margaret. On the very day that the treaty was signed, the King entered Rennes, and had a long conversation with the Duchess; and three days afterwards they were secretly betrothed. The King then set off for Langeais in Touraine, where he was soon joined by Anne, and their marriage was publicly solemnized, December 6th, 1491. Anne was then close on fifteen; Charles twenty-one. By the

marriage contract, they mutually assigned to each other their pretensions to the Duchy, and Anne, whose sister had died the year before, engaged, in case she should survive the King, not to contract a second marriage, except with a future King of France or his heir.

The couple thus singularly united formed the most striking contrast, both in mind and person. Anne was eminently handsome, of majestic presence, of bold and energetic character; while Charles was deformed in body, and in mind weak and fantastic. A celebrated Italian physiognomist[1] of that age describes him as having a great head, a long nose, and large prominent eyes; though his body was robust, his legs were weak and slender. Brantôme, and some other French writers, have characterized him as a great King, apparently from admiration of his extravagant plans of ambition, though he was entirely deficient in the qualities necessary for their execution. He seems indeed to have possessed courage, and a certain goodness of heart; but he was so illiterate as scarcely to be able to read; he was without prudence or judgment, and averse to all labour and application.

The rage and astonishment of Maximilian at the news of the double injury inflicted on him may be imagined. Thoughts of vengeance immediately rose in his mind, but without any prospect of being able to gratify it; for he could expect assistance neither from the Empire nor from the Netherlanders; his only hope rested on England, which he thought would not suffer Brittany to be incorporated with France. Henry VII., however, though he allied himself with Maximilian, was moved thereto rather by the hope of extracting supplies from his subjects than by any serious idea of making war upon France. Maximilian addressed long, but unheeded, manifestoes to the European Courts, in which he satisfactorily proved how much he had been wronged; and he sent the Count of Nassau to Paris to demand back his daughter Margaret and her dowry; but the French King, relying on the cabals and disturbances which he hoped to excite in Flanders, returned an evasive answer.

The greater part of the year 1492 elapsed without much being done. Henry VII. had procured large sums from his Parliament on pretext of the war, which had excited considerable enthusiasm in England; nothing less was dreamt of than the conquest of France, and many pledged or sold their manors to appear in the field and partake the expected triumph. Yet, though Henry

[1] Bartholomew Cocles, ap. Martin, t. vii. p. 226.

declared himself ready for action in May, the expedition was put off under various pretences till October, when 1500 English men-at-arms and 25,000 foot sat down before Boulogne. Henry, however, had been long before negotiating with the French Government, and on September 3rd, a formal treaty was concluded at Etaples. By subsequent conventions[1] (November 3rd and December 13th) Charles VIII. engaged to pay Henry within fifteen years 620,000 gold crowns in the name of Anne of Brittany, as an indemnity for the cost of the English succours; also 125,000 gold crowns in his own name, as arrears of a pension formerly promised to the Kings of England for a hundred years by Louis XI. through his plenipotentiary, the Bishop of Elne, though Louis himself had never ratified it, and had broken off all connection with England after the death of Edward IV. Henry VII. excused himself to his subjects for this peace by alleging that he could expect no help either from Maximilian or Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. These Sovereigns indeed concluded a treaty with Charles at Barçelona January 19th, 1493, by which the latter, in his anxiety to remove all obstacles to the Neapolitan expedition that he was contemplating, restored to them Roussillon and Cerdagne, without exacting the repayment of the sums formerly advanced by Louis XI. on these two counties.[2] The recovery of these provinces was regarded by the Spaniards as only second in importance to their recent conquest of Granada, for they opened to the French the passes of the Pyrenees.

The war with Maximilian now alone prevented Charles from crossing the Alps. Maximilian had met with some successes. Arras had been delivered to him, while a general insurrection had broken out in Franche-Comté after the repudiation of Margaret. The French arms would no doubt have retrieved these checks; but negotiations were opened, and a peace concluded between Charles and Maximilian at Senlis, May 23rd, 1493. The Princess Margaret, Maximilian's daughter, was given up as well as the provinces which formed her dowry, a few towns excepted, which were to be permanently retained, and a few others which were to be held till the majority of Maximilian's son Philip. Margaret afterwards contracted two unfortunate marriages; first, with Don Juan heir of Castile, and after his premature death,

[1] Rymer, t. xii. pp. 506, 509.

[2] Ferdinand does not appear, as many historians have asserted, to have bound himself by this treaty not to oppose the enterprise of Charles. See Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 250. The treaty is in Dumont, *Corp. Dipl.* t. iii. pt. ii. p. 297 sq.

with Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who also died, leaving her a second time a widow, at the age of twenty-four. At a later period, under Charles V., she became renowned as the prudent and politic Governess of the Netherlands.

By these sacrifices in order to obtain a peace with his immediate neighbours did Charles prepare for his rash expedition into Italy; but before relating the events which it produced we must return to the affairs of that country and of the rest of Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

NO sooner was Pope Sixtus IV. delivered from the apprehensions inspired by the presence of the Turks in Italy,[1] than he determined to recommence the prosecution of his ambitious designs for the aggrandizement of his nephew, the Count of Imola. In order to provide funds for his extraordinary expenses he monopolized the sale of wheat in the States of the Church; he rendered venal all the offices of the Apostolic Court, and openly advertised them for sale, with the prices affixed; nay, he even sold, though rather more secretly, a good many benefices, and some Cardinals' hats. He established colleges, the offices in which were sold for 200 or 300 ducats a-piece. Some of these bore the most singular titles, as for instance, the "College of a hundred Janissaries."[2] He intrigued with the Venetians in order to rob Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, of his dominions, and to divide them between Venice and his nephew; and war was declared against the Duke in May, 1482. Hereupon the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines, who had in vain endeavoured to dissuade the Pope from this step, recalled their ambassadors from Rome, and declared in favour of the Duke of Ferrara. The Venetians took Rovigo with its *Polesine*,[3] together with several other Ferrarese towns, and were approaching Ferrara itself, when they were suddenly deserted by their ally. This conduct of the Pope was partly occasioned by the altered views of his nephew, who had been gained over by the magnificent promises of the Courts of Spain and Naples, and partly by his own apprehensions respecting the good faith of the Venetians, whom he suspected of a design to retain Ferrara for themselves. Through the mediation of Ferdinand of Aragon a peace was concluded towards the end of the year between the Pope and the Duke of Ferrara's allies, and thus at the beginning of 1483 nearly all Italy was arrayed against Venice. The Duke of Calabria was now enabled to

[1] See above, p. 115 sq.

[2] Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 412 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

[3] The isles formed by the Po, Adige, and other rivers on the north-east coast of Italy, are called *Polesini*. That of Rovigo is one of the largest and most fertile.

relieve Ferrara by passing with his army through the Papal territories; and the Pope, as the Venetians would not listen to his exhortations to lay down their arms, did not scruple to excommunicate them for pursuing the very same course in which he had before encouraged and assisted them. But the Venetians, unlike the Florentines, disregarded these censures, and appealed from the Pope to a future Council, before which Sixtus was summoned to appear by the Patriarch of Aquileia; they forbade their clergy even to open the Papal bulls, and punished such ecclesiastics as refused to perform divine service.

The attention of Sixtus and his nephew was distracted by disturbances in the Papal States, while a misunderstanding between Lodovico il Moro and the Duke of Calabria enabled the Venetians to detach Milan from the league. Their fleet took several Neapolitan towns, and even laid siege to Taranto; and at length, in spite of all the efforts of Sixtus to prevent it, they succeeded in effecting a peace at Bagnolo (August 7th, 1484) with all the belligerents, except the Pope himself and Ferdinand of Naples, and all northern Italy was thus reduced to tranquillity. The Venetians were the only gainers by this treaty, which secured to them Rovigo and its Polesine.

Sixtus IV. died a few days after, it is said of vexation that nothing had been done for his nephew and for the maintenance of the Papal authority. This successor of St. Peter took a pleasure in beholding the mortal duels of his guards, for which he himself sometimes gave the signal. He was succeeded by Cardinal Gian Battista Cibò, a Genoese, who assumed the title of Innocent VIII. Innocent was a weak man, without any decided principle. He had seven children, whom he formally acknowledged;[1] he did not seek to advance them so shamelessly as Sixtus had advanced his *nephews*, yet he endeavoured to procure some advantages for his family from the disturbances which broke out about this time at Naples. Alfonso, the heir to the throne, who was universally hated for his luxury and pride, had persuaded his father to impose new burdens on the nobles; whereupon the barons revolted, and appealed to the Pope as Lord-paramount. Innocent accepted the appeal, demanded the tribute formerly payable by the Crown of Naples, instead of the palfrey with which his predecessor had been content, and cited King Ferdinand to appear at Rome. A war now broke out between Rome

[1] Hence the epigram concluding with the line:

"Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem."

and Naples, in which the Venetians and Genoese supported the Pope, while Florence and Milan joined Ferdinand. But the Duke of Calabria carried his arms to the walls of Rome and shut up Innocent in his capital, who, in these straits, was glad to accept the mediation of Ferdinand of Aragon, Lorenzo de' Medici, and other potentates. The King of Naples was desirous of peace in order to put down his rebellious barons, and he therefore listened to the conditions proposed, with the secret determination not to observe them. A peace was patched up August 12th, 1486, after which Ferdinand began to take vengeance on his nobles, whom he had engaged to spare; and most of them became his victims, except the Prince of Salerno and the sons of the Prince of Bisignano, who escaped to the Court of France. Ferdinand also neglected to fulfil the conditions which he had stipulated with the Pope: the latter for some time contented himself with remonstrating, till in 1489 he formally excommunicated the Neapolitan King and deprived him of his realm. Ferdinand appealed to a Council, and preparations for war were made on both sides; but Innocent proceeded no further, and Lorenzo de' Medici, who was the friend of both parties, mediated between them. Lorenzo, who had experienced much inconvenience from the enmity of the late Pope, had courted the friendship of Innocent, whose son Franceschetto Cibò was given in marriage to Lorenzo's daughter Maddalena; and the Pope in 1488 bestowed a Cardinal's hat on Lorenzo's son John, afterwards the celebrated Pope Leo X. But as John was then only twelve, the investiture was deferred till 1492.

During the intervening years Italy was in the enjoyment of peace, for which she was in a great degree indebted to the policy of Lorenzo, whose connection with the Pope had established his power on new foundations. In foreign affairs he used it with justice and moderation. He had become as it were the balance point of the Italian States;[1] and as he repressed the jealousies and aggressions of the petty but ambitious Princes by whom he was surrounded, so likewise he himself abstained from any attempt to extend the Florentine dominion at the expense of his neighbours. He was much respected by several foreign Sovereigns, with whom he corresponded on affairs of state, and especially Louis XI. was his particular friend. With Matthias Corvinus he maintained a correspondence, chiefly on literary subjects. But with regard to domestic affairs, his conduct was not so commendable. He aimed

[1] Filippo de' Nerli, ap. Roscoe, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. ii. p. 34.

at making himself the absolute tyrant of the State. This view was aided by the conspiracy of the Pazzi, which, as is often the case with unsuccessful attempts of that kind, served to strengthen his power by binding old friends closer to him and procuring for him new ones. He reduced the government to a small number, entirely dependent on himself. Democracy is often the best ally of tyranny, and Lorenzo's plans were aided by the Florentine populace, which suffered not from his oppressions; and as the means of life were abundant, they were pleased with the splendour of the Medici, which seemed to reflect itself on the city. It was chiefly the higher and richer class that suffered, as well in their pecuniary affairs as in their domestic life. Lorenzo's power enabled him to interfere in their private affairs. He did not like that any citizen should grow too rich, or court popularity by fêtes and banquets; and he prevented marriages between the higher families which might have a political tendency and threaten his power. The lofty and ambitious views of Lorenzo led him to neglect trade, while at the same time his expenditure was profuse. Hence enormous losses and deficiencies, which he supplied by laying his hands on the public money. Cosmo had first mixed up his private affairs with the *Monte,* or book of the public debt; but his business flourished, and he sometimes aided the State with his own money. Lorenzo not only used the funds of the *Monte del debito* but also those of the *Monte delle Doti*—an institution erected to supply marriage portions—and thus prevented the marriage of many young women. In 1490 a sort of national bankruptcy ensued. The interest of the public debt was reduced from three to one and a half per cent., many religious foundations were suppressed, and the coin was debased in order to rescue the bank of the Medici from ruin. In 1492, Lorenzo, who though still in the prime of life was subject to ill health, began to think of retiring from public affairs; but whilst he was meditating this scheme a more violent access of his disorder, which seems to have been unskilfully treated by his physicians, carried him off at his villa at Careggi, April 8th, in the forty-fourth year of his age. He had a versatile and vivacious genius and considerable learning. He wrote at once religious poems and songs for the carnival; courted the society of priests and monks, and was at the same time involved in amours. From his devotion to art and literature, his house became a sort of museum or studio, frequented by Politian, Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Luigi Pulci, Michelangelo, and other eminent men. With the genius of an artist he had the soul of a prince, and was

the last great man of an era which was drawing towards its close.[1] For these reasons posterity has preserved for him the title of "Magnifico," which, however, in his time was a common one for all above a private station. It is these qualities which still form his chief claim to our admiration; for as a ruler he destroyed the liberties of his country.

Peter, the eldest of Lorenzo's three sons, succeeded to his father's power at the age of twenty-one. His tall, strong, and active frame qualified him for those robust exercises in which he delighted, and in which his pride chiefly lay. Under the tutorship of Politian he had made such advances in classical learning as his faculties permitted; he had a good address, a facile elocution, an harmonious voice, and the gift of poetical improvisation, so common among the Italians, and rendered so easy by their language. But his understanding was weak; he was proud and overbearing, and could brook no opposition. He applied himself but little to public business, though he pretended that the State should blindly follow his directions.

Pope Innocent VIII. did not long survive his friend and ally Lorenzo. He died July 25th, 1492—a Pontiff who, if not distinguished by eminent ability or virtue, was at least exempt from the blind nepotism and the atrocious crimes by which some of his predecessors and followers were characterized. The great defect of his administration was want of vigour. If he did not commit crime himself he tolerated it in others, and under his reign Rome became a scene of robbery, violation, and murder. According to the contemporary *Journal* of Stefano Infessura,[2] Innocent endeavoured to prolong his days by transfusion of blood, and three boys who had been used for that purpose died under the operation. Pope Innocent VIII. was succeeded by the atrocious Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, a Spaniard of Valencia, where he had at one time exercised the profession of an advocate. After his election he assumed the name of Alexander VI. Of twenty Cardinals who entered the Conclave, he is said to have bought the suffrages of all but five; and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, whom he feared as a rival, was propitiated with an enormous bribe. Alexander's election was the signal for flight to those Cardinals who had opposed it. Giuliano della Rovere, the future Pope Julius II., retired to his bishopric of Ostia, where he fortified himself for a siege; and

[1] Capponi, t. ii. p. 429.

[2] Ap. Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. xi. p. 555. It should be remarked that Muratori, in his edition of this *Diario* in the *Scriptores*, has somewhat mutilated it. It will be found in its perfect state in Eccard's *Hist. Med. Ævi*, t. ii.

afterwards, by way of greater security, he proceeded into France, while the youthful Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, then only in his seventeenth year, retired to Florence. Pope Alexander had by the celebrated Vannozza, the wife of a Roman citizen, three sons: John, whom he made Duke of Gandia, in Spain; Cæsar, and Geoffrey; and one daughter, Lucretia, whose morals would have better entitled her to the name of Messalina.[1]

Italy, which now seemed so peaceable, prosperous, and happy, was on the eve of becoming the scene of those foreign invasions which long deluged her fields with blood, and ended by placing some of her most fertile provinces under transmontane domination. The Prince whose counsels brought this misfortune on his country became deservedly one of the chief sufferers by them. The marriage which had been long arranged between Gian Galeazzo, the young Duke of Milan, and Isabella of Aragon, daughter of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, took place in 1489. As Gian Galeazzo Sforza, though now arrived at the age of manhood, was of so weak a capacity as to be totally incapable of governing, his uncle, Lodovico, continued to engross all the power of the State; nay, according to the testimony of a contemporary historian,[2] he scarcely allowed the young Duke and his consort the necessaries of their station. But Isabella, a woman of spirit and ambition, though aware of her husband's incapacity, considered herself at least entitled to rule in his place; and she complained of the bondage in which he was held to her father, Alfonso. The latter persuaded King Ferdinand to send an embassy to Milan to remonstrate with Lodovico, who, alarmed at the hostility which he foresaw from Alfonso after he should have succeeded to the throne of Naples, an event which might be soon expected, as well as at a league entered into between Ferdinand and Peter de' Medici, began to concert measures of defence. With this view he arranged an alliance with Pope Alexander, through his brother Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, the Roman Vice-Chancellor, which the Venetians were also induced to join (April 21st, 1493). In the same year the Pope married his daughter, Lucretia Borgia, to Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro. Lodovico also treated with Maximilian, who succeeded his father Frederic III. in August, to procure for

[1] The principal sources for the atrocious life of Alexander VI. are, Stefano Infessura before mentioned, who was secretary to the Roman Senate and People, and the *Diary* of John Burchard (in Eccard), who was Alexander's master of the ceremonies. Burchard, however, may be suspected of sometimes exaggerating, as he applies to Alexander stories already related by Boccaccio. See Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschicht-schreiber*, sub nom.

[2] Corio, *Storia di Milano*, ap. Sismondi, *Rép. It.* ch. xcii.

himself the title of Duke of Milan, to the exclusion of his nephew, Gian Galeazzo; and to draw the bonds of connection closer, he concluded a marriage between Maximilian and Bianca, sister of Gian Galeazzo, which was celebrated at Milan, December 1st. But not content with these precautions, Lodovico despatched, in 1493, an embassy to Charles VIII. of France, exhorting him to claim the Crown of Naples, and assuring him of success in such an enterprise through the support of Milan, Venice, and the Pope; and Alexander VI. is said to have joined in soliciting Charles to attack King Ferdinand. The French monarch was easily persuaded to revive the pretensions of the House of Anjou; but before we relate the results of his expedition we must bring down to the same period the histories of Spain and Germany, which countries bore no inconsiderable part in the events which ensued.

Henry IV., of Castile,[1] commonly called the Impotent, was if possible, still weaker than his father, and was governed as absolutely by Don Juan Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, as John II. had been by Alvaro de Luna. After divorcing his first wife, Blanche of Navarre, by whom he had no children, Henry espoused, in 1455, Joanna, sister of Alfonso V. of Portugal, a young, handsome, and lively princess, but who, like her husband, has incurred the charge of shameless profligacy. No issue appeared from this marriage till 1462, when Joanna was delivered of a daughter, of whom Beltram de la Cueva, Joanna's reputed paramour, was very generally thought to be the father. So strong was the belief in the illegitimacy of the babe, who obtained the name of La Beltraneja, from her putative father, that the nobles who had banded together for the redress of grievances, refused the oath of fealty which Henry required them to take to her, as heir presumptive, and demanded that Henry's half-brother, Alfonso, should be acknowledged as successor to the throne, and committed for safe keeping into their hands. The King complied with this demand, but on condition of Alfonso's future marriage with the child, whom he regarded as his own daughter. Henry also named a committee of five nobles for the reform of abuses; but they carried their plans so far that Henry was persuaded to disavow their acts. Hereupon the nobles proceeded to depose their Sovereign, after the theatrical fashion described by Spanish historians. An image of the King, clothed in his robes of state, and seated on a throne, was placed on a lofty scaffold erected near the town of Avila: the

[1] See Introduction, p. 61.

figure was publicly arraigned from a written manifesto, and as each article was read, was despoiled of some part of its paraphernalia. The Archbishop of Toledo tore the crown from its brow; the Marquis of Villena, so lately the King's chief favourite, wrested the sceptre from its hand; the Count of Placencia snatched the sword of justice from its side, and the image was at last hurled headlong from the throne. Don Alfonso was then installed in the vacant seat, and received the homage of the assembled nobles (1465).

The majority of the nation, however, and even some of the nobles, disapproved of this act and sided with the King. For a while Henry and Alfonso both maintained their respective Courts, and exercised all the functions of royalty; till after a few years a furious civil war which had ensued was checked by the sudden death of Alfonso, at the early age of fifteen (July 5, 1468). His party now proclaimed his sister Isabella, Queen of Castile; but as she steadily refused to accept that title so long as her brother Henry lived, it became necessary to effect an accommodation. Henry consented without much difficulty to grant a general amnesty; to send back to Portugal his Queen Joanna, whose unchastity was notorious; and to confer on Isabella the Principality of the Asturias, the appanage which gave title to the heir apparent of the monarchy. At an interview between Henry and Isabella at Toros de Guisando in New Castile, September 9th, 1468, the King solemnly recognized his sister as his successor, and the nobles tendered to her the oath of allegiance.

The splendid prospect now opened to Isabella naturally attracted to her numerous suitors; among whom are mentioned a brother of Edward IV. of England, probably Richard, Duke of Gloucester; the Duke of Guienne, brother of Louis XI. of France; and her own kinsman Ferdinand, son of John II. of Aragon and Navarre. The addresses of the last were viewed with most favour by Isabella, as well from the political advantages of such a match, as from the personal qualities of Ferdinand, who was then in the flower of his age. But to some of the nobles, and especially to the Marquis of Villena, who had now rejoined Henry IV. and regained his former influence, a union of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon was regarded with aversion; and they entered into the views of their weak monarch, who was still bent on the succession of his reputed daughter Joanna. In order to defeat the projected marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella, King Alfonso of Portugal was invited to demand Isabella's hand;

but her refusal was supported by the sentiment of the nation, and the attempt only urged Isabella and her adherents to hasten on the marriage with Ferdinand,—an event ardently desired by John II., who with the view of rendering his son more worthy of Isabella's hand, had already made him King of Sicily and associated him with himself in the government of Aragon. On January 7th, 1469, a marriage contract was concluded, by which Ferdinand, in order to conciliate the Castilians, relinquished to his consort all the more essential rights of Castilian sovereignty. But Ferdinand was obliged to seek his betrothed under circumstances of considerable danger. His father being engaged in a war with the revolted Catalans, headed by John of Anjou, could not spare an adequate force to escort Ferdinand into Castile, who therefore resolved to proceed thither in disguise. With six attendants, who assumed the character of commercial travellers, he threaded his way through a country patrolled by the Castilian cavalry, and studded with castles belonging to the opposite faction; having, for better concealment, assumed the disguise of a servant, and performing at the inns all the menial offices attaching to that character. After various adventures he arrived in safety at Dueñas in Leon, October 9th, and a few days after had an interview with Isabella. His future bride was in the neighbouring city of Valladolid, whither she had been carried by the Archbishop of Toledo, in order to protect her from a plan formed by Villena to seize her at her residence at Madrigal. The marriage was performed on the 19th of October; and these joint heirs of Spanish monarchies were so poor as to be obliged to borrow money in order to defray the expenses of its celebration.

Ferdinand was now in his eighteenth year. His complexion was fair, his eye vivacious, his forehead lofty and ample; while his muscular and well-knit limbs were developed and invigorated by the sports and warlike exercises in which he delighted. His address was courteous, and his fluent words, uttered in a somewhat shrill and treble voice, might indicate to a shrewd observer a character afterwards noted for perfidy and dissimulation. Isabella was a year older than her husband. She too was fair; her auburn locks inclined to red, and her lustrous blue eyes expressed both feeling and intellect. In stature she exceeded the average of her sex. Her demeanour was dignified and reserved, and her taste had led her to cultivate literature, of which we find no trace in Ferdinand.

The Prince who thus ultimately united the whole of Spain under one head had, originally and by birth, no prospect of so brilliant a fortune. He was born March 10th, 1452, and was the offspring of John II. of Aragon and Navarre by his second wife, Joanna Henriquez, daughter of the Admiral of Castile and of the royal blood of that Kingdom. John, who was then only King of Navarre and Viceroy of Aragon for his brother Alfonso, had three children by his former wife, Blanche, daughter of Charles III. of Navarre and widow of Martin I., King of Sicily; namely, Don Carlos, who, as heir apparent of Navarre, bore the title of Prince of Viana, and two daughters, Blanche and Eleanor. Don Carlos is known by his virtues and his misfortunes. At the death of his mother Blanche he should have succeeded to the throne of Navarre; but John was by no means disposed to relinquish the title which he had acquired by marriage, and Carlos consented to be his father's Viceroy. But even this dignity he was not permitted to enjoy unmolested. John having sent his Queen Joanna into Navarre to share the government with her stepson, Carlos, a civil war ensued; Carlos was supported by the faction called the Beaumonts, Joanna by that of the Agramonts. John hastened to the assistance of his consort, and defeated and captured his son near Aybar. After a captivity of some months the voice of public opinion rather than his own paternal feelings compelled John to reinstate Don Carlos in Navarre; but that Prince, to avoid encountering the factions which prevailed there, took refuge at the Court of his uncle Alfonso, King of the Sicilies and Aragon, and after the death of that monarch in 1458 retired into Sicily, where, in a secluded convent near Messina, he devoted himself to a life of study. But his father John, who by the death of Alfonso had now become King of Aragon, jealous of his son's popularity with the Sicilians, lured him back to Spain with the fairest promises. John soon threw off the mask. Carlos having listened to the overtures of Henry IV. of Castile for a marriage with his sister Isabella, John and his consort hastened to prevent an act which would have defeated their darling project in favour of their son Ferdinand. Carlos received an invitation to Lerida, and having unthinkingly accepted it, was arrested and confined in the mountain fortress of Morella, on the borders of Valencia. But the Catalans, by whom Carlos was as much loved as John II. and his consort were hated and suspected, flew to arms; the insurrection spread to Aragon itself, and John found himself compelled to release his son, who, proceeding to Barcelona, was

received by the people with joyful and triumphant acclamations. The Catalans now insisted that John should recognise Don Carlos as his heir, and make him Prince of Catalonia for life. But when fortune seemed at last weary of persecuting this excellent Prince, he was carried off by a fever, September 23rd, 1461, in the forty-first year of his age. Strong suspicions were entertained that his death was caused by a lingering poison administered to him by order of his stepmother, during his captivity.[1] Don Carlos was highly accomplished. He was an artist, a musician, and a poet; but philosophy and history were his favourite studies, and his progress in them is displayed by a translation of Aristotle's "Ethics," published at Saragossa in 1509, and by a chronicle of Navarre from the earliest period to his own time, which still exists in manuscript. In Catalonia he was regarded as a saint and martyr; for centuries miracles were said to be performed at his tomb, and a touch of his amputated arm was deemed capable of healing diseases.

By the death of Don Carlos the succession to the Crown of Navarre devolved to his sister Blanche, the divorced wife of Henry IV. of Castile; and that amiable lady now became an object of jealousy not only to her father but also to her younger sister, Eleanor, married to Gaston IV., Count of Foix, to whom John II. had promised the reversion of Navarre after his own death. Gaston de Foix, the offspring of this union, had married a sister of Louis XI.; and it had been provided in a treaty between the French King and John II. that in order to secure the succession of the House of Foix to Navarre, Blanche should be delivered into the custody of her sister. John executed this stipulation without remorse. Blanche was brought to the Castle of Orthez in Béarn (April, 1462), where, after a confinement of nearly two years, she was poisoned by her sister Eleanor.

Immediately after the death of Carlos, John II. caused the Aragonese to take the oath of allegiance to his son Ferdinand, as heir apparent; and he was brought to Barcelona by his mother in order to receive the same homage from the Catalans. But though that object was effected, the Catalans soon after displayed such symptoms of violence and insurrection, that Joanna found it expedient to fly with her son to Gerona, where they were besieged in a church tower in which they had taken shelter. In order to rescue his Queen, John II. was obliged to have recourse

[1] This view is unhesitatingly adopted by Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* ch. lxxxi., where the authorities on the subject are collected (t. x. p. 330, ed. 1815).

to Louis XI., who, by treaties effected in May, 1462, engaged to come to his help with a considerable force; but required that the Catalan Counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne should be pledged to him for the expenses of the war. (*Supra*, p. 123.) The approach of the French released Joanna from her dangerous situation; but their invasion brought matters to a crisis in the principality. The Catalans, renouncing their allegiance to King John and his son, declared their constitution to be a Republic, of which the Prince was only the first magistrate, elected by the people, and liable to be deposed by them. A civil war ensued which lasted some years. The Catalans elected for their Prince Dom Pedro of Portugal, a descendant of the House of Barcelona; and on his death, in June, 1466, they offered their country to René of Anjou, who by his mother, Yolande, was grandson of John I. of Aragon. René delegated the enterprise to his son John, titular Duke of Calabria and Duke of Lorraine, who, with the approbation of Louis XI., entered Catalonia with 8,000 men (1467). A temporary loss of sight prevented the King of Aragon from taking an active part against his enemy, but his place was well supplied by his intrepid consort. John of Anjou, who had been proclaimed Prince at Barcelona, was carried off by a contagious disorder towards the end of 1470, and was interred in the sepulchre of the Princes of Catalonia amid the regrets of the people. The Catalans still continued their resistance, and it was not till 1472 that John II. was able to re-enter Barcelona, which had been blockaded by sea and land.

It was during this civil war that Ferdinand effected his marriage with Isabella, as before told. After that event, Henry IV. and his consort, in order to exclude Isabella from the throne, solemnly swore to the legitimacy of their daughter Joanna (*supra*, p. 184), and secured the assistance of France in her favour. She was affianced, though only in her ninth year, to the Duke of Guienne, the discarded suitor of Isabella. Louis XI. readily entered into an arrangement which promised to rid him of his troublesome brother, and it was also approved of by many of the Spanish grandees, especially the Pachecos. The provinces of Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Andalusia, and in the last the noble house of Medina-Sidonia remained, however, faithful to the cause of Isabella. She and Ferdinand kept their little Court at Dueñas; but so extreme was their poverty that they could hardly defray their ordinary domestic expenses.

Soon after the submission of Barcelona, Ferdinand was sum-

moned from Dueñas to his father's help. Roussillon and Cerdagne, indignant at the extortions of their new rulers, rose and massacred the greater part of the French garrisons in the principal towns (February, 1473) and revolted to their ancient sovereign John II.; Salces, Collioure, and the Castle of Perpignan alone remained in French hands. John threw himself into the town of Perpignan, which was immediately invested by a large army under the Duke of Savoy; and, though it was exposed at once to their fire and to that of the castle, John, now near eighty years old, was constantly observed in the most exposed and dangerous places, armed cap-à-pie and on horseback, encouraging his men by his example and exhortations. The siege had already lasted between two and three months, when Ferdinand suddenly came down from the mountains at the head of a considerable army, which had joined his standard on his way through Aragon. At this unexpected apparition the French fled headlong, burning their tents and abandoning their sick and wounded. An affecting interview ensued between John and his son and deliverer, in presence of both the armies, after which they entered the town in triumph. An arrangement was now made between France and Aragon. Roussillon and Cerdagne were declared neutral, and placed under officers appointed by both Sovereigns, till John should have paid the sum for which they had been pledged; in default of which, within a year from September 17th, 1473, the provinces were to be permanently ceded to France. John having failed to make the stipulated payment, the provinces were seized by Louis XI. in 1475, and remained in French possession till the treaty of Barcelona in 1493.

Meanwhile the cause of Isabella was making progress every day in Castile. The propriety and sedateness of her behaviour, which formed so great a contrast to the indecorum of her brother's Court, gained her many adherents, and even Henry IV. himself seemed to have pardoned his sister's marriage. In an interview at Segovia, contrived by the governor of that city (December, 1473), Henry led Isabella's palfrey through the streets, and welcomed Ferdinand with tokens of goodwill. Henry died December 11th, 1474, without naming his heir, and with him expired the male line of the House of Trastamara. He was the last Prince who ruled Castile as a separate kingdom. His ill qualities as a King proceeded rather from weakness than wickedness; and he was perhaps on that very account all the more dangerous to his subjects. The objections to the legitimacy of

Henry's daughter Joanna were only presumptive;[1] Henry had always acknowledged her as his offspring, and according to a maxim of the Roman law the nuptials indicate the father. But Isabella's claim was founded on the stronger ground of the consent of the nation through the Cortes, who had done homage to her during the lifetime of her brother Henry, and now refused to swerve from their decision. Two days after Henry's death she had accordingly been proclaimed, jointly with her husband Ferdinand, at Segovia, where she was then dwelling; and had been enthroned with great state in the principal square of the city. The example of Segovia was followed by most of the principal towns; the chief grandees, with few exceptions, tendered the oath of allegiance, and the Cortes, which assembled in the following February, gave their sanction to all these proceedings.

But while the nation thus assented to Isabella's accession, doubts were raised as to her title by her own husband and his family, who maintained that the Crown of Castile, like that of Aragon, could not devolve to a female, and that Ferdinand himself was the nearest male representative of the House of Trastamara. The establishment of such a pretension would have been fatal to Isabella's independent authority. After careful inquiry, however, it was proved that the succession in Castile and Leon was not limited to males, and in a settlement founded on the marriage contract, provision was made for Isabella's due share of authority. With this arrangement Ferdinand was highly dissatisfied, and it required all the sweetness and moderation of Isabella's character to induce him to acquiesce in it.

Joanna had still some powerful supporters, who applied for aid to her uncle, Alfonso V. of Portugal, whose victories in Barbary had obtained him the name of the "African." Alfonso undertook this enterprise against the advice of his more prudent counsellors; and, as the Duke of Guienne, to whom she had been promised, was now dead, it was arranged that Alfonso should marry his niece, then thirteen years of age. The French King was also enticed into the league, and invited to attack Biscay, by promises that the conquered territory should be ceded to him. In May, 1475, Alfonso invaded Castile with an army of 20,000 men, and, directing his march towards Placencia, was there affianced to Joanna. They were then proclaimed Sovereigns of Castile, and an envoy was despatched to Rome to procure a dis-

[1] For the grounds of these presumptions see Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 209, note (ed. 1842).

pensation for their marriage. Into the details of the war which ensued it is not necessary to enter. Suffice it to say, that the exertions of Ferdinand and Isabella were favoured by the dilatoriness of Alfonso, who was completely defeated by Ferdinand at Toro, in March, 1476. The Castilian malcontents now submitted; and on Ferdinand's approach with his victorious army the French also retired. Alfonso afterwards tried to procure fresh help from Louis XI.; but that wily monarch, after detaining him a whole twelvemonth at his Court, ended by making an arrangement with Ferdinand and Isabella. To console himself for his credulity, Alfonso undertook a pilgrimage to Palestine; but on his return revived his enterprise against Castile. Donna Beatrix of Portugal, however, sister-in-law of Alfonso, and maternal aunt of Isabella, succeeded in mediating a peace; and by a treaty ratified by the Court of Lisbon September 24th, 1479, Alfonso renounced his pretensions to Joanna's hand, and to the Castilian throne. It was also agreed that Alfonso, Prince of Portugal, should marry the young Infanta of Castile.[1] Thus ended the war of the Castilian succession. Joanna, disgusted with the world, and especially by the cruel irony of offering her the hand of the infant son of Ferdinand and Isabella, born in 1478, retired to the convent of St. Clare, at Coimbra. King Alfonso was preparing to imitate her example, at Veratojo, when he died rather suddenly at Cintra, August 28th, 1481. John II. of Aragon expired at Barcelona, January 20th, 1479, at a very advanced age: a Prince alike distinguished in the cabinet and the field. Ferdinand now succeeded to Aragon and its sister lands; and thus the Crowns of that country and of Castile became subsequently united. Navarre devolved to John's guilty daughter, Eleanor, Countess of Foix; but she only lived three weeks to enjoy her Crown.

This period was marked by the establishment of the *Santa Hermandad*, or Holy Brotherhood, and also of the Inquisition in Castile. The Hermandad was a body of about 2,000 police, armed and mounted, for the purpose, not only of putting down the robberies and violence which everywhere abounded, but also of forming a check upon the power of the nobility. The faith of the Jews supplied the pretext for establishing the Inquisition, but it was their wealth that afforded the motive.[2] The prospect

[1] This marriage took place in 1490; but Alfonso was killed a few months after by a fall from his horse.

[2] The ancient Dominican Inquisition which had existed in Spain since 1233, as well as in Italy and other countries, was a mere ecclesiastical court; and heretics had hitherto been more mildly dealt

of a rich harvest of confiscations caused Ferdinand to lend a willing ear to the bigoted suggestions of the Dominicans for the erection of a severer tribunal, which the natural benignity of Isabella's character led her to oppose; and it was only after the continued importunities of the clergy, backed by the persuasions and arguments of her husband, that she at length consented to procure the authority of Rome for the erection of the Holy Office in Castile. The co-operation of Pope Sixtus IV. was obtained, and by a bull, dated November 1st, 1478, the Spanish Sovereigns were authorized to appoint inquisitors in the matter of heresy. The tribunal began its horrible mission early in 1481, and before the close of that year nearly 300 persons, many of them of estimable character and high station, had fallen victims in the *autos de fé*, or "acts of faith"—such was the revolting name—in Seville alone. In these acts, which were the public recantation of persons convicted by the Inquisition, and the burning of those who would not recant, the pale and spectral convict issued from his dungeon, clad in a coarse woollen coat, called *sambenito*, which bore on a yellow ground a scarlet saltire cross, and was embroidered with representations of flames and devils. The whole number of victims throughout Spain is reckoned at 2,000 burnt alive in that year, and more than the same number in effigy; besides whom, 17,000 were said to be *reconciled;* that is, the capital punishment was commuted for fine, imprisonment, or some other smaller penalty. The most trivial presumption sufficed to convict a man of Judaism; as wearing better clothes on the Jewish Sabbath, having no fire in the house on Friday evening, eating with Jews, and other things of the like nature. The inquisitors soon extended their researches from Jews to Christians suspected of heresy, what constituted heresy being of course left to the judgment of the Dominicans, who were sometimes so ignorant as to condemn opinions which had been held by Fathers of the Church. The accuser was often a debtor of the accused, who found, through the tribunal, a compendious way of paying his debts. The modern Inquisition was finally established in Spain by two bulls of Pope Sixtus IV. (August 2nd and October 17th, 1483).[1] It was introduced into Aragon by

with by the Spaniards than by any other people. M'Crie, *Ref. in Spain*, p. 82 sq.

[1] The best account of the Inquisition is contained in Don Juan Antonio Llorente's *Hist. Critique de l'Inquisition de l'Espagne*, 4 vols. 8vo. (French transl.) Llorente was himself general secretary of the Holy Office from 1789 to 1801; and after its abolition in 1808, he began to compile his work from the archives of the tribunal. Notwithstanding his former occupation he has executed his task impartially. Puigblanch's *Inquisition Unmasked* may also be consulted.

Ferdinand in 1484, but it was not till the reign of Philip II. that it obtained there the same unlimited power as in Castile.

The Spanish Inquisition has been commonly regarded as an ecclesiastical usurpation, and has been so described even by Llorente; but in fact it was the very reverse. Although armed with spiritual weapons, and having ecclesiastics for its ordinary officers, it was really nothing but a royal court, subject to the King's visitations, who appointed and dismissed the judges; and when Cardinal Ximenes demurred to accept on the court a layman nominated by the King, Ferdinand told him plainly that the whole jurisdiction of the tribunal was derived from the royal authority. The confiscated property of the condemned went into the King's treasury, and formed a regular source of his income. Besides robbing the rich, another object of the institution was to break the power of the great. No grandee, however powerful, could escape this tribunal. Even in the time of Ferdinand its jurisdiction was sometimes extended beyond heretical cases; Charles V. subjected to it the bishops who had taken part in the insurrection of the communes; and Philip II. brought under its cognizance questions of commerce, art, and navigation. Thus it was declared heresy to sell arms or ammunition to the French! In short, the tribunal formed part of those ecclesiastical spoils by which the Spanish government became so powerful, such as the nomination to bishoprics, the administration of the Grand Masterships of the Military Orders, &c. Rome, which had no similar institution till half a century later, regarded the Spanish Inquisition with a jealous eye, and offered to it every possible opposition.[1]

Against another class of infidels, the Moors of Granada,[2] Ferdinand began a nobler warfare. The Spaniards of the north had been for centuries pressing on the Moors. By the end of the eleventh century they had advanced, under the banner of the Cid, from the Douro to the Tagus; and though for a century or two afterwards the Moors were supported by fresh immigrations of their Mahometan brethren, the decisive victory of Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, gave a permanent check to their ascendency in Spain.

[1] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 242 f.

[2] For the Spanish-Arabian kingdom see Viardot, *Hist. des Arabes et des Maures d'Espagne*, and Count Albert de Circourt, *Hist. des Maures Mudejares et des Morisques, ou des Arabes d'Espagne, sous la domination des Chrétiens* (3 vols. Paris, 1846). The two most important authorities for the war of Granada are, the *Chronicles* of Fernando del Pulgar and Antonio de Lebrija. Washington Irving's *Chroniele of the Conquest of Granada* combines historical accuracy with poetical narration. See Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 98 sq.

Under James I. of Aragon, and St. Ferdinand of Castile, Valencia, Murcia, and Andalusia were successively wrested from them, and by the middle of the thirteenth century their dominion had shrunk to the Kingdom of Granada. That fertile country, however, abounding both in mineral and agricultural wealth, possessing excellent harbours, and enjoying an extensive commerce, embraced all the elements of a powerful kingdom, with a military force of 100,000 men. The Alhambra, whose ruins still attract and reward the curiosity of the traveller, overlooked and commanded the capital from the summit of one of its hills; and its light and fairy-like architecture, which displayed a great advance in art since the building of the celebrated mosque of Segovia, was said to be capable of sheltering 40,000 persons. The Moors of Granada, by contact with the Christian Spaniards, had lost much of the Oriental cast of manners. An unreserved intercourse seems to have obtained between the two peoples in the intervals of their almost constant wars; and the Moorish cavalier was as famed as the Christian for honour, courtesy, and valour. Granada was defended by numberless fortresses. Its military force chiefly consisted of light cavalry, whose mode of warfare was of an irregular, guerilla nature, and the Moorish crossbowmen were famed for their skill. The use of gunpowder was early known among the Moors—some have attributed to them the application of it to warlike purposes—as well as the manufacture of paper, and many discoveries in medicine and chemistry.

The war which terminated in the conquest of Granada by the Spaniards, was provoked by the fiery hatred which the Moorish King, Muley Aben Hassan, bore to the Christians. Towards the end of 1481 Muley surprised the town of Zahara, on the frontier of Andalusia, and carried off the inhabitants into slavery. This feat the Christians soon after retaliated, by surprising in like manner the mountain fortress and town of Alhama, within eight leagues of Granada. The safety of the Moorish capital demanded the recovery of this place, and in March, 1482, the Moslem King appeared before it with a considerable army, but was compelled to raise the siege on the approach of the Duke of Medina-Sidonia. It was, however, again invested by the Moors, and finally relieved by Ferdinand in person (May 14th, 1482).

Meanwhile Isabella had prepared a fleet and army; but the dissensions of the Moors promised the Christians more success than the power of their own arms. The Sultana Zoraya, jealous of the favour displayed by the now aged King towards his off-

spring by a Greek slave, stirred up a rebellion against him: Muley Aben Hassan fled to Malaga, and Zoraya's son, Abu Abdallah, or, as he is called by the Spaniards, Boabdil, was proclaimed in his stead. In the spring of 1482 Boabdil was captured during an incursion which he had made towards Cordova; but the Spaniards soon afterwards released him, with a view to keep alive the quarrel between him and his father, who still held a part of Granada. The war dragged on several years without any important event. Queen Isabella often appeared among her troops on horseback, and clad in complete armour. In the Spanish service, besides a body of Swiss, was a band of 300 English archers, commanded by Earl Rivers, brother of Queen Elizabeth Woodville. The Moors, disgusted with a treaty which Boabdil had made with the Christians, substituted for him his uncle Abdallah "El Zagal," or "the Valiant;" and Muley Aben Hassan dying shortly after, the Moorish kingdom was torn by the contending factions of uncle and nephew. Meanwhile the tide of Christian conquest flowed steadily onwards, in spite of the military talent of El Zagal and the many castle-crowned steeps which had to be reduced by arms. In 1487 Malaga surrendered, after a three months' siege, and Ferdinand and Isabella made their triumphal entry, August 18th. The whole of the inhabitants were made slaves, and the depopulated city replenished with Christians attracted thither by grants of houses and lands. El Zagal soon after surrendered that part of Granada which he held, and received in return the district of Andaraz, with the royal title; but subsequently repenting of his deed, passed over into Africa, where he ended his days in indigence.

In April, 1491, Ferdinand sat down with a great army before the capital of Granada, then deemed the largest fortified city in the world. The war was conducted on both sides quite in the spirit of chivalry; personal combats frequently took place, and King Boabdil was generous enough to recompense with his own sword and a magnificent present a Christian knight who had given conspicuous proofs of valour. At length the Moors, alarmed at the Spaniards having converted their camp into a town of stone houses, which still bears the name of St^{a} Fè, surrendered, November 25th, 1491. By the capitulation arranged by Gonsalvo de Cordova the Moors were left in the enjoyment of their religion, laws, and property, and ships were to be provided for such of them as preferred passing over into Africa. But the news of the capitulation was received with displeasure by the people; symp-

toms of insurrection began to appear; and it was found advisable to anticipate the day fixed for the surrender by effecting it on the 2nd January, 1492. On that day Boabdil, issuing forth from his capital with a splendid retinue, presented Ferdinand with the keys of the Alhambra; and Granada was then entered by the Spanish troops, headed by the Grand-Cardinal Mendoza. Meanwhile the abdicated King proceeded on his route towards the Alpujarras, where a petty sovereignty had been assigned him, and from a rocky height, still called *El ultimo Sospiro del Moro*, or "the last sigh of the Moor," bade a long farewell to the scene of his former power and grandeur. This unfortunate monarch shortly after passed over to Africa, and was slain fighting for a prince who was his kinsman.

Thus fell the Moslem rule in Spain, after it had lasted nearly seven centuries and a half. The tidings of the capture of Granada were received throughout Europe, and especially at Rome, with joy and thanksgiving, for the event was regarded as in some degree compensating for the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks. King Ferdinand, "whose manner was," says Bacon,[1] "never to lose any virtue for the showing," in his letters to different European Courts, recounted at large "with a kind of holy ostentation" all the particulars of his conquest. He had displayed his usual religious punctilio on the occasion, and refrained from entering the city till he had seen the Cross erected on its highest tower, and the place thereby made Christian. By the conquest of Granada the whole of Spain, with exception of Navarre, was consolidated into one great Kingdom, and was thus prepared to take a leading part in those political affairs which were soon to engage the attention of Europe; while the long wars by which the conquest had been achieved had served as a training school for that redoubtable infantry and those famous captains who for a considerable period rendered Spain the first military Power in the world.

The Spanish Sovereigns, while still before Granada, blotted this fair chapter in their history by issuing a cruel edict against the Jews. The Inquisition, in spite of its activity, had failed to effect all that had been expected from it; the great mass of Jews still remained unconverted; and the clergy now revived against them all the odious accusations of sectarian bigotry, which were greedily swallowed by the multitude. The Jews offered to buy immunity with 30,000 ducats; and the Spanish Sovereigns were listening

[1] *Hist. of Henry VII.* (in Kennet, vol. i. p. 603).

to the offers of one of their body when Torquemada, the High Inquisitor, burst into the room, and banishing aloft a crucifix, flung it upon the table, bidding them sell their master like Judas Iscariot. This insolent act excited nothing but superstitious awe in the minds of Ferdinand and Isabella, who, regardless of the impolicy as well as of the injustice of the measure, issued an order for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, March 30th, 1492. Nearly the whole race departed rather than sacrifice their religion to their worldly interest.

It was not till near the end of May, 1492, that Ferdinand and Isabella quitted Granada. In the spring of 1493, while they were residing in Barcelona, Columbus arrived there after his return from the discovery of America, and was received by Ferdinand and Isabella with honours which that ceremonious Court had never before condescended to bestow on a subject of his rank. Columbus narrated his adventures before the Sovereigns; and the success of his voyage was attested not only by various products of those newly discovered countries, as gold dust, tropical plants, birds, and beasts, but also by some of the native islanders whom he had brought with him. Thus within a short period Spain was suddenly raised to a very high degree of power, not only by the amalgamation of its several Kingdoms, but also by the acquisition of a rich and almost boundless Empire on the other side of the Atlantic. A few more years and these vast dominions were to be still further increased by the addition of the Empire, of whose history, with that of its connected lands, we shall here take a brief retrospect.

The elevation of the heterodox Utraquist, George Podiebrad, to the Bohemian throne[1] gave great offence to Pope Pius II., who endeavoured to abolish the *Compactata*, or religious privileges of the Hussite party; but the Papal Legate, Fantino della Valle, having made an insolent harangue in the Diet, Podiebrad caused him to be imprisoned and kept on bread and water. Paul II., the successor of Pius, carried his anger still further. In June, 1465, he issued a bull, deposing the Bohemian King as a heretic, and intrusted the Emperor with the execution of the sentence. As neither Frederick III. nor the German States seemed inclined to enter the lists against Podiebrad, the Pope next applied to Matthias Corvinus, who, dazzled with the prospect of the Bohemian Crown, accepted the authority of the Apostolic Chair as sufficient warrant for attacking his unoffending father-in-law.

[1] See above, p. 92.

For some time hostilities were covertly conducted on both sides; but early in 1467 Matthias made large preparations for open war, giving out that they were intended against the Turk. As Frederick had helped Matthias by allowing the Pope's missionaries to preach a Bohemian crusade in Germany, Podiebrad declared war against him and invaded Austria (January, 1468); an act which brought on an alliance between Frederick and Matthias; and as the latter was now unmolested by the Turks, with whom he was even suspected of having concluded a treaty, and as the Pope had supplied him with 50,000 ducats towards the expenses of the enterprise, he resolved to invade Bohemia. He obtained the co-operation of his subjects by a trick unworthy of a great Prince. He caused two captured Turks, who had been carefully instructed in the part they were to play, to be introduced before his Council, where, in the name of their master the Sultan, they sued for a truce. Matthias acted his part to admiration. He declared that, as a Christian Prince, he could enter into no written treaty with Infidels; but he bade the pseudo-ambassadors take back his verbal promise of peace; and he closed the sitting with a hypocritical speech, in which he declared that, however repugnant to his private feelings, his duty as a good Catholic superseded his obligations towards George Podiebrad as a father-in-law, and justified the step he was about to take. The Council acquiesced in his views, and war was declared against Bohemia, April 8th, 1468.[1] Podiebrad secured the neutrality, and at length the aid, of Casimir IV. of Poland, by promising the Bohemian succession to the Polish Prince Wladislaus: a choice agreeable to the Bohemians, as Wladislaus was descended from their favourite monarch, Charles IV., and spoke their language; nor was he esteemed so unfriendly to the Calixtine doctrines as Matthias and Frederick.

In 1468 Matthias entered Bohemia and invested Spielberg. Near that town an interview took place between him and Podiebrad, which ended in the latter challenging his son-in-law to single combat; but as Matthias insisted on fighting on horseback the duel went off. Spielberg held out till February, 1469. After its fall Matthias marched on Kuttenberg; but in the defiles near Semtisch, his army, consisting principally of cavalry, got entangled in some *abattis*, and being unable either to advance or retreat, he was compelled to propose a truce, which was concluded at Sternberg, April 7th. Matthias, however, almost immediately broke it. He resumed hostilities, overran Moravia and Silesia,

[1] Engel, *Gesch. des ungar. Reichs*, B. iii. S. 285 f.

and being elected King by a mock Diet of the Catholic party at Olmütz, was crowned by the Papal Legate (May 3rd).

Meanwhile Frederick being released by this war from all apprehension on the side of Bohemia, that weak and superstitious Emperor, who had neglected to provide Matthias with the succour he had promised, seized the opportunity to discharge a vow of a pilgrimage to Rome; and he arrived in the City about Christmas, 1468, with an escort of five hundred horse. Here he gave convincing proofs of his devotion to the Holy See. He fell twice on his knees as he approached the Pope, enthroned in St. Peter's, and a third time when near enough to kiss Paul's hands and feet; he occupied a throne which had been prepared for him, but which was so low that his head just reached to the Pope's feet; in the habit of a deacon, he exercised the Imperial privilege of intoning the Gospel; and when Paul mounted his palfrey he hastened to hold the Holy Father's stirrup. All these petty humiliations have been carefully recorded in the annals of the Roman Church by sacerdotal pride.[1] Frederick obtained on this occasion the Pope's permission to erect the bishoprics of Vienna and Neustadt, and to bestow at his own pleasure the 300 prebends which he founded.

The election of Matthias just recorded drew Podiebrad and Casimir closer together. It was agreed that Podiebrad should give his daughter, Ludmilla, to Casimir's son, Wladislaus, and cause him to be chosen King of Bohemia; in return for which Casimir was to support Podiebrad with arms, and to employ for him his influence with the Pope. On the other hand, Matthias sought the aid of Frederick III.; and in February, 1470, he paid the Emperor, who had now returned from Italy, a visit at Vienna. Here the magnificence of the Hungarian King formed a strange contrast with the Emperor's narrow way of living; and Frederick was also outshone by the voluntary homage which Matthias, as the foremost champion of Christendom, received from various Italian States. The Florentines sent him a present of lions, the Ligurians of arms, the Venetians of silk stuffs, the Neapolitans of horses, the Pope subsidies from the Sacred College.[2] The demands of Matthias rose with his good fortune. He required that Frederick should give him his daughter Cunigund in marriage, that he should renounce the Hungarian title and succession, and should return the 60,000 ducats he had received for the crown of St. Stephen: but

[1] See Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* 1468, t. x. p. 464; *Diario* di Stefano Infessura, ap. Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* ch. lxxxi. [2] Engel, B. iii. S. 305.

the Emperor's anger was roused by these demands; an altercation ensued, in which he reproached Matthias with his low birth, and the latter soon after stole away without taking leave.

The Bohemian war dragged on without much vigour, and on March 22nd, 1471, George Podiebrad died. In the following May the Bohemians confirmed the election of Wladislaus, who with a small army penetrated to Prague, where he received the Crown, August 22nd. In September, Casimir, second son of the Polish King, after publishing at Cracow a manifesto in which he claimed the Crown of Hungary in virtue of his descent from Elizabeth, second daughter of the Emperor Albert II. and sister of King Ladislaus Postumus, and denounced Matthias Corvinus as a tyrant and usurper, invaded Hungary with a considerable force; but instead of meeting with the assistance which he expected from the malcontents, he found a large force arrayed against him, and was compelled to make a precipitate retreat. Meanwhile Frederick, though pretending to favour Matthias, secretly helped his rival Wladislaus; but his weakness obliged him to have recourse to the basest duplicity. He had promised to hold a Diet at Augsburg in 1473, in which he would invest Matthias with the Crown of Bohemia and recognize him as an Elector of the Empire; yet, so far from fulfilling his engagement, the affairs of Bohemia were not even mentioned in that assembly, and in the following year he concluded a formal alliance with Casimir of Poland. The King of Hungary, however, was able to make head against all his opponents. His troops made devastating incursions both into Bohemia and Austria, and penetrated as far as Augsburg, where the Emperor was residing; while Matthias himself with his Black Band advanced to Breslau, and established there a fortified camp, on which Casimir and Wladislaus could make no impression. He also despatched his generals Zapolya and Kinis into Poland, who pushed on to the gates of Cracow, committing such devastations that Casimir sued for peace; and on December 8th, 1474, a truce of three years and a half was accordingly concluded.[1]

In 1476 Matthias celebrated his marriage with Beatrix, daughter of King Ferdinand of Naples, to which we have already referred. Meanwhile covert hostilities were still carried on between the Hungarian King and the Emperor, which in 1477 again broke out into open war. Frederick now invested Wladislaus with the Bohemian Electorate; but his arms were no match for those of

[1] Engel, B. iii. S. 334 ff.

Matthias, who invaded Austria, laid siege to Vienna, and compelled Frederick to fly into Styria. Frederick, who was now anxiously engaged about the marriage of his son Maximilian with Mary of Burgundy, proposed a peace, and, by way of inducement, held out to Matthias the hope that he would aid his brother-in-law, one of the sons of Ferdinand of Naples, to wrest Milan from the Sforzas. By the treaty of Korneuburg, concluded December 1st, 1477, the Emperor, in spite of his former investiture of Wladislaus, engaged to invest Matthias with Bohemia; who, however, was to make good his own claim, and also to support the Emperor against any attacks which he might incur in consequence of his act. Frederick was also to pay 100,000 ducats for the expenses of the war; one half at Martinmas, 1478, and the remainder in a twelvemonth. Matthias now published the Emperor's investiture in his favour, and the revocation of that of Wladislaus, and he attempted to reduce Bohemia; but the inhabitants made a strenuous resistance. This circumstance, as well as a formidable inroad of the Turks (August, 1478), turned his thoughts towards peace; especially as he was desirous of punishing the Emperor, who had neither kept his word with regard to Italian affairs nor made the stipulated payments. He therefore concluded what was called a "perpetual peace" with the Kings of Bohemia and Poland at Olmütz (July, 1479), reserving to himself the eventual right of succession in Bohemia, while Wladislaus ceded to him the Bohemian principalities of Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia. His hands being thus at liberty, the Hungarian King declared war against Frederick. It was protracted several years, and was often interrupted by truces, but was devoid of important events, till in June, 1485, Vienna, from the effects of famine, was obliged to capitulate; and that capital was entered by Matthias and his Queen. Frederick fled to Linz; but not feeling in safety there, began a wandering life in Germany, proceeding with a suite of eighty persons from convent to convent, and from one Imperial city to another, living at their expense and vainly entreating the aid of the States against Matthias. At length he obtained a small supply of troops, and prevailed on Duke Albert of Saxony, a captain of renown, to take command of them; but these succours arrived too late. Neustadt, the favourite residence of Frederick, had agreed to capitulate on the 16th of August, 1487, if not relieved before that day; and Duke Albert had not got further than Linz on the 14th, where he found neither money nor provisions to enable him to proceed. Matthias now completed the reduction of Lower Austria; while

Duke Albert marched with his army into Styria. He was followed by the Hungarians; but after a few unimportant skirmishes negotiations were opened at Märgendorf, November 22nd, and a truce was concluded till a treaty of peace should be finally arranged.

During this war Matthias caused the power and dignity of the Hungarian Palatine, which seem hitherto to have been very undefined, to be settled and ascertained by a law passed by the Diet (1485). It was arranged that if the King died without issue the Palatine should have the first vote in the election of his successor; in case the heir was a minor, the Palatine was to be his guardian; and during an interregnum, he was empowered to assemble the Diet: in short, by these and several other regulations, that magistrate was invested with an almost regal power. Matthias's alleged reason for this step was, his necessary absence from his Kingdom on account of the affairs of Austria; though his real design was to appoint a man to this great office who after his decease should help his natural son, John Corvinus, to get possession of the Hungarian throne. To promote the interests of that son had long been the object of all Matthias's efforts. Honours had been gradually heaped upon him; he had been created Count of Hunyad and Duke of Liptau; and it had even been contemplated to bestow Austria upon him. A marriage had also been negotiated for John with Bianca Sforza, sister of Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan, to which Lodovico il Moro gave his consent, though on condition that John Corvinus should be immediately declared successor to the Hungarian throne, with which Matthias could not comply; for though he had lived ten years with his consort Beatrix without having issue, yet the birth of an heir was still not impossible. Beatrix was naturally opposed to all these plans in favour of John Corvinus; her feelings were shared by many of the nobles, and a secret opposition was gradually formed against Matthias and his son, the former of whom had quitted Vienna in a very declining state of health.[1] Negotiations for peace with Frederick were continued; and it was agreed that the terms should be definitively settled at a personal interview at Linz, between Matthias and the Emperor's son Maximilian, King of the Romans, which was fixed for the 13th September, 1489. The King of Hungary

[1] Matthias, to alleviate the pains of gout while travelling, invented a carriage with springs, which was called *a coach* (Currus *Cochy* rex primus inventor fuit; Listh, ap. Kovachich, *Scrip. Min.* t. i. p. 333, in Engel, B. iii. S. 427).

was too ill to keep this appointment; but he sent his minister, the Bishop of Grosswardein, to Linz, to express his great esteem for Maximilian, in proof of which he forwarded a present of 400 casks of wine, 400 oxen, and 12,000 ducats. He offered to restore Austria for 70,000 ducats, and thus put an end to the war; but though Maximilian strongly urged his father to close with this proposal, Frederick, reckoning on the speedy death of the Hungarian King, of which he was assured by astrological predictions, declined to enter into any stipulations, as it had been agreed that, in case of Matthias's death, the conquered territories were to revert to Frederick without payment. Early in 1490, Matthias, summoning all his strength, proceeded to Vienna, in order to be nearer to Linz; where on Palm Sunday, April 4th, after an early visit to the church, he was struck with an apoplexy, which carried him off two days afterwards, in his forty-seventh year. Besides his distinguished abilities as a statesman and captain, Matthias Corvinus was a munificent patron of learning. He founded a University at Buda; invited to his Court the most learned Italians; employed many persons to collect and transcribe Greek manuscripts; and formed an extensive library, which, however, was for the most part destroyed after the capture of Buda by the Turks in 1527.

The competitors for the vacant Hungarian throne were the Emperor Frederick, his son Maximilian, Wladislaus of Bohemia, John Albert, his brother, and John Corvinus. During the last illness of her husband, Beatrix had employed all her eloquence, her sighs, and tears, to obtain from him her own nomination as reigning Queen and heiress of the Kingdom; but this Matthias refused, on the ground that the Hungarians would never submit to be governed by a woman. The power of nominating lay principally with Stephen Zapolya, who had been appointed Palatine by Matthias, and with Urban Dotzy, Bishop of Erlau, and John of Prossnitz, Bishop of Grosswardein. The last had under his command all the mercenary troops, and the Black Band in Moravia. Matthias had made a great mistake in selecting Zapolya as Palatine and guardian of his son's interests, who, assisted by the two prelates just mentioned, managed that the choice of the Hungarians should fall on Wladislaus, King of Bohemia (July 14th, 1490). Wladislaus was a weak Prince, and the internal dissensions in Bohemia, as well as the almost constant wars in which he was engaged with Hungary, had obliged him to concede a large share of independence to the

landed aristocracy of Bohemia, as well as to the municipal towns. It was the former circumstance that had recommended him to the Hungarian nobility; who, after his election, proceeded to tie up his hands by all kinds of capitulations, and to render him in fact completely powerless.

Maximilian now attempted the recovery of Austria from the Hungarians—a task rendered easy by the hatred with which they had inspired the inhabitants. The Viennese admitted him into their city, August 19th, and he immediately proceeded to attack the citadel, which was garrisoned by 400 Hungarians. The first assault was repulsed, and Maximilian himself wounded; but a few days after the Hungarians capitulated. Maximilian, after recovering several more Austrian towns, even broke into Hungary, and took Alba Regia, or Stuhlweissenburg (November 19th),[1] but he was hindered by want of money from pushing his successes much further. His troops would not quit Stuhlweissenburg till they had received double pay for its capture; and though he advanced a few miles on the road to Buda, and caused it to be summoned, his messenger, the poet Ludwig Bruno, was haughtily repulsed. Maximilian therefore found it necessary to evacuate Hungary before the close of the year; and he returned into Germany with the hope of collecting a fresh army. But the Diet, which met at Nuremberg in April, 1491, would grant him nothing. The Hungarians soon after retook Stuhlweissenburg, and as Maximilian's attention was also attracted at this period by the affairs of Brittany,[2] he made proposals for a peace. A congress was accordingly held at Presburg; and on November 7th, 1491, a treaty was concluded, which proved of remarkable importance for the House of Austria. By this convention, Wladislaus and his male heirs were recognised as Kings of Hungary, but in default of heirs, the House of Habsburg was appointed to succeed, subject, however, to the approbation of the Hungarian Diet. All the Austrian hereditary lands were restored to Frederick, who on his side gave up his conquests in Hungary and Croatia. Wladislaus further engaged to pay 100,000 ducats for the expenses of the war; and in case of failure of heirs of his own, to assist the House of Habsburg in obtaining the Crown of Bohemia. Wladislaus's brother, John Albert, disgusted at being thus excluded from all prospect of the Hungarian Crown, resorted to arms, but was soon reduced to obedience: and the death

[1] Maximilian's own *Tagebuch*, or Journal, published in Hormayr's *Archiv.*, April, 1810, is the best authority for these affairs.

[2] See above, p. 173.

of their father, Casimir of Poland, June 7th, 1492, afforded an opportunity to give John Albert some compensation. At the request of their widowed mother, Wladislaus renounced his claim to the Crown of Poland in favour of his brother, and aided in procuring his election.

Frederick III. did not long outlive these events. After his return to Austria he abandoned the cares of government to Maximilian, and retired to Linz, where he died, August 19th, 1493, at the age of seventy-eight and after a reign of fifty-three years. He had previously sustained with great fortitude two amputations of the leg for cancer; but an inordinate indulgence in melons brought on a dysentery, which proved fatal. Frederick was in person tall and handsome, and of majestic presence. He was a man of small mind, and one of those characters whose good qualities are neutralized by bordering too closely on the neighbouring vices. His religion, degenerating into superstition and bigotry, made him the slave of the Pope; his prudence was nearly allied to cunning, his foresight to suspicion, his firmness to obstinacy, his mildness to want of spirit. Under him the Imperial Crown reached perhaps its lowest point of degradation; yet notwithstanding his impotence as a Sovereign, he became by a series of lucky chances the founder of the predominant greatness of his House; to which, though he himself scarcely enjoyed a moment of security, he seems to have looked forward with a sort of prophetical confidence.[1]

We cannot quit the history of the Empire under Frederick III. without adverting to the establishment of the Suabian Confederation, effected towards the close of his reign. The object of this League was to put down private wars, and to support the *Landfriede*, or public peace. Some of these private wars were of the most absurd description. Thus the Lord of Prauenstein declared war against the city of Frankfort because the daughter of one of the citizens refused to dance with his uncle; the baker of the Palsgrave Louis defied the cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Rothweil; and a private person named Henry Mayenberg even made a declaration of war against the Emperor himself; but when waged by powerful princes or nobles these wars occasioned great desolation and misery. The more immediate object of the Suabian Confederation was to repress the violence of the Bavarian Duke

[1] He adopted as the Austrian motto, the vowels, A E I O U, which in Latin stand for "Austriæ est imperare orbi universo," and in German, "Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich unterthan" (All the world is subject to Austria).

Albert II. of Munich. The Dukes of Bavaria had allied themselves with King Matthias in opposition to Frederick, and endeavoured to separate themselves from the Empire; Duke Albert had married the Emperor's daughter Cunigund without his consent, and had obtained from her kinsman Duke Sigismund the reversion of Tyrol as her dowry, which should have reverted to Maximilian. Albert had also seized Ratisbon, and was contemplating further acquisitions. To repress these violences, as well as to restrain all similar ones which might arise among themselves, by referring their differences to arbitration, many princes, nobles, and cities of Suabia, at the instance of Frederick, organized in 1488 the Confederation in question, which was soon afterwards joined by other powers, as Brandenburg, the Elector of Mentz, &c. The number of Imperial cities that abounded in Suabia greatly facilitated the accomplishment of the scheme. In the spring of 1492 the troops of the Confederation and of the Empire, commanded by Frederick of Brandenburg, assembled in presence of Maximilian on the Lechfeld, a broad plain between Augsburg and Tyrol, watered by the river Lech. At this threatening demonstration, Albert, deserted by his kinsfolk and at war with his own knights, found it prudent to submit. He surrendered Ratisbon, and reconciling himself with Frederick, finally joined the Confederation. This association remained in force till the year 1533, and is said to have destroyed one hundred and forty strongholds of knights and robbers.

As Maximilian had been elected King of the Romans some years previously, he succeeded at once to the Imperial throne on the death of his father Frederick. The defeat of a large body of Turks, who had penetrated as far as Laibach, by Maximilian in person, threw a lustre on the beginning of his reign. A few months after, being now a widower, he married, as already related, the sister of the Duke of Milan; a match to which he seems to have been allured by the largeness of the dowry, and by the opportunity which it might afford him of acquiring influence in Italian affairs.

Having thus given a general view of the principal European States down to the period of the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII., we shall now proceed to narrate that expedition.

CHAPTER V.

THE weak mind of Charles VIII. of France was filled with visions of glory and conquest; he deemed himself a paladin, and christened his firstborn son Roland after the hero of Roncesvalles. Louis XI. had prudently declined to prosecute the claims to Naples bequeathed to him by Charles du Maine; in the mind of his son the conquest of that Kingdom was to be only the stepping-stone to the Empire of the East and the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople. Charles assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, and received without a smile the homage paid him by his courtiers as Greek Emperor; which title he had bought from Andrew Palæologus.[1] His impolitic enterprise against Naples was warmly opposed by his sister, the late Regent, and by all the old statesmen of the school of Louis XI.; but nothing could divert him from what he called his "*voyage d'Italie,*" in contemplation of which he made friends with his neighbours by three disadvantageous treaties;[2] and he was supported in his scheme by interested politicians, as Etienne de Vesc, formerly his *valet de chambre,* but now first president of the *Chambre des Comptes,* and by Briçonnet, Bishop of St. Malo, who expected to gain a Cardinal's hat.

In the spring of 1494 Charles VIII. despatched ambassadors to some of the principal Italian States to beg their assistance in recovering Naples. King Ferdinand had died January 25th, and the Kingdom had devolved to his son Alfonso II., who was still more odious and unpopular than himself; for, with all his harshness and cruelty, Ferdinand possessed some good qualities. He loved and encouraged literature and art; he patronized Laurentius Valla, and Antonio Panormita, and his own letters and speeches, which have been published, display both eloquence and erudition. But Alfonso was nothing but a rough unlettered soldier. Charles VIII. found slight encouragement from the

[1] Above, p. 81. The deed of transfer is in the *Acad. des Inscr.* t. xvii. p. 539, and in Roscoe's *Leo X.* vol. v. p. 96.

[2] That of Etaples with Henry VII., of Senlis with Maximilian, and of Barcelona with Ferdinand and Isabella.

Italians, except Lodovico il Moro, with whom he had a secret engagement. Lodovico undertook to provide him with troops and money, on condition of receiving the protection of the French and the Principality of Taranto, after the conquest of Naples should have been accomplished. The Venetians, alleging their danger from the Turks, declared that they should remain neutral. The Florentines, agreeably to their ancient traditions, would have sided with the French, but Peter de' Medici, who had entered into a treaty with Alfonso, while protesting his affection for France, gave the French ambassadors an evasive answer. Pope Alexander VI., though, as we have said, at first inclined to France, had begun to perceive that the establishment of a great foreign Power in Italy would defeat his plans for the aggrandizement of his family. Alfonso, too, after the death of his father, had courted the Pope's friendship, and an intimate alliance had sprung up between them, cemented by the marriage of their natural children, Sancia, daughter of Alfonso, and Alexander's son Geoffrey. The Pope had therefore exhorted Charles to submit his claims to the decision of the Holy See, and subsequently, as Lord Paramount of Naples, had invested Alfonso II. with that Kingdom.[1]

The conduct of the French King displayed little of the vigour requisite for the great enterprise in which he had embarked. Although the French army had assembled at the foot of the Alps, he wasted his time at Lyon in tournaments, festivals, and amours, and when he was at length driven from that city by a pestilence he found that he had squandered all his money. The undertaking seemed on the point of being abandoned, when a loan of 50,000 ducats from a Milanese merchant enabled the army to resume its march. Charles crossed Mont-Génèvre September 2nd, 1494, and passing through Susa and Turin, was met at Asti by Lodovico Sforza with a brilliant retinue, including many ladies. Charles now renewed the follies of Lyon, and contracted a disorder by his debaucheries which detained him at Asti till the 6th of October. He was still so poor that he was compelled to borrow, and he pledged the jewels of the Duchess Dowager of Savoy and the widowed Marchioness of Montferrat in order to proceed. Lodovico, who had accompanied the King as far as Piacenza, was

[1] Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* begins with the invasion of Charles VIII. and runs to 1534: from which period it is continued by Botta to 1789. Other authorities for the period are the Latin history of Arnold le Feron (1494—1546), Guillaume de Villeneuve, *Hist. de la Guerre de Charles VIII. en Italie*, and André de la Vigne, whose *Journal de Charles VIII.* ends with the King's return to Lyon, 1495.

recalled to Milan by the death of his nephew, the dispossessed Duke Gian Galeazzo, who expired in the Castle of Pavia, October 22nd, at the age of twenty-five. His death was universally ascribed to poison administered to him by order of his uncle, and the proceedings of Lodovico strongly confirm this suspicion. Gian Galeazzo had left an infant son; but Lodovico, on pretence that the times were too dangerous for a minority, caused himself to be elected Duke by a body of his partisans; and his title was afterwards confirmed by a diploma which he obtained from the Emperor Maximilian. The widowed Duchess Isabella was confined with her two infant children in the Castle of Pavia.

At Piacenza Charles held a council respecting the route to be adopted. The union of Tuscany with the Pope and the King of Naples seemed to impose an impenetrable barrier to his advance; but it was known that there was a strong party in Florence opposed to the Medici; and though Charles had driven from France all the agents of that family, he had respected the privileges of the other Florentine houses of commerce. Pisa also expected her liberation from the Florentine yoke at the hands of the French. It was resolved to proceed through Florence and Rome. No sooner did the French enter Tuscany than the lurking discontent against Peter de' Medici exploded. Conscious of his danger he hastened to Sarsanella to deprecate the anger of the French King, and without even consulting his fellow-citizens, agreed to give Charles immediate possession of all the Tuscan fortresses, including Leghorn and Pisa, on condition that they should be restored after the conquest of Naples. He also undertook to supply Charles with a loan of 200,000 florins, in consideration of which Florence was to be taken under protection of France; and it was agreed that a treaty to this effect should be executed at Florence.

The facility with which Peter de' Medici made these large concessions excited the astonishment and ridicule even of the French themselves.[1] Very different were the feelings of the Florentines, who, however much they desired the French alliance, were indignant at Peter's pusillanimous submission. On his return he found the gates of the Public Palace closed and guarded, the interview which he requested with the magistrates was refused, and symptoms of tumult appeared among the people. In vain did the young Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici proceed with his servants and retainers through some of the principal streets shouting

[1] Comines, liv. vii. ch. 7.

Palle! Palle! the well-known rallying cry of the family—not a voice responded. At the Porta St. Gallo, Peter and his brother Julian also attempted to excite a movement in their favour by distributing money among the populace, but they were answered only with threats; and alarmed by the sound of the tocsin they fled to the Apennines, where they were soon joined by the Cardinal in the disguise of a Franciscan. The Signory now declared the Medici traitors, confiscated their possessions, and offered a reward for their heads; at the same time Charles allowed the Pisans to expel the Florentine magistrates and to become free; and the Lion of Florence was flung into the Arno amid cries of *Viva Francia!*

This revolution placed a remarkable man at the head of the Florentine Republic—Girolamo Savonarola.[1] Born at Ferrara in 1452, of a respectable Paduan family settled in that town, Savonarola's temperament was marked by a nervous sensibility, heightened, it is said, by a disappointment in love. He viewed with disgust the crimes and profligacy then prevalent in Italy; hence he was inclined to renounce the world, and at the age of twenty-three he took the monastic vows in a Dominican convent at Bologna. His learning was considerable. He had been a deep student of the scholastic philosophy, and of the works of Thomas Aquinas; from the former he acquired a tendency to subtlety and sophistry, from the latter, combined with an assiduous reading of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse, his religious exaltation was much augmented. He began to fancy that the dreams to which he had been subject from childhood were visions and inspirations, and he spent whole nights in prayer and contemplation.[2] In 1489 he proceeded to Florence and entered the Dominican convent of St. Mark, of which he became Prior in 1491. At Florence he began to advocate a reformation of the Church, which was, indeed, very much needed. He was also the champion of civil liberty; and while as a religious reformer the wicked lives of the Popes supplied him abundantly

[1] Since the first two volumes of this work were published in 1861, the concluding volume of Signor Villari's biography of Savonarola has appeard, containing the last momentous scenes in the monk's life, and the documentary evidence (*Storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, Firenze, vol. i. 1859, vol. ii. 1861). It is the completest work on the subject, and has led the author in some degree to modify his former opinions. Signor Villari is throughout the unflinching apologist of Savonarola, his advocate *quand même*, and his work is chiefly founded on biographies written by the friar's personal friends and followers. Nevertheless the author has here taken all the facts respecting Savonarola as they are given by Villari, though in his inferences and opinions about them he has sometimes been obliged to differ from that writer.

[2] Villari, vol. i. p. 295.

with topics, so as a political one he denounced the tyrannical domination of the Medici. He regarded Lorenzo de' Medici as the destroyer of his country's freedom; he would neither visit him nor show him any mark of respect; though Lorenzo, struck by the friar's reputation, courted his friendship and even sent for him on his deathbed to hear his confession. But the highly dramatic scene which is said to have ensued between them, described by Villari and other biographers, in which the friar refused to give Lorenzo absolution unless he restored the liberty of the people, seems hardly to be true.[1]

Savonarola appears to have gained his great influence by means of his sermons. These were not in the old scholastic method, but original both in matter and language, and highly dramatic; filled with apostrophes and interrogations, and delivered with great fire and vehement gesticulation. We are not surprised to hear that he often made his hearers weep; a more astounding effect was, that they are said to have caused several merchants and bankers to refund their ill-gotten gains. In this case, if it be true, he certainly worked a miracle. Through his ministry the whole aspect of the city was changed. Luxury and show were abandoned; the songs of the carnival gave place to hymns; and the Bible and the works of the Frate formed almost the only reading of the people.

Such a character was most formidable to a ruler like Peter de' Medici. Savonarola seized the moment to overthrow him, and at the head of a Florentine embassy appeared before Charles VIII. at Lucca, where he addressed that monarch in the style of a prophet, and promised him victory in this world, Paradise in the next, provided he protected Florence. Charles replied with vague protestations, and entering Florence November 17th, took up his residence in the palace of the Medici. The wealth of the city was tempting, and Charles imagined that it lay at his disposal: he intimated his intention of recalling Peter de' Medici, of appointing him his lieutenant, and of imposing a fine upon the citizens. But he had miscalculated his own strength and the disposition of the Florentines. The solid lofty towers

[1] Savonarola's demand is not mentioned by Politian, who was in the house at the time, though probably not in the room, as the confession was in all likelihood private. In that case the friar's requisition must either have been told to somebody by Lorenzo himself, which is in the highest degree improbable, especially as his friend Politian had not heard of it; or Savonarola must have violated the secrecy of the confessional; which, indeed, he is said to have done, and to have told the story to Fra Silvestro Maruffi (Villari, i. 157). But Silvestro, of a weak and shuffling character, more likely invented it. Gino Capponi does not believe it. *Storia di Firenze*, iii. 30, note 2.

and palaces of Florence, with small windows at great height from the ground and secured by massive bars of iron, have the air of prisons and the strength of fortresses, for which indeed they often served in the factious wars of the Republic. These the wary Florentines had filled with armed men, and they had also given notice to the surrounding peasantry to hasten to the town's help at the first sound of the tocsin. When the citizens energetically protested against Charles's intentions, he exclaimed, "Then I shall bid my trumpets sound." "Sound them!" replied Pietro Capponi, the intrepid leader of the people: "they shall be answered by our tocsin!" and with these words he snatched from the King's Secretary the royal ultimatum and tore it into shreds. Charles was thunderstruck. Fresh negotiations were entered into; the French King abandoned the Medici, and contented himself with a subsidy of 20,000 ducats and military occupation of some of the principal Tuscan towns. During their stay at Florence, the French pillaged the palace of the Medici in the Via Larga, when all its rich collections of art and literature were scattered and lost.

Charles now resumed his march. Pope Alexander VI., alarmed at his approach, anxiously debated whether he should fly with his Cardinals, or endure a siege, or submit to the French. At length he decided to resist, and allowed Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, to enter Rome with a division of the Neapolitan army; but symptoms of insurrection in the city obliged the Pope again to negotiate. Charles refused to treat till he had entered Rome, into which he was admitted December 31st; the Neapolitans defiling through the southern gate of St. Sebastian while the French were entering by the northern Porta del Popolo. Their van began to enter the gate at three in the afternoon, and it was nine before the rear had passed by torchlight. In front marched serried battalions of Swiss and other German lance-knights, whose robust and warlike figures were displayed to advantage by their tight jackets and pantaloons of variegated and brilliant colours. Their arms were long pikes, enormous halberds, arquebuses, and two-handed swords. The first rank of each battalion wore helmets and cuirasses; and to every 1,000 men was assigned a company of 100 fusiliers. Then came the French light infantry and crossbowmen, mostly Gascons, and remarkable for agility rather than strength. These were followed by long columns of the *compagnies d'ordonnance*, about 1,600 lances, or 9,600 horsemen. The King himself came next, surrounded by 100 gentlemen and

400 archers, in magnificent costumes, forming his household guard. He was clad in gilt armour adorned with jewels, and wore his crown. An eye-witness describes him as the ugliest man he ever saw, but is loud in praising the appearance of his troops.[1] The rear was brought up by thirty-six brass cannons, with a number of culverins and falconets. The lightness of this artillery, which was drawn by horses instead of oxen, and the rapidity with which the guns were manœuvred, excited the surprise of the Italians. The infantry had also adopted many new evolutions in manœuvring and fighting. The whole French army, including camp followers, amounted to between 50,000 and 60,000 men. Alexander VI. had shut himself up in the Castle of St. Angelo. His fears were not groundless, for he had many active enemies in the King's suite, and especially Cardinal Julian della Rovere, who advised Charles to call a Council, depose the Pope, and reform the Church. The Cardinal had in his possession proofs of certain negotiations into which Alexander had entered with Sultan Bajazet, who well knew that the views of the French King extended to Constantinople. Such was the friendship of the heads of Islam and of Christendom, that the Pope was said to make Bishops and Cardinals at the nomination of the Sultan. Their alliance was cemented by a singular circumstance.

After the death of Mahomet II. in 1481, his Grand Vizier, Mahomet Mischani, wishing to secure the succession for the Sultan's younger son Dschem, or Zizim, to the prejudice of Bajazet, the elder, for some time concealed the death of Mahomet till Zizim should arrive in Constantinople. But the secret got wind; the Janissaries with wild cries broke into the Seraglio, demanding to see their master, and when they beheld the Sultan's corpse, cut down his faithless Vizier. Parading the streets of Constantinople with Mischani's head on a lance, they shouted for "Sultan Bajazet and double pay!" and when the new Sultan at length arrived in the capital from his government of Amasia, he found himself obliged to comply with their demand. Zizim, who was in Caramania at the time of his father's death, succeeded in seizing Prusa; but he was defeated by Bajazet in a decisive battle on the plains of Jenischer, and fled into Egypt, where he was honourably received by the Egyptian Sultan; and after another unsuccessful attempt to wrest the sceptre from his brother, he found an asylum among the Knights of Rhodes, with only thirty

[1] "La più bella gente non fu vista mai."—*Diario* di Sebastiano di Branco dé' Telini, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 260 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

attendants. To secure so valuable a pledge, the Knights, with the consent of Pope Sixtus IV., sent Zizim to France (1483), where he was kept several years in different fortresses belonging to them in that Kingdom. Bajazet II. cultivated a good understanding with the Knights as the keepers of his brother, allowed them 45,000 ducats yearly for his maintenance, and made them the costly present of the right hand of St. John the Baptist, one of the most precious relics in St. John's Church at Rhodes. At length in 1489, Pope Innocent VIII., by granting extraordinary privileges to the Order, and making their Grand-Master a Cardinal, induced them to deliver up Zizim, who was brought to Rome. In the following year, Innocent, finding all his attempts to get up a crusade abortive, negotiated a treaty with Bajazet, from whom he received the arrears of Zizim's pension, together with some rich presents. He had previously refused the much higher offers of the Sultan of Egypt; which included 400,000 ducats for Zizim's ransom, the re-erection of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and in case of success against Bajazet, the abandonment of all the Turkish possessions in Europe.

Under Pope Alexander VI. Zizim became the victim of the most detestable policy. In Alexander's negotiations with the Sultan with a view to obtain the latter's assistance against the French invaders, it was represented to be Charles's object to get possession of Zizim's person, in order to make use of him in his designs upon the Turkish Empire; and at the same time the payment of the yearly pension was strongly pressed. Bajazet promised the desired assistance, and in his letter to the Pope expressed without circumlocution the great pleasure it would afford him if his Holiness would as quickly as possible release his brother from all the troubles of this wicked and transitory world. When this service should have been performed and proved by the receipt of Zizim's body, then the Sultan was ready to pay 300,000 ducats wherewith to purchase any territories that Alexander might desire for his sons.[1] It is not clear how far Alexander was inclined to accede to Bajazet's offers; and the negotiations were still going on when Charles VIII. appeared in Italy.

It would not have been difficult to frame an accusation against

[1] The whole correspondence between Pope Alexander VI. and Sultan Bajazet will be found in the *Preuves et Observations* appended by Godefroy to his edition of Comines (Paris, fol. 1649, p. 525 sqq.). The particular letter alluded to, dated Sept. 15th, 1494, will also be found in the *Lettere di Principi*, t. i. p. 4; and in Roscoe's *Leo X.* vol. v. p. 106 sq.

Alexander; his crimes were only too many and too notorious. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza and several of his colleagues charged him truly with having bought the Pontificate, forgetting, however, that they themselves had been the sellers! But among his numerous enemies he had at least one friend who enjoyed the ear of Charles—Briçonnet, Bishop of St. Malo, who had been gained with a Cardinal's hat. He and a few other courtiers spoke in favour of Alexander; and Charles declined the magnificent part of reforming the Church. On January 11th, 1495, a treaty was concluded between him and the Pope, by which Alexander agreed to leave Cività Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleto in French hands till the conquest of Naples should have been effected, and to deliver Zizim into Charles's hands for six months; for which the French King was to pay down 20,000 ducats, and to procure the security of Venetian and Florentine merchants for the restoration of Zizim at the expiration of the stipulated period; but Alexander would not promise Charles the investiture of Naples, except "with reservation of the rights of others." He consented, however, that his bastard son, the Cardinal of Valencia, should follow the French King to Naples, with the title of Legate, but in reality as a hostage. This was the notorious Cæsar Borgia, who, according to the remark of Guicciardini, seemed to be born only that a man might be found wicked enough to execute the designs of his father.

Charles conducted himself while at Rome as master, except that he submitted to perform in St. Peter's the degrading ceremonial invented by the pride of the Roman Pontiffs. He quitted Rome January 28th, 1495, carrying with him Cæsar Borgia and Zizim. But Cæsar escaped the following day, and Zizim did not long survive. He was already attacked with a lingering disorder, of which he died, February 28th, at the age of thirty-five. It was very generally believed that a slow poison had been administered to him before he left Rome by order of Pope Alexander; who was willing either to earn the Sultan's blood-money, or at least to frustrate Charles's plans, which the possession of Zizim's person would have helped to forward.[1] The unfortunate Zizim is described as having something noble and royal in his aspect; his mind had been cultivated by the study of Arabic literature; his address was polite and engaging, and he had borne his misfortunes at once with dignity and modesty.

[1] Guicciardini, lib. ii. (vol. i. p. 220, ed. Milan, 1803). The authorities for the charge against Alexander VI. are collected by Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, lib. xx. § 8.

At Velletri Charles was overtaken by Don Juan de Albion and Antonio de Fonseca, ambassadors of Ferdinand and Isabella, who were instructed to declare that their Sovereigns would not permit the Aragonese dominion in Naples to be overthrown. Alexander VI., in order to obtain the interference of the Spanish Sovereigns in this matter, had granted them several important privileges; among them the title of "Catholic" (1494), in consideration of their eminent virtues, and their zeal in defence of the true faith, as shown by the subjugation of the Moors, the extirpation of the Jewish infidelity, and other acts. The Spanish ambassadors now exhorted Charles to submit his claims to the Pope's arbitration; and affirmed that if he declined this method the treaty of Barcelona recognized their masters' right to interfere in defence of the Church. Ferdinand had, indeed, sent an ambassador to Charles at Vienne, before he crossed the Alps, to protest against any attempt upon Naples.[1] But the French put quite a different interpretation on the treaty, and at Velletri Charles and his generals attacked the ambassadors in the most furious terms, reproaching them with the perfidy of their masters. Fonseca replied to these remarks by publicly tearing up the treaty.

This Spanish protest did not arrest the advance of Charles. Two little towns in the Campagna which resisted were taken by storm, and the garrisons barbarously put to the sword—a manner of war-making which greatly alarmed the Italians, accustomed to their own almost bloodless combats.[2] A French corps had penetrated into the Abruzzi, and as they advanced the people everywhere rose in their favour, such had been the revolting despotism of Alfonso and his father. Although Alfonso had displayed considerable military talent, he was struck with terror at the approach of the French. As soon as his son, the Duke of Calabria, returned from Rome, Alfonso abdicated in his favour, and the former, now aged twenty-five, ascended the Neapolitan throne with the title of Ferdinand II. The abdicated monarch, who is said to have been haunted with constant visions of the nobles he had put to death, retired into Sicily, where he died a few months after in a convent at Mazzara.

Ferdinand II., in order to prevent the French from entering the Terra di Lavoro, had posted himself with all his forces in the

[1] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 253.

[2] Macchiavelli (*Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. v.) records two engagements, at Anghiara and Castracaro, which lasted several hours, and were attended with important consequences; yet in the first not a single man was slain, and in the second only one, who had fallen from his horse and was suffocated in the mud.

defiles of San Germano, near the river Garigliano; but on the approach of the French the Neapolitan infantry disbanded, and Ferdinand retired with his *gens d'armes* to Capua, with the view of disputing the passage of the Volturno. The rumour of a riot, however, called him to Naples, and when he returned to Capua he found the gates closed against him, Gian Giacopo Trivulzio, one of his principal commanders, having treacherously entered into a capitulation with the French and gone over to the service of Charles. Ferdinand now hastened back to Naples, and found it in insurrection; wherefore, leaving some troops to hold the castles, and burning or sinking all the vessels which he could not carry off, he retired to Ischia, and afterwards sailed to Sicily with about fifteen ships. Charles now entered Naples (February 22nd, 1495) amid the acclamations of the populace: a few days after the castles capitulated; and in a few weeks the whole Kingdom had submitted, with exception of five or six towns and a few fortresses.

All Europe was struck with amazement at this sudden and unexpected conquest. But the very facility of Charles's success was fatal to its permanence. The Italians became objects of contempt to him and his young courtiers; and instead of securing the places which still held out, he plunged headlong into luxury and dissipation. He alienated the hearts even of those Neapolitan nobles who had favoured his cause, by depriving them of their offices, which he bestowed on his own courtiers and favourites; and he offended Lodovico Sforza by refusing him the promised Principality of Taranto. Lodovico now began to repent of having called the French into Italy; he knew that they detested him for his conduct towards his nephew; he had neither foreseen nor desired their rapid success; and the neighbourhood of the Duke of Orleans, the sole legitimate descendant of the Visconti, who had been detained at Asti by illness, and who openly proclaimed Lodovico a usurper, filled him with apprehension and alarm. With these feelings he turned towards those States which were also averse to see French domination established in Italy, and especially Venice, which became the centre of agitation against the French. Envoys of various Powers assembled there, as if by common consent, whose conferences were conducted by night, and with such secrecy, that Comines,[1] the French ambassador, was astounded when he at length heard of them. The Italians naturally turned their eyes towards the

[1] See his *Mémoires*, lib. vii. ch. xv.

Emperor and the Spanish King. Maximilian was still smarting under the insults and wrongs he had received at the hands of Charles VIII., while Ferdinand of Spain was averse to see the bastard branch of the house of Aragon driven from Naples, and the French established in such near proximity to his own Kingdom of Sicily. Under these circumstances a treaty of alliance was signed at Venice, March 31st, 1495, by the Emperor, the Spanish King, the Pope, the Venetian Republic, and the Duke of Milan. Although Sultan Bajazet II. was no party to the treaty, his ambassador had taken part in the negotiations, and he offered to help the Venetians with all his force against the French. Florence refused to join the league.

The treaty of Venice is remarkable as the first example in modern history of extensive combinations among European potentates. To all appearance the alliance was merely defensive; but the contracting parties had secretly agreed to help Ferdinand II. against the French, and to make a diversion on the territory of France. Its fruits soon began to show themselves. The Pope refused Charles VIII. the investiture of Naples; a Venetian fleet appeared on the coast of Apulia; and a Spanish army landed in Sicily. When Charles found that he could expect neither coronation nor investiture at the Pope's hands he resolved to dispense with both, and to supply their place by the ceremony of a solemn entry into Naples. This he accordingly performed, May 12th, 1495, in the costume of Eastern Roman Emperor—a scarlet mantle trimmed with ermine, a crown closed in front, a golden globe in his right hand, a sceptre in his left.

Although Charles had perhaps determined to abandon his new conquest before he heard of the league which had been formed against him, the intelligence of it certainly quickened his movements. The French character seems scarcely to have altered since those days. The Court of Charles diverted itself with little interludes, or *soties*, in which the parties to the coalition were turned into ridicule. But the laughter was mingled with alarm. Nothing could be worse advised than the course pursued by Charles in this conjuncture. He should either have evacuated Naples entirely, or resolved to hold it against all comers; instead of which, he divided his army, starting himself from Naples, May 20th, at the head of 1,000 lances (or 6,000 horse), and 5,000 foot, leaving the rest of his army under command of Colonna and Savelli, two Ghibelin Roman nobles, who subsequently repaid his

confidence and favour by deserting him. The arrangements made by Charles for the conduct of the government were equally imprudent. His cousin, Gilbert of Bourbon, Count of Montpensier, who seldom quitted his bed till noon, was named Viceroy; while Etienne de Vesc, whose sole merit consisted in having advised the expedition, and who had been made Duke of Nola and Governor of Gaeta, was intrusted with the finances. There was, however, neither money in the treasury nor provisions or ammunition in the fortresses. The only good appointment was that of Robert Stuart, a Scot of noble birth, and in France Lord of Aubigny, who was made Constable of Naples and Governor of Calabria. D'Aubigny had led the French van, and proved himself a good soldier. The French returned through the Roman States without molestation. The Pope had fled with his troops to Perugia, nor could Charles's protestations of friendship induce him to return.

In Florence many changes had been effected since the French King passed through it. The expulsion of the Medici had necessitated a new form of government. The chief counsellors on this occasion were two doctors of laws, Paoloantonio Soderini and Guidantonio Vespucci. Soderini, who had been ambassador at Venice, proposed as a model, the constitution of that Republic; and the Florentines, comparing its stability with the frequent changes in their own government, were for the most part inclined to adopt his views. He proposed to abolish the Councils of the Commune and of the People, and to substitute for them a *Consiglio Maggiore*, or Greater Council, like the Venetian *Gran Consiglio*, in which the people should elect magistrates and pass laws; and a smaller Council of *Ottimati*, or chief men, forming a kind of Senate, like the Venetian *Pregati*. He was for retaining the Signoria, or executive government, the *Otto*, or Eight, the *Dieci*, or Ten, and the Gonfaloniers.[1] The only opposition to these plans regarded the two Councils, and especially the greater one. Vespucci, and those of the aristocratic party who were unfriendly to the Medici, and desired a restoration of the government which had prevailed under the Albizzi,[2] objected that the great Council of Venice was composed of gentlemen; that the Venetians had had from the earliest times a numerous and powerful aristocracy, which had never been seen at Florence; that the Medici had destroyed what

[1] The *Otto* were a sort of board of police. The *Dieci* arbitrated in civil complaints and causes, and often prevented law suits. The *Gonfalonieri delle compagnie* were a kind of captains of quarters or districts.

[2] See above, p. 49.

little difference once subsisted between the various orders, and reduced all to a dead level, which admitted only an absolute democracy or an absolute tyranny; and that even the Venetian populace were more serious and tranquil then the Florentine. To which it was replied, that the Venetian people had not, like the Florentines, the right of citizenship, which rendered a plebeian of Florence equal to a noble of Venice. It was further urged that the establishment of too narrow a government would breed discontent and riot, and thus produce either an unbridled licence or the return of the Medici.

This last reason apart, it can hardly be doubted that abstractedly the view of Vespucci and his party was the wiser one; for experience has shown that no free constitution can for any lengthened period maintain itself without a considerable admixture of aristocracy. Proofs of this may be seen on the one side in the histories of Rome, Venice, and England; on the other, in those of Florence, Genoa, and France. But Soderini's views prevailed, chiefly through the preaching of Savanarola, whose sermons at this period were almost entirely political. The monk of St. Mark's threw himself vehemently into the popular party; but his aims were not altogether those of Soderini. His wish was to convert Florence into a theocracy, of which Christ was to be Head and King; that is, in other words, Savonarola himself and his monks. He did not, indeed, seek any actual share in the government; he was only to be the Prophet of the Republic; but we may see by the example of Calvin at Geneva that the spiritual head of a theocratic State is absolute. To enforce his views, he assumed the prophetic character which he had gained by one or two lucky predictions; and his pretensions were aided by the superstition and the belief in the supernatural which then prevailed. Hence he did not scruple to proclaim from the pulpit that the Virgin Mary counselled the new constitution, and that the Lord commanded the abolition of Parliaments![1] It should also be stated that the services which he had rendered to Florence in its transactions with the French, had naturally given him some influence with the more sober politicians, and they were not averse from employing his influence in favour of their views.

Florence now became divided into three parties, first: those who supported the new constitution and Savonarola. These were called *Frateschi* (followers of the friar) and *Bianchi* (or Whites).

[1] Villari, vol. i. p. 412.

At a later period they got from their adversaries the name of *Piagnoni*, or weepers. Secondly, those who favoured the new order of things, but were not followers of Savonarola. They were mostly rich and powerful men, who hated the Medici. From their violence, they obtained the name of *Arrabiati*, or raving madmen; and later, from their love of good cheer, that of *Compagnacci*, jolly companions, or Libertines. The chief of this party was Pietro Capponi, a man of ancient family, whose defiance of the French King has been related. A brave soldier and good captain, he got the name of "the Arm of the Republic;" but he was better in the field than in the council-chamber. He had little faith in Savonarola.[1] Lastly, there was a third party, which secretly were partisans of the Medici. These were called *Bigi*, or Greys. The chief supporters of Savonarola were Soderini and Francesco Valori, afterwards called "the Florentine Cato," a man of more heart than head.

Such was the political state of Florence, when in 1495 Charles VIII. again marched through Tuscany on his retreat from Naples. Savonarola went out to meet him at Poggibonsi, where, assuming his sacred and prophetical character, he reproached the King both with his negligence in reforming the Church and the breach of his engagements with Florence; and he warned Charles that if he did not alter his conduct the hand of God would lie heavy upon him.[2] The Prophet, however, was not blind to the temporal interests of his country. He insisted that Charles should restore Pisa to the Florentines, which city had formed a coalition with Siena and Lucca. Charles faltered out an ambiguous answer, postponing his decision; but in point of fact he decided for the Pisans, as he left a French garrison in that city, as well as in the other maritime places.

Charles resumed his march for Lombardy, June 23rd. That land had already become the theatre of war. Lodovico Sforza had summoned Louis, Duke of Orleans, to evacuate Asti and renounce his pretensions to Milan; but the troops sent to enforce this summons were repulsed by the Duke of Orleans, who, following up his success, surprised Novara (June 11th), which was delivered to him by a party unfriendly to Sforza. Lodovico would probably have been overthrown had Louis marched straight to Milan; but he had not courage enough for so bold a step, and his delay enabled Lodovico to procure a number of lance-knights

[1] "Poco al Frate credeva."—Capponi, t. iii. p. 36.

[2] Villari, ii. 345.

from Germany, besides other reinforcements. With part of these he blockaded the Duke of Orleans in Novara, and the rest were despatched to the neighbourhood of Parma, where the Venetian army, under Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, was assembling, to arrest the progress of Charles. Their force was reckoned at 35,000 combatants, among whom were 2,600 lances, and from 2,000 to 3,000 Stradiots,[1] a sort of irregular light cavalry levied by the Venetians in their Greek and Albanian dominions, whose mode of fighting somewhat resembled that of the Arabs. The numerical superiority of the Allies seems to have inspired them with a contempt for the French, whom they suffered to pass unmolested the defiles of the Apennines, between the Lunigiana and the Parmesan, through which the infantry were obliged to drag their guns during five days of assiduous and exhausting toil. At length the French army stood on the plains of Lombardy (July 5th), at the village of Fornovo on the Taro. The sight of the numberless tents which covered the hills above that stream struck Charles and his generals with alarm, and he tried to negotiate with the two Venetian *Provveditori*—functionaries who generally accompanied the Venetian armies to act as a check upon the commanders. He merely requested a free passage, and repudiated any intention of attacking the Duke of Milan or his Allies. The Venetians, however, decided for a battle.

Charles when he entered Italy had been obliged to raise money by pawning ladies' jewels; but now on his return his army of 10,000 men was accompanied and impeded by a baggage train of 6,000 beasts of burden: a strong proof of the rich spoil they were carrying away. Besides this booty a great many works of art, as sculptures, bronze gates, architectural ornaments, &c., had been seized at Naples and shipped for France, but were recaptured by a Biscayan and Genoese fleet.[2] After the French had crossed the Taro, this enormous baggage train, which had been placed in the rear for safety, naturally drew the attention of the Allies, whose first attack was directed to that quarter; and the King himself, hastening with his household troops to defend the baggage, precipitated himself into a danger from which he escaped only by the fleetness of his horse. But the hope of plunder proved a snare to the Allies. The Stradiots, instead of charging the French *gens d'armes*, as they were ordered, made towards the baggage to share the spoil, and were soon followed by other troops;

[1] From στρατιώτης, a soldier.

[2] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 382 sq. p. 274, Cf. Muratori, *Ann. d'Italia*, t. ix.

meanwhile the main body of the French came up, and easily overthrew the disordered ranks of the Allies (July 6th).[1]

The battle of Fornovo, which lasted only an hour or two, cost the Italians between 3,000 and 4,000 men, whilst the loss of the French was only about 200. The safety of their army was now assured, which arrived before Asti without further molestation, July 15th. The Italians proceeded to join the Duke of Milan, who, as we have said, was blockading the Duke of Orleans in Novara. Meanwhile the careless Charles was solacing himself in his camp at Asti with a new mistress, Anna Soleri, regardless of the pressing solicitations for help which he received from the Duke of Orleans; and it was not till September 11th that he moved forward to Vercelli on the road to Novara. Negotiations for peace had however been entered into with Sforza and the Venetians, through the mediation of the Duchess of Savoy, and on the 10th of October a treaty was signed at Vercelli, by which it was agreed that Novara should be evacuated. Lodovico Sforza engaged to acknowledge himself the vassal of the French King for Genoa, and to permit that city to fit out armaments for the service of France; he agreed to remain in the Venetian league only so long as nothing was meditated against France; to allow the French a passage through his territories, and even to accompany Charles to Naples, if he returned into Italy in person. Charles on his side promised not to support the pretensions of the Duke of Orleans to Milan, and Lodovico agreed to pay 50,000 ducats to that Prince, and to cancel a debt of the King's of 80,000. The Venetians would not directly accede to this treaty; but they declared that they had no war with the King of France on their own account, and that they had merely seconded the Duke of Milan as their ally. Charles also cultivated the good will of the Florentines by sacrificing to them the Pisans, though an amnesty was stipulated in their favour. Without waiting for the execution of these arrangements, he hastened back to France, leaving a corps at Asti under command of Trivulzio; and reaching Lyon, November 9th, after fourteen months' absence, he again abandoned himself to pleasure, from which not even the death of his only son Roland could snatch him.

Charles had not quitted Naples a week when his competitor, Ferdinand II., landed at Reggio with an army composed of Spanish and Sicilian troops. We have already mentioned the protest of Ferdinand of Aragon against Charles's enterprise;

[1] For this epoch, and in general for the Italian wars, see Rosmini, *Vie de Trivulce.*

and he had now sent a body of Spaniards to aid the Neapolitan King, under command of Gonsalvo de Cordova; but that commander was completely defeated at Seminara by Stuart d'Aubigny with a small body of French and Swiss, and compelled to re-embark for Sicily. Thus Gonsalvo was unsuccessful in his first battle; but it was the only one he ever lost. Ferdinand II., however, did not despair. His party in Naples was daily increasing, and speedily returning with a mere handful of soldiers, he ventured to land within a mile of that city. Montpensier, who went out to oppose him with nearly all his garrison, had scarcely left the town when his ears were saluted with the sound of alarm bells from all the churches. At this signal for insurrection the Viceroy hastened back; an obstinate fight ensued in the streets, in which the French were worsted and obliged to shut themselves up in the Castle of St. Elmo, the Castello Nuovo, and the Castello d'Uovo, whilst Ferdinand entered the city amid the acclamations of the multitude. This happened on July 7th, a day after the battle of Fornovo. Nearly the whole of the southern coast now raised the banner of Ferdinand II., and the Venetians assisted in recovering several towns on the Adriatic.

The French at Naples were soon starved into surrender. Montpensier, in violation of a capitulation which he had entered upon, had previously quitted the castles with 2,500 men, with whom he succeeded in embarking, and landed at Salerno. The French might still have supported themselves in Italy had they received any assistance from Charles VIII.; but for this, with exception of a small body of infantry landed at Gaeta, they looked in vain. The sensual Charles, sunk in indolence and luxury, which had produced a bad state of health, was completely governed by Cardinal Briçonnet, who had been bribed, it is supposed, by the Pope and the Duke of Milan; and he threw so many obstacles in the way of a second Italian expedition that Charles gave it up in disgust. Montpensier, aided by some Roman and Neapolitan barons, continued the war, till he was shut up by Ferdinand and his allies at Atella in the Basilicata; when, being deserted by his Swiss and other German mercenaries, he was forced to make a second capitulation (July 20th, 1496), by which he surrendered most of the places held by the French, on condition of their being allowed to return to France with their personal effects. The French troops were cantoned at Baiæ and the neighbourhood to await transport, where an

epidemic broke out which carried off great numbers of them, including Montpensier himself. It is said that Ferdinand II. had purposely selected these unhealthy quarters.[1] Soon after the fall of Atella, Gonsalvo de Cordova defeated D'Aubigny in Calabria, and compelled him also to retire to France.

The Kingdom of Naples, or of Sicily this side the Faro, was thus again brought under obedience to Ferdinand II., who, however, did not long live to enjoy his success. Having contracted an incestuous marriage with his aunt, Joanna, who was of much the same age as himself, he retired for the honeymoon to the Castle of La Somma, at the foot of Vesuvius, where he shortly after died, September 7th, 1496, at the age of twenty-seven. He was succeeded without opposition by his uncle Frederick II., a popular and able Prince. Frederick soon compelled the French garrisons in Gaeta, Venosa, and Taranto, which had been excepted from Montpensier's capitulation, to evacuate those places, and embark with the body of the French army. Thus before the close of 1496 all trace of Charles's rapid conquest had disappeared. Its effects, however, remained; especially it had inspired the more warlike, or less thinking, portion of the French people with a blind ardour for distant conquests; and the like passion had also been roused in the Germans and Spaniards who served in these wars. Italy, prostrate by its own quarrels, seemed to offer an easy prey to the foreigner; nor did this foretaste of danger suffice to re-unite its peoples.

War had continued to rage in Tuscany, where Lucca, Siena, and Pisa still resisted the domination of the Florentines. The French generals had neglected to carry out the arrangement of Charles with the Florentines, and Leghorn alone had been restored to them. At Pisa, the French commandant, Entraigues, infatuated by love for a Pisan *belle*, had been persuaded by her to give up the citadel to the inhabitants instead of to the Florentines, whilst other French officers sold Sarzana and Pietra Santa to the Genoese and Lucchese. Pisa, protected by Lodovico Sforza and the Venetians, retained its independence fourteen years. Lodovico persuaded the Emperor Maximilian to undertake the siege of Leghorn in person, at the head of the allied forces; but the enterprise proved a ridiculous failure.

At the beginning of 1497 Charles VIII. made some feeble attempts to revenge himself on Sforza for the loss of Naples. Some 12,000 men, under Trivulzio and Cardinal Julian della

[1] Muratori, *Annali*, t. ix. p. 386.

Rovere, made an attack upon Genoa, which entirely failed; and a truce of six months was then agreed upon between France and the allies. A blow struck at Milan might probably have been successful; but the Duke of Orleans, now, by the death of the Dauphin Roland, heir presumptive of the French Crown, had incurred the jealousy of Charles, who felt no inclination to support his claims to the Milanese. On the expiration of the truce in October, it was renewed only between France and Spain. Ferdinand the Catholic, who had no more regard for the bonds of kinship than for the faith of treaties, had already begun to harbour designs against the dominions of his Neapolitan cousin, which were to be carried out in conjunction with France.

During Charles VIII.'s brief stay at Naples, the Spanish Sovereigns had negotiated some marriages for their children, which were destined to have an important influence on the future fortunes of Europe. The expedition of Charles had had great effect in opening out wider views and a larger policy among Princes. Hitherto the marriages of Spanish Kings had been mostly confined to the Peninsula; but an important marriage treaty was now negotiated with the House of Austria. It was arranged that Don John, Prince of Asturias,[1] the heir apparent of Spain, should marry Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and that the latter's son, the Archduke Philip, heir of the Netherlands in right of his mother, should espouse Joanna, second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. In the following year (October, 1496), a marriage, which had been arranged as early as 1489, was also contracted between Catharine, youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Arthur, Prince of Wales, son of our Henry VII. Towards the autumn of 1496, a large Spanish fleet conveyed Joanna to Flanders, and she was married to Philip at Lille. In the ensuing winter, the same fleet carried Margaret to Spain, who was united to Don John at Burgos, April 3rd, 1497; but the youthful bridegroom did not long survive. Soon after this marriage was celebrated that of Isabella, eldest daughter of the Spanish Sovereigns, with Emanuel, King of Portugal, who had succeeded to the Portuguese throne on the death of his cousin, John II., in 1495. Isabella was the widow of Emanuel's kinsman, Alfonso. Bred up

[1] The title of *Prince of the Asturias* was appropriated to the heir apparent of Castile, in professed imitation of that of *Prince of Wales*, and was bestowed on the Infant Don Henry, afterwards Henry III., on occasion of his marriage with the daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, in 1388. Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 317 sq., and 322, note.

in all the bigotry of the Spanish Courts, Isabella stipulated, as the price of her hand, that Emanuel should banish the Jews from his dominions; and that otherwise enlightened monarch, blinded by the passion which he had conceived for Isabella during her residence in Portugal, consented to a measure which in his heart he disapproved. On the death of Don John, the only male heir to Castile (October 4th, 1497), the succession devolved to Isabella, who, however, also died in giving birth to a son, August, 1498. This child died in his second year, and thus Joanna, Isabella's next sister, became the heiress of the Spanish Crowns. But to return to the affairs of Italy.

Alexander VI., in whom Savonarola inspired a kind of terror, and who had long hesitated to attack the Florentine prophet, at length prohibited him from preaching; but Savonarola continued to thunder against the corruption of Rome and to invoke the vengeance of heaven upon that City. His asceticism took every day a more rigid form, and at length began to breed dissension in Florence. On Shrove Tuesday, 1497, he caused to be burnt in the public place a pile of books, pictures, musical instruments, &c., obtained from their possessors either voluntarily or by compulsion; but the charge that rare manuscripts and valuable works of art were destroyed on this occasion seems to be unfounded, or at all events exaggerated.[1]

It was from the midst of orgies, which might vie in filthiness with those of the worst and most shameless of the heathen Roman Emperors, that the Pope launched against his Florentine censor the most awful of his spiritual weapons. The wickedness and crimes of the Papal family were this year more than usually conspicuous. Julia Farnese, the Pope's mistress, called from her beauty Julia Bella,[2] with whom he lived in open sacrilegious adultery, and who was accustomed to parade herself with unblushing effrontery in all Church festivals, bore him a son in the month of April. Nor was the stain of blood wanting. In July, Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, the Pope's eldest and favourite son, having supped with his brother Cæsar, Cardinal of Valencia, at the house of their mother Vanozza near the Church of St. Peter in Vinculis, they rode home together on their mules, but parted company on the way. The Duke was never more seen alive; but his body, bearing nine wounds, was found next even-

[1] On this subject see Villari, lib. iii. cap. 6.

[2] She was a sister of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (Pope Paul III.) and married to one of the Orsini family. Alexander VI. caused Pinturicchio to paint a picture of her in the character of the Virgin, with himself in the act of adoration! See Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. i. p. 355.

ing in the Tiber, into which it had been thrown, at a place where it was usual to discharge into the river all the filth of the City. Contemporary testimony points almost unanimously to his brother the Cardinal as the murderer.[1] It was in fact, as Michelet well expresses it, a change of reign—the accession of Cæsar Borgia. With a few inches of steel the Cardinal of Valencia had achieved much. He had made himself the eldest son—the heir; and compelled his father to unfrock him, to make him a layman, in order that he might found the fortunes of the House,[2] as we shall presently have to tell. But the stroke fell upon Alexander like a thunderbolt. He confessed his sins in open Consistory, and announced his intention of amending his life. His repentance, however, was of short duration. In a few days he resumed his old habits, transferred to the murderer all the affection he had felt for the victim, and recompensed himself for his short abstinence by a new outbreak of debauchery and cruelty. It was about this time also that Alexander pronounced a divorce between his daughter Lucretia and her husband, Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, from whose protection she had withdrawn herself.

With all his enthusiasm, Savonarola was not yet prepared for schism; he submitted for awhile to the Pope and abstained from preaching. During the carnival of 1498, however, he remounted the pulpit with fresh vigour; and, being now resolved to venture everything upon the struggle, he openly attacked the infallibility of the Pope, and wrote letters to the principal Sovereigns of Europe, urging them to call a General Council and depose him. Enraged by the monk's contumacy, Alexander threatened the Florentines with interdict unless they prohibited him from preaching. An interdict would have injured their trade, and a *Pratica*, or extraordinary council, forbade Savonarola to mount the pulpit; and at this juncture an incident occurred which put an end to his labours and his life.

The supremacy of the Dominicans had long excited the jealousy and envy of the other mendicant orders, and the declining fortunes of Savonarola seemed to offer an opportunity

[1] Roscoe, in his *Life of Leo X.* (vol i. p. 227, ed. 1827), has endeavoured, but without success, to clear Cæsar Borgia of all blame in this transaction; the best recent historians, Sismondi, Ranke, Michelet, and others, still adhere to the old tradition, which has been confirmed since Roscoe wrote, by another contemporary authority, the *Diario* of Sebastiano de' Telini, extracts of which have been published by Ranke (see *Popes of Rome*, Mrs. Austin's transl. vol. i. p. 50). Roscoe is perhaps more successful in his vindication of Lucretia Borgia, whose life, at all events after her marriage with Alfonso d'Este, seems to have been irreproachable.

[2] *Renaissance*, p. 100.

for his destruction. Francesco di Puglia, a Franciscan friar of St[a] Croce, had in his sermons often denounced Savonarola as a heretic and false prophet, and he now proposed that to prove the truth of their respective doctrines both should enter the fire.[1] Savonarola took no notice of this challenge; but there was in St. Mark's one Fra Domenico da Pescia, who had recently had a violent personal dispute with Francesco about his Prior's teaching; and being of a warm and fanatical temper, and a devoted disciple of Savonarola, he signified he willingness to accept the proof proposed. With this view he published his master's three "Conclusions:"—1. The Church of God wants renovation: it will be scourged and renewed. 2. Florence, also, after the scourging, will be renewed and prosper. 3. The Infidels will be converted to Christ. And he invited all to subscribe them who were willing to maintain their truth or falsehood by the ordeal of fire. Francesco declined to enter the flames with Domenico, but offered to do so with Savonarola; who, however, would not sign his own propositions. The party of the *Compagnacci*, or Libertines, at this time prevailed in the Signory; they thought it a good opportunity to ruin Savonarola, and fomented the quarrel by again publishing the "Conclusions" and inviting signatures. The trial now seemed to be inevitable. Savonarola had often told the people that his words would be confirmed by supernatural signs, and the time seemed to be come. The *Piagnoni* were as desirous of the trial as the *Compagnacci*, for they were confident that their Prophet would enter the fire and work a miracle. As to Savonarola himself, though he disliked the experiment in his own person, yet he was inwardly satisfied with Domenico's ardour, and with seeing that fate concurred to make the trial necessary. Domenico, he reasoned, could not be so ardent unless inspired by God; and he thought it natural enough that the Lord should work a miracle to confound his adversaries. One Fra Silvestro, too, in whose visions he believed, had seen the angels both of Domenico and Savonarola, who had told him that Domenico would come out unharmed. As to himself, Savonarola alleged several reasons why he should not enter into such "miserable contests;" and he even somewhat abated his pretensions to prophecy. "For myself," he declared, "I reserve myself for a greater work, for which I shall always be ready to give my life." A pretty plain confession that he thought he should be burnt on this occasion.

[1] The following account of this singular contest is taken from Villari, lib. iv. cap. 7.

The Signory had fixed a day for the trial; and they decreed that if Domenico should perish in it, Savonarola must leave Florence within three hours. Several Dominican and Franciscan friars, and many lay people of both sexes, had signed the challenge; but the champions selected were Fra Domenico and Fra Giuliano Rondinelli, a brother of Francesco di Puglia. The *Dieci* had still remained friendly to Savonarola, who, on the morning of the trial, sent them a message to take care that neither of the champions should be able to get out and leave his opponent in the fire; and with this view he suggested that the pile should be lit at one end before the monks went in, and at the other directly they had entered![1]

On the morning of the 7th April, 1498, the Dominican friars of St. Mark, in number about 200, marched in solemn procession to the Piazza della Signoria, the place appointed for this singular ordeal. Domenico went first, having a cope of flame-coloured velvet, and in his hand a cross; his head was erect, his countenance serene. Savonarola, clothed in white and carrying the Sacrament, followed the champion of his doctrines. The Procession was closed by the rest of his community, chanting with sonorous voices the psalm, "*Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus.*" Thus they proceeded to the Loggia de' Lanzi, where also the Franciscans had arrived. The Loggia had been divided by a partition in the middle; the side nearest the Palace was assigned to the Dominicans, the further one was occupied by the Franciscans. Before the Loggia was stationed a guard of 300 men, while 500 more were arrayed before the Palace, and an equal number under the opposite Tetto dei Pisani. In the middle of the piazza, from the marble lion called Marzocco near the Palace, towards the Tetto dei Pisani, stretched the pile, composed of wood intermixed with resin and other combustible materials, and having a narrow lane in the middle for the champions.

Various feelings agitated the motley crowd in the piazza. Weepers and Libertines, Dominicans and Franciscans, jostled one another in anxious expectation, while a few more indifferent spectators waited quietly as for some scene in a play. Savonarola, excited by the number of beholders, by the chants of his monks, and by the enthusiasm of Domenico, was anxious to obviate all delay; but Francesco and his brother Giuliano had not appeared in the Loggia, and when Savonarola pressed them

[1] Villari, vol. ii. p. 125.

to make haste and not keep the people waiting, they began to find various pretexts for delay. They objected that Fra Domenico's red cope might be enchanted by Savonarola, they made the same objection to the frock with which he had exchanged it, and when this was doffed, offered other objections of the same kind, which were all complied with. The people, who had been waiting many hours, began to murmur at these delays, and seditious cries were raised. Their discontent was augmented by a heavy shower, which, however, did not disperse them. But fresh objections were started. The Franciscans demanded that Fra Domenico should lay aside his crucifix, to which he assented; but he insisted on entering the fire with the Sacrament. Hereupon a long theological dispute: the Franciscans alleging that the consecrated Host would be burnt, while Savonarola and Domenico maintained, quoting the authority of many doctors, that though the accidents might be destroyed the substance could not. The Signory now lost all patience, and directed that the trial should not take place.

It is said that the whole affair was nothing but a trick, concerted between the Signory and the Franciscans, in order to ruin Savonarola; but this improbable allegation seems to rest only on a suspicion of Fra Benedetto, the biographer and devoted partisan of Savonarola. However this may be, the indignation of the people at the almost ludicrous result is indescribable. Savonarola was abandoned even by his own followers, who exclaimed that he ought to have entered the fire alone, and thus at last have given an indisputable proof of those supernatural powers which he so loudly claimed. To unprejudiced minds, this opinion will probably appear to be not far from the truth. If such was the judgment of Savonarola's friends, we may imagine the triumphant fury of his enemies at the discovery of his imposture. It was with difficulty that he and Fra Domenico regained their convent in safety, escorted by a few troops under their friend Marcuccio Salviati. Here they had to endure a siege from the Libertines and Weepers combined, in which some lives were lost; but Savonarola with Fra Domenico at last surrendered themselves into the hands of the officers of the Signory. They were conducted to the Palace, and imprisoned in separate chambers. Fra Silvestro, who had concealed himself in the convent, was captured on the following day. The Pope, delighted at these events, gave the Florentines his absolution and benediction, and permitted the Signory to try the captive monks. Savonarola was examined under torture, during which he now asserted, now

retracted, his doctrines. Fra Domenico showed more courage and constancy, and would make no retraction. Fra Silvestro, weak both in head and heart, sought only to save his life, confessed anything that was desired, renounced his tenets, and traduced the character of Savonarola. In this extremity of misfortune, Savonarola was deserted even by the monks of St. Mark. In a letter to the Pope, they affirmed that they had been deceived by Savonarola's cunning and simulated devotion, but at the same time they testified to the purity of his life.[1] Alexander absolved them, and empowered the Archbishop of Florence to give absolution for all crimes, even homicide, committed to procure Savonarola's ruin.

In a letter of congratulation to the Signory, the Pope requested them to put Savonarola into his hands alive. This was refused as inconsistent with the dignity of the Republic; but they allowed Alexander to send two Apostolic Commissaries to Florence to try him. They entered Florence amidst shouts from the populace of "Death to the Frate;" which was, indeed, predetermined. The forms of a trial, again accompanied with torture, were repeated, and the three captive monks were condemned to death. Fra Domenico retained his courage and fanaticism to the last, and requested, as a favour, to be burnt alive. On the 23rd of May, the three monks were led forth to execution. On the Ringhiera, a sort of platform in front of the Palace, were erected three tribunals; at that nearest the gate sat the Bishop of Vasona; at the middle one were the Apostolic Commissaries; while the third, close to the Marzocco of Donatelli, was occupied by the Gonfalonier and the Eight. From the Marzocco, as in the former trial, a pile of wood and combustibles extended towards the Tetto dei Pisani; but now, at the further end of it, was a huge stake with a transverse beam, on which the condemned were to be hanged before their bodies were committed to the flames. As they descended the staircase of the Palace they were stripped of their monastic habit, by some friars of their own order belonging to St. Maria Novella; but their frocks were replaced in order to be again taken off by the Bishop of Vasona, when he delivered over the condemned to the secular arm. Next, before the Apostolic Commissaries, they heard their sentence as heretics and schismatics; finally, at the third tribunal, their civil condemnation was pronounced. Savonarola was hanged the last, amid the jeers and insults of the populace. The bodies of the monks, when life

[1] Villari, vol. ii. p. 182.

was extinct, were cut down and burnt; their relics were collected and thrown from the Ponte Vecchio into the Arno.

The aims of Savonarola to reform the Church and to restore civil liberty were laudable; but he failed in the means which he adopted to achieve them, and through a weakness of character which disqualified him from becoming a great reformer. His chief failing was spiritual pride, engendered by seeing the most cultivated people in Europe hang upon his lips and regard him as a prophet. This pride caused his fall, by inducing him to advance pretensions which were untenable, and which, when brought to the test, he had not the courage to support. His conduct was guided by sentiment rather than by reason. He had not the intellectual power of Luther or Calvin. He thought that the Church might be reformed by what he called a "flagellation," and still retain its ancient doctrines and practices; and he did not proceed to inquire whether the abuses in it were founded on a wrong view of religion and a misinterpretation of Scripture. In short, he desired a reformation *within* the Church; which, as we shall see further on, was tried and found wanting. Luther, as he advanced in life, flung off monasticism, while Savonarola clung closer and closer to his Dominican frock and his convent of St. Mark. Hence his influence never extended beyond his immediate hearers and the walls of Florence. He let fall, indeed, some expressions which subsequently induced the Protestants to claim his authority, and Luther published in Germany, in 1523, one of his tracts, in a preface to which he declares Savonarola to be the precursor of his doctrine of justification by faith alone.[1] But though Savonarola may have let fall some words which seem to support that view, in others he expressly repudiates the doctrine. In fact, he does not seem to have had any very clear notions on the subject, and perhaps did not understand the metaphysical question which underlies it, as to the nature of the will.[2] It is at all events certain that he never contemplated separation from the Church of Rome.

A few days after the execution of Savonarola, a letter arrived from the King of France to request his pardon. That King, however, was no longer Charles VIII., but Louis XII. A remarkable change had been observed in the conduct of Charles towards

[1] *Vorrede über Savonarolas Auslegung des* 51 *Psalms.*

[2] Thus in one of his sermons he says: "If I should be asked why the will is free, I answer, because it is the will." Which, as the French say, is *payer de paroles*, and a begging of the whole question whether the will determines itself.—See Villari, i. 166.

the close of his life, the result probably of declining health. He was no longer the trifling dissipated creature of his earlier days; his conversation had become graver, and he had renounced his disorderly life. His expedition to Italy had inspired him with a certain degree of taste, which he displayed at the Castle of Amboise, where he took up his residence early in 1498. Here he began to build on a large scale, and employed sculptors and painters whom he had brought with him from Naples—the first indication of the introduction of Italian art into France. He was meditating another expedition into Italy, and, being sensible of his former mistakes, he resolved to take measures for assuring a permanent conquest. On the 7th of April, 1498, as he was proceeding from his chamber with Anne of Brittany, his consort, to see a game of tennis, in passing through a dark gallery he struck his head against a door. Although a little stunned by the blow he passed on, conversing cheerfully with those around him, when he was suddenly struck with apoplexy, and, being carried to an adjoining garret, expired in a few hours. He had not yet completed his twenty-eighth year.

With Charles VIII. was extinguished the direct line of the House of Valois. The Crown was now transferred to the collateral branch of Orleans, and Louis, Duke of Orleans, descended from the second son of King Charles V. and his consort Valentina Visconti, of the ducal House of Milan, succeeded Charles VIII. with the title of Louis XII. The new King, feeble both in body and mind, was one of those characters to which the absence of strong passions or opinions lends the appearance of good nature, and even of virtue. He was naturally formed to be governed, and with him ascended the throne a prelate who had long been his director, George d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen. Amboise was the first in that series of Cardinal-ministers whose reign in France lasted a century and a half; for though Cardinals Balue and Briçonnet had been members of the Council, they did not enjoy the high post and the influence of Amboise. A man severed by his vocation from the world, without wife or children, and having no family to found, must, it was concluded, be necessarily devoid of avarice and ambition! Yet the clerical profession was precisely that which offered in those days the easiest avenue to wealth combined with the distant prospect of a diadem. The views both of Louis XII. and of his minister were directed towards Italy. The King's heart was set on the conquest of the Duchy of Milan and the recovery of the Kingdom of Naples; the Archbishop wanted

to be Pope, and his best chance of attaining that dignity lay in the success of his master's projects. The *El Dorado* of both lying beyond the Alps, they could afford to be moderate in France. The disinterested Amboise could never be persuaded to accept a second benefice, yet left at his death an enormous fortune, wrung for the most part from the Italians. In pursuance of his schemes, it was necessary that France should be contented and quiet; and the domestic government of Louis XII. was accordingly mild and equitable. One of his first cares was to banish all fear lest he should remember former wrongs when a partisan chief in the war of Brittany, and he hastened to announce as his maxim, "that it would ill become a King of France to avenge the quarrels of the Duke of Orleans." In accordance with it, among other instances, Louis de la Trémoille, the famous captain who had made Louis prisoner at St. Aubin, was confirmed in all his honours and pensions; and Madame Anne of France, with her husband, Peter, Duke of Bourbon, was invited to Blois, and loaded with favours. While the higher ranks were thus propitiated, the middle classes were conciliated by some useful reforms in the administration of justice, and by a government founded on order and economy.

One of the first affairs that engaged the attention of the new King brought him into near connection with the Court of Rome, and decided the colour of his future Italian policy. By the marriage contract between Charles VIII. and Anne of Brittany, that Duchy reverted to his widow upon his death, and was thus again severed from the Crown of France. It was, indeed, provided by that instrument that Anne should contract no second marriage, except with Charles's successor or the heir to the throne; but this clause seemed defeated by the circumstance that Louis XII. was already married, and was without issue. He determined, however, to remove this obstacle by procuring a divorce from his ugly and deformed wife Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI. We have before adverted to the mistake of those who hold that a mutual passion had long existed between Louis XII. and Anne; the Emperor Maximilian, to whom she had been affianced, alone possessed Anne's heart. She had even lived on ill terms with Louis during the life of Charles VIII., but her choice was now restricted to him, and whatever might be her affection for Brittany, the dignity of a Queen of France was not to be despised. She had displayed a somewhat theatrical grief[1] on the death of Charles VIII.; yet in

[1] She introduced the custom of wearing black for mourning. The widowed Queens had previously worn white, whence the name of *Reines blanches*. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 302.

little more than four months after that event she signed a promise of marriage with Louis XII., insisting, however, on much more favourable conditions as to her Duchy of Brittany than she had obtained under her former contract, and which infinitely multiplied the chances of Brittany being again separated from France. Thus Louis, to procure a divorce, stood in urgent need of the Pope's services, just at the time when the latter had withdrawn his son Cæsar, the Cardinal of Valencia, from the ecclesiastical profession, and had determined to make him a great temporal Prince. With this view Alexander had already demanded for Cæsar the hand of a daughter of King Frederick of Naples; and being nettled by a refusal, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the French party. The disgraceful alliance between Louis and the Borgias was thus cemented by their mutual wants, and Cæsar Borgia was despatched into France.

George d'Amboise and his master could not have been ignorant of the strange history of Cæsar Borgia—it was only too notorious. He was, however, well received at the French Court, where his handsome person, sumptuous dress, and magnificent suite attracted general attention. He came provided with the necessary bull for the divorce, and was determined to sell it at the highest possible rate. It was a sale in open market of a solemn function of the Church. The Archbishop of Rouen was gained by a Cardinal's hat and the prospect of the tiara. A bargain was soon struck. Cæsar, who had his father under his thumb, could make and unmake as many Cardinals as should be necessary to secure Amboise's election after Alexander VI.'s death; in return for which he was to be helped by the French arms in recovering the territories claimed by the Church, and converting them into a Principality or Kingdom for himself. Louis also engaged to renounce all attempts upon Naples, except in favour of the House of Borgia; a circumstance from which it appears that the Pope had even then formed designs upon that Kingdom.[1] The divorce was soon granted, though on pleas the most frivolous and unjust; Jeanne defended herself but feebly, and retired to Bourges, where she became the foundress of a religious order. Cæsar Borgia was made Duke of Valentinois in Dauphiné, received in money 30,000 gold ducats, with a pension of 20,000 livres, and the Order of St. Michael. Above all, he was appointed to a company of one hundred lances; and the French flag being thus put into his

[1] See the *Relazione* of Polo Capello, ap. Ranke, *Popes of Rome*, vol. iii. App. p. 252 (Mrs. Austin's transl.)

hands, he assumed the style of Cæsar Borgia "of France." The title was afterwards confirmed by a matrimonial connection with the French royal family, and in May, 1499, he espoused Charlotte, daughter of Alan d'Albret, a near kinsman of Louis XII.; but the young bride remained in France.[1]

Before these negotiations were completed, Cæsar Borgia exhibited a touch of his Italian arts. In hope of extorting further concessions from Louis, he had delayed producing the bull of dispensation for affinity; but the Bishop of Cette, one of the Papal Commissaries, having informed the King that it had been signed by the Pope, and was in Cæsar's hands, Louis caused the ecclesiastical judges to pronounce his divorce. A few days after, the Bishop of Cette died of poison! The King's marriage with Anne of Brittany was celebrated January 7th, 1499.

Louis's designs on Milan were supported by the Venetians, whom Lodovico Sforza had offended by thwarting their views on Pisa; and in February, 1499, they contracted an alliance with France against the Duke of Milan; the French King agreeing to assign to them Cremona and the Ghiara d'Adda, or the country between the Adda, the Po, and the Oglio. The state of Europe seemed to favour the enterprise of Louis XII. In England, Henry VII., occupied in strengthening himself upon the throne, paid little heed to the affairs of the continent. Maximilian bore more ill-will to France, but had less power to show it. As Emperor, he was without revenue or soldiers, nay almost without jurisdiction; his hereditary lands alone afforded him some resources. Towards the end of Charles VIII.'s reign he had been preparing an expedition against France, in order to force Charles to restore Burgundy, and some towns in Artois, which latter, by the treaty of Senlis, were to revert to his son Philip as soon as the latter should come of age, and should do homage for them to the King of France. But although Philip had long since assumed the government of his provinces, and offered to perform the required homage, yet France had on different pretexts deferred fulfilling the stipulations of the treaty. Soon after Louis XII.'s accession, Maximilian penetrated into Burgundy with a considerable army, which, however, he was soon obliged to dismiss for want of the necessary funds to maintain it. But the desire of Louis to enter upon his Italian campaign led him soon after to restore the towns in question to Philip, and to consent that his claims on Burgundy should be referred to arbitration. The Em-

[1] *Relazione* of Polo Capello, loc. cit.

pire, whose States cared more about the Swiss League than the German claims in Italy, soon afterwards engaged in a war with the Swiss, whom Maximilian was striving to reduce under the authority of the newly created Imperial Chamber; and it was in vain that the Duke of Milan sought his assistance. Of all European States, Spain alone had the power and the will for active interference in the affairs of Italy; and Louis XII. had secured the neutrality of that country by the treaty of Marcoussis, August 5th, 1498, by which all the differences between France and Spain had been arranged. Nay, Ferdinand the Catholic probably beheld with pleasure an expedition from which he might eventually hope for some benefit to himself. The only Italian ally of Lodovico Sforza was King Frederick of Naples, who could spare no troops for his assistance; the only foreign Power whose aid he could invoke was the Turkish Sultan, and his application to Bajazet II. was supported by the Neapolitan King. The ravages, however, which the Turkish hordes consequently inflicted on the Venetian province of Friuli, and even as far as the neighbourhood of Vicenza, did not arrest the progress of the French, and only served to cast odium upon the Duke of Milan as the ally of the Moslem Infidels.

The preparations for the Italian expedition were completed about the end of July, 1499.[1] Louis, who did not himself intend to pass the Alps, reviewed his army at Lyon, which consisted of about 23,000 men, with fifty-eight guns. The command was entrusted to three experienced captains, of whom two might be called foreigners; namely, Robert Stuart d'Aubigny, and Trivulzio, by birth a Milanese noble; the third was Louis, Count of Ligni, the patron and master in the art of war of the illustrious Bayard. Lodovico's general, Galeazzo di San Severino, did not venture to oppose the French in the field, and shut himself up in Alessandria; whence, having probably been bribed, he stole away one night to Milan. As soon as his soldiers became aware of his flight, they evacuated Alessandria in confusion, and were pursued and dispersed by the French *gens d'armes*. On the other side, the Venetians had entered all the towns between the Adda and the Oglio without striking a blow. But, what was worse, symptoms of disaffection appeared in Milan itself. The citizens had resolved not to endure a siege, and the Duke's treasurer was murdered in the streets while attempting to levy money. Sforza,

[1] For this period see Jean d'Auton, *Hist. de Louis XII.*, the *Mémoires* of La Tremoille, St. Gelais, le loyal Serviteur, &c.

feeling that he was no longer safe in his capital, set off for Tyrol to seek aid from Maximilian. Milan now declared for the French (September 14th); the other towns followed the example of the capital, and thus the conquest of the Milanese duchy was achieved in less than a month. Delighted at this brilliant success, Louis crossed the Alps to enjoy his triumph, and entered Milan, October 6th, amid cries of *Viva Francia!* His first acts were popular. The citizens were gratified by the promise of a reduction in taxes; but as this could not be effected to any great extent, Louis soon lost the brief popularity he had acquired. After a few weeks' sojourn, he returned to France, having appointed Trivulzio his Lieutenant in the Milanese. Genoa, which after the submission of Milan had again placed itself under the French, was intrusted to the command of Philip of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein, assisted by Battistino Fregoso, the head of the French party in that city.

The French soon became unpopular in Milan. Trivulzio exercised the government intrusted to him in the most tyrannical manner, while the French soldiers made themselves hated and suspected by their extortions, their *brusquerie*, and their amours. The party of the exiled Duke rapidly revived, and an extensive plot was laid to effect his restoration. Sforza had been received by Maximilian at Innsbruck with magnificent promises; but in fact the Emperor had no power to serve him, and was so poor that he even wanted to borrow what money the Duke had succeeded in retaining. Sforza, however, was of opinion that he had better employ it himself; and in spite of the treaty between the French and Swiss, he succeeded in engaging 8,000 or 9,000 of the latter in his service. At the news of his approach by the Lake of Como a general insurrection broke out at Milan (January 25th, 1500); Trivulzio and the Count of Ligni, leaving a garrison in the citadel of Milan, retired to Novara, and thence to Mortara; where they shut themselves up to await reinforcements from France. The capture of Novara had been facilitated by the treachery of the Swiss garrison in the French service, who finding their countrymen better paid and fed by Sforza, passed over to his ranks. The great competition for the hiring of the Swiss, and the consequent influx of money among them, had introduced a lamentable change in their manners. They were become a people of mercenary adventurers, ever ready to sell their blood for gold, which was spent in brutal debauchery; and treachery of course followed, of which we shall have to narrate numerous instances.

The Duke of Milan was naturally very anxious to detach the

Venetians from France; but though he begged them to dictate the conditions of a peace, and though secretly they were not displeased at the reverses of the French, they were not yet prepared to violate their treaty with Louis. Both the French and the Milanese armies had been largely recruited when they met near Novara, April 5th, 1500. The infantry on both sides was almost entirely composed of Swiss; those in the French army, however, had been furnished by the Common League, and marched under the banners of their several Cantons; while those in the ranks of the Duke had been hired without the sanction of their government. The Swiss Diet had issued an order that Swiss should not engage one another, a breach of which would have rendered those in Lodovico's service guilty of treason; and the latter, in consequence, when the French, after a short cannonade were about to charge, withdrew into Novara, and were followed by the rest of the army. In the ensuing night Lodovico's Swiss began to parley with the French, and engaged to evacuate the country on receiving a safe-conduct. As a pretext for their desertion, they clamorously demanded their arrears of pay; and all they would allow the victim of their perfidy was, that he should conceal himself in their ranks when they evacuated the town. On the following morning, Sforza, now old and feeble, put on the frock of a Cordelier, to pass himself off for chaplain of the Swiss mercenaries, and might have escaped in this disguise had not a Swiss soldier betrayed him for a reward of 200 crowns. He was seized and taken to the Castle of Novara. The Swiss in their retreat perfidiously seized Bellinzona, at which Louis XII. was forced to connive; and they thus secured an entrance into the Milanese Duchy.

Consternation reigned at Milan. When Cardinal d'Amboise returned thither accompanied by Trivulzio, a long procession of men and women, with bare heads, and clothed in white, repaired to the town-hall to deprecate his anger for their "accursed rebellion." D'Amboise, however, did not abuse his victory. Only four of the ringleaders were put to death at Milan, and the other rebellious towns were amerced in moderate sums for the costs of the war. Charles d'Amboise, a nephew of the Cardinal's, was substituted for Trivulzio, as Governor of Milan. But Louis XII. did not extend to his Italian rivals the same generosity which he had previously displayed towards his French opponents. Lodovico Sforza was carried into France, and Louis caused him to be confined in the great tower of Loches, where he, like Cardinal

Balue, was shut up in an iron cage eight feet long and six broad. It was only towards the close of his life, which was prolonged ten years, that the hardship of his captivity was mitigated, and the whole Castle laid open to him.[1] Lodovico Sforza had been one of the ablest of Italian Princes. His administration and system of police were excellent; Milan in his hands became the city which it is at present; and it was he who completed the admirable network of Milanese irrigation, by making the gigantic canal which connects its rivers. Leonardo da Vinci, the loftiest and most universal genius of the age, chose Lodovico for his master, and quitted Florence to live at Milan. Besides Lodovico, four or five other members of the Sforza family, including his brother, the Cardinal Ascanio, had fallen into the hands of the French King; who caused Ascanio to be confined in the same tower at Bourges where he himself had been two years a prisoner, and doomed three sons of Galeazzo Maria Sforza to languish in an obscure dungeon. Duke Lodovico's two sons, Maximilian and Francis, found refuge with the Emperor.

The war between Florence and Pisa still continued. In consequence of his alliance with the Florentines Louis XII. sent in June, 1500, a body of troops to aid them in reducing Pisa. The Pisans professed their willingness to submit to the French King, but declared their determination to resist the Florentines to the last gasp. It is said that they received an attack of the French with shouts of *Viva Francia!* which rendered it impossible to bring the French troops a second time to the assault; and it became necessary to raise the siege. The assistance of Louis was of more service to the Borgia family. Alexander VI. and his children hastened to avail themselves of the presence of the French in Italy, in order to push their schemes of ambition and aggrandizement. Lucretia Borgia, who, after her divorce from Giovanni Sforza, had been married to Alfonso, Duke of Biseglia, a natural son of Alfonso II. of Naples, and had been declared perpetual Governess of the Duchy of Spoleto, was now further invested with Sermoneta, wrested from the House of Gaetani. At the urgent entreaty of Pope Alexander, Louis also lent a small force to Cæsar Borgia, to assist the Papal troops in reducing the Lords of Romagna and the March; as Sforza of Pesaro, Malatesta of Rimini, the Riarii of Imola and Forlì, and others. Forlì was obstinately defended by Catharine Sforza, widow of Jerome Riario,

[1] According to another account he died of joy on the day that he was liberated from his cage. See Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxi. § 9; Martin, t. vii. p. 326.

but was at length taken by assault, and Catharine sent prisoner to the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome. By the spring of 1501 all the small principalities of Romagna and its neighbourhood had been reduced; Cæsar Borgia entered Rome in triumph, under the mingled banners of France and the Pope, and twelve new Cardinals were created in order that he might be declared Duke of Romagna and Gonfalonier of the Church. Thus was the French flag prostituted in order to promote the designs of the Pope and his insatiable bastard son. Louis even notified to all the Italian Powers that he should regard any opposition to the conquests of Cæsar Borgia as an injury done to himself; a policy disapproved by all the French council except D'Amboise, to whom Borgia held out the hope of the tiara.

During these proceedings the Pope's family displayed all their characteristic crimes and wickedness. After the capture of Faenza, Astorre Manfredi, its youthful, handsome, and amiable Lord, was murdered, after having been first subjected to the most unnatural and disgusting treatment by Borgia. The Duke of Biseglia, Lucretia's third husband, was stabbed on the steps of St. Peter's (June, 1500,) by a band of assassins hired by her brother, who were safely escorted out of the city, and all pursuit after them forbidden. The Duke, whose wound was not mortal, was conveyed to a chamber in the Pope's palace, where he was tended by his sister and by his wife. The Pope placed a guard to defend his son-in-law against his son, a precaution which Cæsar Borgia derided. "What is not done at noon," he said, "may be done at night." He was as good as his word. Before Biseglia had recovered from his wounds, Cæsar burst into his chamber, drove out his wife and sister, and caused him to be strangled.[1] Borgia's motives for this murder have been variously ascribed to his incestuous passion for his sister and to his hatred of the House of Aragon. Some modern writers[2] have supposed that the crime was perpetrated in order to make room for Lucretia's fourth marriage with Alfonso d'Este, future Duke of Ferrara; a supposition little probable, and founded apparently on a mistake of dates, as this marriage did not take place till towards the end of 1501, instead of a few weeks after the murder.[3] It was accomplished by bringing the influence of France to bear on the House of Este;

[1] Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 50; Cf. Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 101.

[2] Gibbon, *Ant. of Brunswick*, Misc. Works, vol. iii. p. 450 (ed. 1814). Cf. Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte*, B. xi. S. 161; Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 123.

[3] See Muratori, *Ann.* vol. ix. anno 1500; vol. x. anno 1502. Cf. Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol i.

Alfonso was persuaded that it would secure him from the ambition and the arms of Cæsar Borgia. Lucretia became the idol of the poets and literary men who swarmed in the Court of Ferrara, and especially of Cardinal Bembo. Cæsar Borgia, strong in the support of France, was now aiming to establish a Kingdom in central Italy. His projects were aided by the Florentines, who, however, soon became themselves the objects of his attacks, and were compelled to purchase his goodwill by giving him command of a division of their army, with a pension of 3,600 ducats.

In the spring of 1501 the French army was ready to pursue its march to Naples. King Frederick, alarmed at the gathering storm, had some months before renewed the propositions formerly made by his father Ferdinand I. to Charles VIII.; namely, to acknowledge himself a feudatory of France, to pay an annual tribute, and to pledge several maritime towns as security for the fulfilment of these conditions. Louis, however, would not hear of these liberal offers, although Ferdinand the Catholic undertook to guarantee the payment of the tribute proffered by Frederick, and strongly remonstrated against the contemplated expedition of the French King. Ferdinand, finding that he could not divert Louis from his project, proposed to him to divide Naples between them, and a partition was arranged by a treaty concluded between the two monarchs at Granada, November 11th, 1500.[1] Naples, the Terra di Lavoro, and the Abruzzi were assigned to Louis, with the title of King of Naples and Jerusalem; while Ferdinand was to have Calabria and Apulia with the title of Duke. The duplicity of Ferdinand towards his kinsman Frederick in this transaction is very remarkable. For months after the signing of the treaty he left the King of Naples in expectation of receiving succours from him; and it was not till the eleventh hour (April, 1501,) that he announced to Frederick his inability to help him in case of a French invasion.[2] The contemplated confiscation of his dominions was of course still kept in the background, and meanwhile the forces of Ferdinand, under Gonsalvo de Cordova, were admitted into the Neapolitan fortresses. Frederick opened to them without suspicion his ports and towns, and thus became the instrument of his own ruin. He had in vain looked around for assistance. He had paid the Emperor Maximilian 40,000 ducats to make a diversion in his favour by attacking Milan, but Maximilian was detached from the Neapolitan alliance by a counter

[1] Dumont, t. iii. pt. ii. p. 444.
[2] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabel.* vol. iii. p. 20, note.

bribe, and consented to prolong the truce with France. Frederick had then had recourse to Sultan Bajazet II., with as little effect; and this application only served to throw odium on his cause. The recent capture of Modon by the Turks (August, 1500), and the massacre of its Bishop and Christian population, had excited a feeling of great indignation in Europe. Frederick's application to Bajazet was alleged against him in the treaty of Granada; and Ferdinand and Louis took credit to themselves for the desire of rescuing Europe from that peril by partitioning his dominions. Thus religion was as usual the pretext for spoliation and robbery. Nor did Ferdinand's hypocrisy stop there. He made the atrocities at Modon a pretence for getting up a crusade, which served to conceal his preparations for a very different purpose. The armament under command of Gonsalvo de Cordova, the "Great Captain," as he was called after his Italian campaign,[1] did indeed help the Venetians to reduce St. George in Cephalonia; but it returned to the ports of Sicily early in 1501, where it was in readiness to execute the secret designs of the Spanish King. Gonsalvo, the faithful servant of a perfidious master, the ready tool of all his schemes, acted his part well in this surprise of friendship. Alexander VI. had been induced to proclaim the crusade with a view to fill his own coffers. He drove a brisk trade in indulgences, which he now extended to the dead; for he was the first Pope who claimed the power of extricating souls from Purgatory. To carry out the farce, Louis XII. signed a treaty of alliance against the Turks with Wladislaus King of Hungary and Bohemia, and with John Albert King of Poland, brother of that Prince.

The French army, which did not exceed 13,000 men, began its march towards Naples about the end of May, 1501, under command of Stuart d'Aubigny, with Cæsar Borgia for his lieutenant. When it arrived before Rome, June 25th, the French and Spanish ambassadors acquainted the Pope with the treaty of Granada, and the contemplated partition of Naples, in which the suzerainty of this Kingdom was guaranteed to the Holy See; a communication which Alexander received with more surprise than displeasure, and he proceeded at once to invest the Kings of France and Aragon with the provinces which they respectively claimed.[2] Attacked in front by the French, in the rear by Gonsalvo,

[1] The title of Gran Capitan was among the Spaniards nothing more than the usual appellation of the generalissimo; but it became a permanent surname of Gonsalvo on account of his exploits.

[2] The bull of June 25, 1501, dividing the Kingdom of Naples between Louis and Ferdinand and Isabella is in the Supplt. to Dumont, *Corps Dipl.* t. ii. pt. i. p. 1.

Frederick did not venture to take the field. He cantoned his troops in Naples, Aversa, and Capua, of which the last alone made any attempt at defence. It was surprised by the French while in the act of treating for a capitulation (July 24th), and was subjected to the most revolting cruelty; 7,000 of the male inhabitants were massacred in the streets; the women were outraged; and forty of the handsomest reserved for Cæsar Borgia's harem at Rome; where they were in readiness to amuse the Court at the extraordinary and disgusting fête given at the fourth marriage of Lucretia. Rather than expose his subjects to the horrors of a useless war, Frederick entered into negotiations with D'Aubigny, with the view of surrendering himself to Louis XII., whom he naturally preferred to his traitorous kinsman, Ferdinand; and in October, 1501, he sailed for France with the small squadron which remained to him. In return for his abandonment of the provinces assigned to the French King, he was invested with the County of Maine and a life pension of 30,000 ducats, on condition that he should not attempt to quit France; a guard was set over him to enforce the latter proviso, and this excellent Prince died in exile in 1504.

Meanwhile Gonsalvo de Cordova was proceeding with the reduction of Calabria and Apulia. At the commencement of the war Frederick had sent his son Don Ferrante to Taranto, of which place Don Giovanni di Ghevara, Count of Potenza, the young Prince's governor, was commandant. After a long siege, Taranto was reduced to capitulate by a stratagem of Gonsalvo's. A lake which lay at the back of the town seeming to render it inaccessible, it had been left unfortified in that quarter, and Gonsalvo, by transporting twenty of his smaller ships over a tongue of land into the lake, had the place at his mercy. The conduct of Gonsalvo towards the young Prince illustrates both the political morality of those times and the convenient religion by which it was supported. The Great Captain had taken an oath upon the Holy Sacrament that the young Prince should be permitted to retire whithersoever he pleased; but Don Ferrante had scarcely left Taranto when he was arrested and sent to Spain. Gonsalvo was released from his oath by a casuistical confessor, on the ground that, as he had sworn for Ferdinand, who was absent and ignorant of the matter, that Sovereign was not bound by it![1] Thus the devout superstition of the Spaniards could be rendered as flexible in cases of conscience as the atheism of the Italians. The Spaniards

[1] *Vita di Gonsalvo*, p. 90 (ed. Firenze, 1552).

entered Taranto, March 1st, 1502; the other towns of southern Italy were soon reduced, and the Neapolitan branch of the House of Aragon fell for ever, after reigning sixty-five years.

In the autumn of 1501, Louis had entered into negotiations with the Emperor, in order to obtain formal investiture of the Duchy of Milan. With this view, Louis's daughter Claude, then only two years of age, was betrothed to Charles, grandson of Maximilian, the infant child of the Archduke Philip and Joanna of Spain. A treaty was subsequently signed at Trent, October 13th, 1501, by Maximilian and the Cardinal d'Amboise, to which the Spanish Sovereigns and the Archduke Philip were also parties. By this instrument Louis engaged, in return for the investiture of Milan, to recognize the pretensions of the House of Austria to Hungary and Bohemia, and to second Maximilian in an expedition which he contemplated against the Turks. It was at this conference that schemes against Venice began to be agitated, which ultimately produced the League of Cambray.

The treaty between Louis and Ferdinand for the partition of Naples was so loosely drawn, that it seemed purposely intended to produce the quarrels which ensued. The ancient division of the realm into four provinces, though superseded by a more modern one, had been followed in the treaty; disputes arose as to the possession of the Principato and Capitanata; Gonsalvo occupied the former with his troops; and some negotiations which ensued on the subject having failed, Louis instructed the Duke of Nemours to drive them out. In the course of 1502 the Spaniards were deprived of everything, except Barletta and a few towns near Bari. It was in the combats round this place that Bayard, by his deeds of courage and generosity, won his reputation as the model of chivalry and became the idol of the French soldiery. While France was thus winning Naples with her arms, she was preparing the loss of it by her negotiations. Towards the end of 1501, the Austrian Archduke Philip and his consort Joanna, passing through France on their way to Spain, in order to receive the homage of the Spanish States as their future Sovereigns, were magnificently entertained by Louis XII., and experienced such a reception from that monarch as quite won Philip's heart, and made him forget all the former injuries inflicted by the French Court upon his father. Philip and Joanna reached Toledo in the spring of 1502, where they received the homage of the Cortes of Castile; and a few months after Ferdinand also persuaded the punctilious States of Aragon to swear fealty to Joanna, which

they had previously refused to do to his eldest daughter Isabella. But the ceremonious formality of the Castilian Court was irksome to Philip; and as he felt little or no affection for his consort, who was both plain in person and weak in mind, he set off in December for the Netherlands, leaving Joanna behind, who was too far advanced in pregnancy to accompany him. On March 10th, 1503, she gave birth to her second son, Ferdinand. Joanna, who repaid Philip's coolness with a doting and jealous affection, was inconsolable at his departure, and fell into a deep dejection, from which nothing could rouse her.

As Philip was to return through France, Ferdinand commissioned him to open negotiations with Louis; and by the treaty of Lyon it was agreed that both Louis and Ferdinand should renounce their shares of the Neapolitan dominions in favour of the recently affianced infants Charles of Austria and Claude of France. Till the marriage should be accomplished, Louis XII. was to hold in pledge the Terra di Lavoro and the Abruzzi; Ferdinand, Apulia, and the Calabrias; and the contested provinces were to be jointly administered by the Archduke Philip, as procurator for his son, and by a French commissary (April, 1503).

This treaty was evidently in favour of Ferdinand, or rather perhaps of the Archduke Philip, who seems to have exceeded his instructions. Cardinal d'Amboise was entrapped into it by an artifice too gross for any eyes except those blinded by ambition. Ferdinand and Maximilian engaged to assist D'Amboise in attaining the tiara, and they agreed with Louis that a General Council should be summoned for the purpose of deposing Pope Alexander VI. But the King of Aragon, at least, so far from having any intentions to help the French minister to the Papal throne, did not even mean to observe the treaty of Lyon. He had warned Gonsalvo not to attend to any instructions from the Archduke Philip unless they were confirmed by himself, and he continued to send that general reinforcement after reinforcement; while Louis XII., relying on the treaty, had ordered the Duke of Nemours to cease hostilities.[1] Gonsalvo suddenly resumed the offensive with extraordinary vigour and rapidity, and within a week, two decisive battles were fought. On the 21st April, 1503, the Spanish captain Andrades defeated Stuart d'Aubigny

[1] These transactions are very differently related by French and by Spanish historians, whose statements are irreconcileable. But, on the whole, there can be little doubt of the ill faith of Ferdinand, which is proved by his conduct and admitted by Prescott (vol. iii. p. 87).

at Seminara in Calabria, and compelled him to retire into the fortress of Angitola, where he soon afterwards surrendered. On the 28th of April, the Great Captain himself defeated the Duke of Nemours at Cerignola, near Barletta, when the French army was dispersed and almost destroyed, and the Viceroy was killed in the engagement. The remnant of the French retired on the Garigliano and to Gaeta; most of the Neapolitan towns, including the capital, opened their gates to the conqueror; Gonsalvo entered Naples May 14th, 1503; and the French garrisons in the castles of that city were soon afterwards reduced, chiefly by the famous engineer, Pedro Navarro. By the end of July the French had completely evacuated the Neapolitan territory, which thus fell into Ferdinand's possession.

Nothing could exceed the grief and anger of Louis at this intelligence. Philip shared his resentment, and intimated to Ferdinand that he would not quit the French Court till the treaty of Lyon had been ratified; but the Catholic King, regardless of the reproaches addressed to him, pretended that Philip had exceeded his powers and refused to sign. Louis dismissed the Spanish envoys, and resolved not only to attempt the recovery of Naples, but also to attack the Spanish frontier. The Sire d'Albret and the Marshal de Gié were directed to cross the Bidasoa and advance towards Fuenterabia with 400 lances and 5,000 Swiss and Gascon foot; while the Marshal de Rieux attacked Rousillon with 800 lances and 8,000 infantry. Another army under Louis de la Trémoille, the best general of France, was despatched across the Alps, and was to be reinforced in Italy by large bodies of Swiss and Lombards, and by troops contributed by the Tuscan Republics and the little Princes of central Italy.

Among these Princes Cæsar Borgia could no longer be counted upon, who had repaid the benefits of Louis by conspiring against him with the Spaniards. Cæsar Borgia had usurped the Duchy of Urbino, the Lordship of Perugia, and several other places, the possession of most of which he obtained by means of the basest treachery, or by those arts of address and persuasion in which this consummate villain is said to have been a master. He obtained Urbino by requesting the Duke, as a friend, to lend him his artillery, with which he entered the town as a conqueror. Macchiavelli regards the bringing together of so many small States as a political benefit, which should not only lead us to overlook the crimes of Borgia in effecting it, but even to accord him our admiration; yet Pope Alexander in vain endeavoured to

persuade the College of Cardinals to unite these conquests into a Kingdom of Romagna in favour of his son. Borgia, however, as will appear in the sequel, was unwittingly labouring not for himself but for the Holy See.

Louis XII. had resolved to break with Cæsar Borgia; yet it was necessary to prevent Alexander VI. from throwing himself into the arms of Spain, and the French Court was negotiating with that Pontiff when news was unexpectedly brought of his death. Alexander seems to have fallen a victim to his own infernal machinations. He regarded the Cardinalate as a means for raising the enormous sums required to maintain the luxury of the Pontifical court, the armies of Cæsar Borgia, the profligate extravagance of Lucretia, and the establishments of his other bastards and nephews. With this view he sold the dignity of Cardinal at prices varying from 10,000 to 30,000 florins; he entrusted these venal Princes of the church with employments which enriched them, and then caused them to be poisoned in order to seize their property, and re-sell their benefices and dignities. Altogether he created forty-three Cardinals, scarce one of which appointments was gratuitous. But he was at length caught in his own trap. He had invited Cardinal Adrian of Corneto to a little banquet at his vineyard, the Belvedere, near the Vatican, and an attendant was instructed to serve the guest with poisoned wine. The man, however, mistook the bottles; the fatal draught was administered to Alexander himself and his son, as well as to their intended victim, and all three were seized with a violent illness which in a week put an end to the Pope's life at the age of seventy-two[1] (August 18th, 1503). Cæsar Borgia and Adrian ultimately recovered. Thus perished through his own machinations one of the greatest monsters who ever sullied the Pontifical throne. Alexander VI. first established the ecclesiastical censorship of books, which has contributed to support the abuses of the Papacy against the attacks of reason and true religion. It was in his Pontificate that the mole of Hadrian was fortified by the architects Giuliano and Antonio da S. Gallo in the manner in which it still exists as the Castle of St. Angelo.

[1] According to other accounts Alexander VI. was carried off by a fever. The authorities and opinions for and against the poisoning are collected and discussed by Daru (*Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxi. § 18), and, on the whole, appear to preponderate for it. See in particular a letter of Peter Martyr, dated, 4 id. Nov. 1503. (*Epist.* 264.) The story is rather differently related in one of the documents in Sanuto, where the poison is represented to have been conveyed in some confectionery. See *Successo della morte del Papa Alessandro VI.*, in Ranke's *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 254 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

The moment was now arrived when Cardinal d'Amboise hoped to realize all those dreams of ambition which had led him to connive at and encourage the crimes of Cæsar Borgia. He hastened to Rome, and the march of the French army was arrested at Nepi, in order to support his election by its presence. But D'Amboise had a formidable though unknown competitor in Cardinal Julian della Rovere, who had hitherto appeared the warm ally of France. He was also deceived by Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, whom he had delivered from prison and loaded with benefits, and who had sworn to use his influence in favour of his benefactor. But Ascanio retained at heart a deep hatred for the overthrowers of his family, and he used D'Amboise's confidence only to betray him. He borrowed of D'Amboise 100,000 ducats, under pretence of buying "the voice of the Holy Ghost," while he was secretly arranging D'Amboise's defeat with Cardinal Julian. Julian, after saluting D'Amboise as future Pontiff, represented, that in order to the validity of his election, and to prevent future schism, the French troops ought to be withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Rome, and that such a proof of moderation would only secure him more votes. D'Amboise assented, against the advice of Cæsar Borgia; the Conclave, which had been delayed on various pretexts, was then assembled, and was easily convinced by Cardinals Julian and Ascanio that the election of a French or Spanish Pope would involve Rome in a war. D'Amboise, perceiving that he should not be able to carry his election, transferred his votes to Francesco Piccolomini, Cardinal of Siena, a nephew of Pius II., who was elected September 21st, and took the title of Pius III. The virtues of that Pontiff rendered him worthy of the tiara, which, however, he owed to his infirmities. At the time of his election he was labouring under a mortal disease, which carried him off in less than a month. During his short Pontificate he had meditated assembling a General Council for the reform of ecclesiastical discipline; and some Roman Catholic writers are sanguine enough to suppose that such a step might have averted the Reformation.[1]

D'Amboise soon perceived unequivocal symptoms of another defeat. The Romans to a man were against him, and he found it prudent to retire in favour of Cardinal Julian della Rovere, who had long pretended an attachment to the cause of France. It is said that Julian gained Cæsar Borgia, who still commanded

[1] Muratori, *Annali*, t. x. p. 16.

the votes of the Spanish Cardinals, by assuring him that he was the son, not of Alexander, but of himself. Borgia had no filial weakness, and the known character of his mother Vanozza might lend an air of probability to a story which it was not his interest to reject. It was a grand thing, as Michelet observes, to be the son of two successive Popes! However this may be, the Conclave speedily decided. Cardinal Julian was elected on the first scrutiny, October 31st, and D'Amboise had the mortification of kissing the toe of his former *protégé* and rival, now Pope Julius II. Like his predecessor, Julius had sworn to restore the ancient lustre of ecclesiastical discipline, to call a General Council, and not to make war without the consent of two-thirds of the Sacred College. We shall see in the sequel how he kept his word.

CHAPTER VI.

AFTER the election of Pius III., Cæsar Borgia had returned to Rome to congratulate that Pontiff on his accession; but no sooner did he appear there than he was set upon by the Orsini and their adherents, as well as by other enemies; and Pope Pius offered him the Castle of St. Angelo as a refuge from their violence. After the death of his father Cæsar's power waned fast; and the effects of the poison, from which he was still suffering, prevented him from taking any active steps to retain it. One thing alone, as he told Macchiavelli, had escaped his care and foresight; he had provided for every possible contingency in the event of his father's death, except his own sickness at that critical juncture. A great part of his mercenaries now dispersed themselves; the Venetians attacked some of his towns, others they bought from the ancient Lords of them, whose return they had aided. Some of Borgia's captains, however, remained faithful to him, and he still held Bertinoro, Forlì, Imola, and a few other places. This profligate and cruel man seems, like Lodovico Sforza, not to have been a bad ruler. It is said that the cities reduced under his sway did not regret their ancient Lords; at all events he had conferred on them a benefit by slaying their former tyrants.[1]

Julius II. on his accession to the Papacy immediately resolved to avail himself of Cæsar Borgia's helpless condition to extend the temporal dominion of the Holy See. The classical name of that Pontiff seemed to announce the warlike tenor of his reign; which, however, if hardly more Christian was at all events less scandalous than that of his predecessor. Had Julius, indeed, been a secular Prince, his ideas and projects would have done

[1] Macchiavelli tells us that Romagna had been so badly governed by its former masters, that it was full of robberies, feuds, and all kinds of disorders. Borgia first placed over it a certain Messer Ramiro d'Orco, a man of savage temper and prompt action, who soon reduced it to tranquillity. But D'Orco's severity generated such odium, that Borgia, to avert it from himself, caused his minister to be cut in two and exposed on the public square of Cesena, which tamed and stupefied the people. ("La ferocità del quale spettacolo, fece quelli popoli rimanere sodisfatti e stupidi."—*Il Principe*, cap. vii.) Such were the governments of Italy in those times.

him honour. They ultimately embraced two grand objects: the extension of the Papal territory by the recovery of Romagna, and the expulsion of all foreigners from the soil of Italy. It was not nepotism that urged Julius to undertake his conquests. Although he did not altogether neglect his family, his leading wish was to render the Papal States powerful and respected; that is, in a temporal view; for on the interests of Christianity, or the dangers which threatened the Church, he bestowed not a thought.

Cæsar Borgia had helped Julius to the tiara; but no sooner had the latter got possession of it than he proceeded, partly by threats, partly by caresses, to strip Cæsar of all the possessions he still retained. He was thrown into that very tower at Rome which, from the numerous victims he had himself confined in it, had obtained the name of the "Torre Borgia." As some of his captains, however, refused to give up the fortresses demanded of them so long as their master was in confinement, Julius at length released him, and he succeeded in escaping to Naples. The sequel of his fate may here be briefly told. He was well received at Naples by Gonsalvo de Cordova, who had given him a safe conduct, and pretended to forward his plans; but shortly after, by order of the Spanish Court, he was shipped off to Spain, and kept prisoner nearly three years in the Castle of Medina del Campo. This is the second of those perfidies, committed for the service of a perfidious master, of which Gonsalvo is said to have repented on his death-bed; the other being the betraying of the young Duke of Calabria, before related. Borgia, having contrived to effect his escape, proceeded to the Court of his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, and in the civil wars of that country found a tragical and somewhat romantic death. He was met in a defile near Viana by a band of insurgents, and his gilt armour indicating a person of distinction, he was surrounded by a band of assailants, and fell fighting valiantly for his life. He was endowed with great strength of body as well as personal beauty. At a bull-fight he killed six wild bulls, severing the head of one at the first blow. He was not altogether destitute of good qualities. He possessed liberality, courage, and a certain magnanimity of disposition, but he was abandoned to the most depraved lusts, and of a ferocity so sanguinary that his own father as well as all Rome stood in fear of him. He slew Peroto, one of his father's favourites, while taking refuge under the Papal mantle, so that the blood spurted into Alexander's face.

Yet his father's fear was mingled with love.[1] Cæsar Borgia owed his advancement to being the bastard of a Pope who placed the Roman treasury at his disposal, and to his having found so great a dupe as Cardinal d'Amboise and so stupid a King as Louis XII.

Although Julius II. loaded Cardinal d'Amboise with attentions, that ecclesiastic returned to France dejected and discouraged. The delay of six weeks which his ambitious projects had caused to the French army proved fatal to the campaign. Malaria made great havoc in their ranks, and La Trémoille himself was compelled by illness to resign the command to the Marquis of Mantua, whose talents as a general did not inspire the army with much confidence. Julius II. remained a quiet spectator of the war of Naples. The French still held some places in that Kingdom, which their army had entered about the beginning of October, 1503. They succeeded in relieving the garrison of Gaeta, which was besieged by Gonsalvo, and they afterwards forced the passage of the Garigliano, November 9th: but here their progress was checked. Every opportunity was lost through the indecision of the Marquis of Mantua, who, weary with the reproaches of his officers, at length resigned the command in favour of the Marquis of Saluzzo: a general, however, of no better repute than himself. The seasons themselves were hostile to the French; heavy rains set in with a constancy quite unusual to that climate; and the French soldiers perished by hundreds in the mud and swamps of the Garigliano. The Spanish army encamped near Sessa was better supplied and better disciplined; and at length, after two months of inaction, Gonsalvo, having received some reinforcements, assumed the offensive, and in his turn crossed the river. The French, whose quarters were widely dispersed, were not prepared for this attack, and attempted to fall back upon Gaeta; but their retreat soon became a disorderly flight; many threw down their arms without striking a blow; and hence the affair has sometimes been called the rout of the Garigliano (December 29th). Peter de' Medici, who was following the French army, perished in his retreat, having embarked on a vessel in the river which sank from being overloaded. Very few of the French army found their way back to France. Gaeta surrendered at the first summons, January 1st, 1504. This was the most important of all Gonsalvo's victories, as it completed the conquest of Naples.

[1] "Il papa ama et ha gran paura del fiol ducha."—*Relazione* of Polo Capello, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 253.

The two attacks on Spain had also miscarried. Nothing was accomplished on the side of Fuenterabia. In Roussillon the French penetrated to Salsas and undertook the siege of that place, but on Ferdinand's approach with a large army were compelled to retire into Narbonne. A truce of five months was concluded, November 15th, which was subsequently converted into a peace of three years. Singularly enough, Frederick, the abdicated King of Naples, was employed to mediate this peace between two monarchs who had combined to strip him of his dominions. Ferdinand's conquest was, on the whole, a fortunate event for the Neapolitans, who had been sadly misgoverned, both under the House of Anjou and their first four Aragonese Sovereigns. The Catholic King, during a visit to Naples in 1507, conceded many privileges to the people, and the Neapolitans testified their sense of the benefits conferred on them by observing, during more than two centuries, the anniversary of his death as a day of mourning. His Viceroys subsequently introduced some useful reforms into the law, and resuscitated the venerable University of the capital, which was fast falling into decay.[1]

The power and the policy of Venice had at this period excited great jealousy in the breasts of several European Princes. The Venetians had just brought to a close a war with the Turks. Sultan Bajazet II., who now ruled the Turkish Empire, was addicted to literature and the study of the sacred books of his religion, and had little energy of character, though he sometimes strove to conceal that defect by exaggerated bursts of passion. After his accession the Turkish scimitar was everywhere sheathed, except on the side of Hungary and Croatia. We shall not, however, detail the numerous expeditions of the Turks in that quarter, which present a uniform and disgusting scene of devastation, and shall content ourselves with stating that, in 1497, in revenge for an aggression made on them by the King of Poland, they for the first time succeeded in penetrating into that kingdom. During the first seventeen years of Bajazet's reign the peace between the Venetians and the Porte, though occasionally threatened, remained on the whole undisturbed. The Venetians complained of the Turkish inroads, and the definitive occupation of Montenegro, while the Porte, on its side, was jealous because the Republic had reduced the Duke of Naxos to dependence, and obtained possession of Cyprus (1489). At last, in 1498, the Turks, after making

[1] On this subject see Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1, 2, 5; Signorelli, *Coltura nelle Sicilie*, t. iv. p. 84.

great naval preparations, suddenly arrested all Venetian residents at Constantinople, and in the following year seized Lepanto, which surrendered without striking a blow (August, 1499). Soon after, a body of 10,000 Turks crossed the Isonzo, carrying fire and desolation almost to the lagoons of Venice. In August, 1500, Modon was taken by storm, and those cruelties committed to which we have before referred. Navarino and Koron surrendered soon after, but towards the close of the year the Venetians were more successful. They captured Ægina, devastated and partly occupied Lesbos, Tenedos, and Samothrace, and with the help of a Spanish squadron, and 7,000 troops under Gonsalvo de Cordova, reduced the island of Cephalonia. For this service the grateful Venetians rewarded Gonsalvo with a present of 500 tuns of Cretan wine, 60,000 pounds of cheese, 266 pounds of wrought silver, and the honorary freedom of their Republic.

In 1501 the Venetian fleet was joined by a French, a Papal, and a Spanish squadron, but through want of cordiality among the commanders little was effected. The Turks, however, had not made a better figure; and the Porte, whose attention was at that time distracted by the affairs of Persia, was evidently inclined for peace. The Venetians, from the disordered state of their finances, and the decay of their commerce through the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese, were also disposed to negotiate; although the sale of indulgences, granted to them by the Pope for this war, is said to have brought more than seven hundred pounds weight of gold into their exchequer.[1] The war nevertheless continued through 1502, and the Venetians were tolerably successful, having captured many Turkish ships, and, with help of the French, taken the island of St. Maura. But at length a treaty was signed, December 14th, by which Venice was allowed to hold Cephalonia, but restored St. Maura, and permitted the Porte to retain its conquests, including the three important fortresses of Modon, Koron, and Navarino.

The election of Julius II. placed upon the Papal throne a Pontiff very inimical to the Venetians, on account of their opposition to his ambitious plans. One of the first steps of Pope Julius was to form a league against Venice by the triple alliance of Blois. By these treaties, executed September 22nd, 1504, a perpetual alliance was stipulated between Louis XII., Maximilian I., and his son, the Archduke Philip; and at the same time the Emperor and the French King made an alliance with Pope Julius, which

[1] Bembo ap. Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 540.

laid the foundation of the League of Cambray. The treaties of Blois, which were prejudicial to the true interests of France, are supposed to have been the work of Louis XII.'s consort, Anne of Brittany, who is said to have retained a secret affection for the Emperor Maximilian. The Emperor and the Pope were the chief gainers by the alliance. It enabled Maximilian to put an end to the war of the Bavarian succession, as well as to obtain for his son, the Archduke Philip, Gelderland and Zutphen, by the withdrawal of French aid from his opponents. He defeated Duke Albert of Lower Bavaria, the rightful heir of Charles of Baiern-Landshut, against the attempts of Rupert, son of the Elector Palatine, who had married a daughter of Charles; and with the help of the Suabian League, Maximilian defeated Rupert's forces in a battle in which he displayed great personal valour. In like manner, in 1505, the French King, in consideration of being invested by the Emperor with the Duchy of Milan, withdrew his protection from Charles, Duke of Gelderland, and the Archduke Philip took possession of Gelderland and Zutphen. The Pope also acquired indirectly some advantages from the treaties of Blois. Maximilian, who had not entered earnestly into the league against the Venetians, having given them secret information of it, they immediately entered into negotiations with Julius II., and that Pontiff took what they offered, awaiting his opportunity to get more. By an arrangement effected in 1505, the Holy See obtained the restoration of Porto Cesenatico, Savignano, Tossignano, Sant' Arcangelo, and six other places which the Venetians had seized, while Venice was allowed to retain Rimini and Faenza.

Soon after the execution of the treaties of Blois, Queen Isabella of Castile died (November 26th, 1504), at the age of fifty-three and in the thirtieth year of her reign. She had long been in declining health, and her death is said to have been hastened by the concern which she felt for the lamentable condition of her daughter Joanna, whose dejection, after the departure of her husband Philip from Spain in 1503, began to assume all the appearance of insanity. Early in 1504, Joanna had rejoined Philip in the Netherlands, where her jealousy, for which, indeed, she had but too much cause, gave rise to the most scandalous and disgraceful scenes. These and other symptoms of her daughter's malady led Isabella to provide against its effects by a testament executed a month or two before her death, by which she settled the succession of Castile on Joanna as "Queen Proprietor," and on her husband Philip; and in the event of the absence or inca-

pacity of Joanna, she appointed her own husband, King Ferdinand, to be the Regent of Castile, until her grandson Charles should attain his majority. She also made a large provision for Ferdinand from the revenues of the Indies and other sources.[1]

Isabella's remains were carried to the Alhambra, which had been converted into a Franciscan monastery; but after the death of Ferdinand she was laid by his side in a mausoleum in the Cathedral of Granada. This excellent and amiable Queen seems to have had at heart only the good of her people and the welfare of her family. The sole blemish in her character was that her deep religious feeling, which bordered on superstition, led her to submit her conscience too implicitly to the guidance of her priests and confessors, and thus sometimes betrayed her into acts of bigotry and intolerance. She was otherwise a woman of the best sense and most acute discernment, and is still regarded by the Spaniards as the greatest of their Sovereigns. The Castilians had in general lived contented under her government, which had been conducted many years by two successive Archbishops of Toledo: Don Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, who, by a then not uncommon union of offices, was also High Admiral of Castile, and after Mendoza's death in 1495, by the celebrated Ximenes. Mendoza, from his influence and reputation, had been called "the third King of Spain;" yet his fame has been surpassed by that of his successor. Francis Ximenes de Cisneros, born in 1436, was a Franciscan friar of the Order called *Observantines* or *Recollets*, who adhered to the strictest rule of their founder, while the older portion of the Franciscan Order, styled *Conventuals*, allowed themselves considerable mitigations. Ximenes from his youth had accustomed himself to the most rigorous mortifications, and at one period became a sort of anchorite, living only on herbs and water. He had long been known for his ascetic life, the severity of his principles, and the energy of his character, when in 1492, at the recommendation of Archbishop Mendoza, he was appointed Queen Isabella's confessor. He soon acquired an extraordinary influence over his royal mistress; and, after the death of Mendoza, was made Archbishop of Toledo and High Chancellor of Castile. Under his administration persecution and the terrors of the Inquisition became part and parcel of the government. His severity produced an insurrection of the Moors in the Alpujarras, which ended in

[1] The genuineness of this testament, which has been questioned by Robertson and other historians, is established by Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.* vol. iii. pp. 168 and 199.

their reduction and forcible conversion to Christianity (1502). They now obtained the name of *Moriscoes*. At the same time Ximenes repressed the insolence of the Spanish grandees—a part of his administration grateful alike to Crown and people.

Ximenes was appointed one of the executors of Isabella's will, together with King Ferdinand and four other persons. On the day that his consort expired, Ferdinand, laying down the Crown of Castile, assumed the title of Administrator or Governor, and caused the accession of Philip and Joanna to be proclaimed in the great square of Toledo. The Cortes of Castile, which assembled at Toro, January 11th, 1505, regarding the incapacity of Joanna as established, tendered their homage to King Ferdinand, as Governor in her name; and an account of these proceedings was sent to Philip and Joanna in Flanders. There was, however, a strong party, led by the Marquis of Villena and the Duke of Najara, who wished to see the Archduke Philip Regent of Castile. They promised themselves more licence under the sway of that easy-tempered Prince than under the strict and jealous rule of Ferdinand; and through the channel of Don Juan Manuel, Ferdinand's ambassador at the Court of Maximilian, and one of Philip's warmest partisans, they opened a correspondence with the Archduke. Encouraged by this support, Philip wrote to his father-in-law, desiring him to lay down the government and retire into Aragon. To this uncourteous demand Ferdinand replied with moderation, urging Philip to come to Spain with his wife, but at the same time admonishing him of his incompetence to govern a people like the Spaniards. Ferdinand felt his weakness, and his situation was indeed embarrassing. It was thought probable that Louis XII. would support Philip, whose party had acquired great strength; and it was even suspected that Gonsalvo, the Viceroy of Naples, had been tampered with, and was prepared to place that Kingdom in the hands of the Archduke. Under these circumstances Ferdinand resolved to court the friendship of Louis, and Juan de Enguera, a Catalan monk, was despatched into France to negotiate an alliance with that monarch.

Louis XII. was then in a disposition highly favourable to the views of Ferdinand. Towards the end of April, 1505, he had been seized with so dangerous an illness, that, in expectation of his death, extreme unction was administered to him. In what he imagined to be his last hours, he was struck with remorse at having abandoned the interests of France at his wife's instigation;

by a secret will he revoked all his engagements with the House of Austria, and directed that his daughter Claude, who had been affianced to Philip's son, Charles (*supra*, p. 247), should be given, when of marriageable age, to his cousin and heir, Francis, Count of Angoulême. Although Louis soon afterwards recovered, he still continued in his altered sentiments, and Anne of Brittany was obliged to confirm the new arrangement which he had made.

Louis, therefore, when Ferdinand's ambassador arrived, was disposed to listen to any proposals that were unfavourable to the House of Austria. After apologizing for the wrongs which he had done to France, Ferdinand requested the hand of Germaine of Foix, niece of Louis, and daughter of John of Foix, Viscount of Narbonne ; and he accompanied this proposal with the offer of a new arrangement respecting Naples. This Kingdom was to be the dowry of Germaine, and to descend to her children by Ferdinand ; but in default of issue, the moiety was to return to Louis and his successors. Ferdinand undertook to grant an amnesty to all the partisans of France in Naples, and to restore their possessions ; and he also engaged to pay a million gold ducats, within ten years, for Louis's expenses and losses in the war. These were the principal conditions of a treaty signed at Blois, October 12th, 1505 ; by which the two Sovereigns also promised each other mutual aid and succour, or according to the words of the instrument, they were to be "as one soul in two bodies." The King of England,[1] Henry VII., became security for the due execution of the treaty ; the first advantageous one that Louis XII. had ever made. At the time of this marriage Ferdinand was fifty-three years of age, while Germaine was only eighteen, and of remarkable beauty. She was nearly related to him, being the grand-daughter of the guilty Eleanor, Queen of Navarre, the half-sister of Ferdinand.[2] This marriage roused the indignation of the Castilians, who regarded it as an insult to Isabella's memory. Philip could hardly believe the news of this unexpected alliance

[1] Henry, according to Bernard André, the annalist of his reign, had brought about this peace and alliance ("in viam pacis et concordiæ non sine magna difficultate, illos reduxit"). See *Hist. Regis Henrici VII.* p. 88, edited by Mr. Gairdner for the Rolls Commission.

[2] According to Robertson (*Charles V.* vol. ii. p. 12) and Coxe (*House of Austria*, ch. xxiii.), Ferdinand, with a view to deprive the House of Austria of the Spanish succession, had previously offered his hand to Joanna, surnamed La Beltraneja, daughter of Henry IV. of Castile, who was then residing in a convent in Portugal (*supra*, p. 192), by whom the offer was refused. Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, t. xv. ch. 30) makes Ferdinand afterwards propose for a daughter of King Emanuel of Portugal, that is, for his own granddaughter! Prescott has shown (*Ferd. and Isab.* vol. iii. p. 204, note) that there is no ground for either of these stories.

till he was refused permission to pass through France on his way to Spain, unless he previously reconciled himself with his father-in-law. He now resolved to combat Ferdinand with his own weapons. In order to put that wily monarch off his guard, Philip entered into a treaty with him, which he only meant to observe till he should be able to land in Spain; and by the arrangement called "the Concord of Salamanca," effected November 24th, 1505, it was agreed that Ferdinand should be associated with Philip in the government of Castile, and should enjoy one half of the public revenue.

Philip and his wife Joanna set sail for Spain, January 8th, 1506, with a considerable Netherland fleet. They had not been long at sea when their ships were dispersed by a violent tempest, and that in which Philip and Joanna had embarked was driven into the port of Weymouth in Dorsetshire. Henry VII. profited by the opportunity thus thrown in his way in a manner characteristic of his ungenerous temper. Philip was invited to Windsor, where, though treated with great apparent honour and distinction, he was in reality detained a prisoner, till he had complied with certain demands of the English King. He was compelled to deliver up the Earl of Suffolk,[1] who had taken refuge in the Netherlands; and though Philip, as a salvo for his honour, stipulated for the life of the unfortunate nobleman, yet Henry, as is well known, though he literally observed this condition, violated it in effect by recommending his successor, on his death-bed, to bring Suffolk to the block. Henry also obliged Philip to execute a treaty of commerce between England and the Netherlands, so much to the disadvantage of the latter country that the Flemings gave it the name of the *malus intercursus*, to distinguish it from the liberal treaty, called *magnus intercursus*, which they had obtained from the same monarch in 1496.[2] He likewise extorted a promise from Philip that he would give the Archduke Charles in marriage to his daughter Mary; and that he would, moreover, procure the hand of his sister Margaret, with a large dowry, for the King's second son Henry, though that Prince was already contracted to Philip's sister-in-law, Catharine, daughter

[1] It should be observed, however, that a contemporary account of Philip's reception, drawn up probably by a herald, says that the Archduke offered to give up Ed. de la Pole unsolicited. "And that morning, unaxed, the King of Castile proferred the King to yield Ed. Rebell, &c." See a *Narrative of the Reception of Philip, King of Castile, in England in* 1506, p. 302, edited by Mr. Gairdner, under the Rolls Commission. The commonly received account rests on the authority of Polydore Vergil.

[2] The substance of both these treaties will be found in Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. pp. 8 and 28.

of Ferdinand. A marriage between Henry's eldest son, Prince Arthur, and Catharine, had been celebrated in November, 1501; but Arthur died in the following April; and Henry, unwilling to relinquish the bride's dowry, of which only half had been paid, detained Catharine in England, and caused her to be contracted to his second son Henry, now become heir-apparent. A Papal dispensation, afterwards of such momentous consequence to the Roman See, was obtained, for this Prince's marriage with his brother's widow, which was to have taken place in 1505, when Henry would have completed his fifteenth year; but in order to obtain a hold upon Ferdinand, the English monarch put off the marriage, and caused his son to make a public declaration, that he did not and would not consider himself bound by any engagement made during his minority. At the same time, Henry privately assured Ferdinand that this declaration only regarded other engagements; and that it was still his wish that his son should marry Catharine.

After a detention of three months, Philip and his wife set sail from England, and arrived at Coruña, April 28th, 1506. The marriage of Ferdinand and Germaine had been celebrated a little while before at Dueñas. On Philip's landing, Ferdinand advanced as far as Leon to meet him, but Philip cautiously avoided an interview till his adherents should have assembled, who included most of the Castilian grandees and their followers. Philip had brought with him 3,000 German infantry; and finding, when joined by his party in Castile, that his army amounted to 9,000 men, he flung off the mask, repudiated the Concord of Salamanca, and declared that he would never consent to any infringement of his own and his wife's claim to the throne of Castile. Ferdinand, whose cause was very unpopular, was at this time wandering about from place to place, and some of his own cities shut their gates against him. At length Don Juan Manuel, who directed all Philip's counsels, consented that an interview should take place between this Prince and his father-in-law on a plain at Puebla de Senebria, on the confines of Leon and Galicia, at which, however, Joanna was not permitted to be present, though her father earnestly desired to see her. Philip appeared on the field surrounded by his army in battle array, while Ferdinand could muster only some 200 followers. Nothing, however, could be arranged, either at this meeting or a subsequent one which took place at a hermitage in the neighbourhood; and Ferdinand having conceived strong suspicions of the fidelity of his Viceroy Gonsalvo,

determined to proceed to Naples. With this view he consented to all Philip's demands, and by an agreement made June 27th, resigned the sovereignty of Castile to him and Joanna, reserving the revenue granted to him by the will of Isabella, and the Grand-Masterships of the Military Orders of St. James of Compostella, Alcantara, and Calatrava. Whilst, however, he publicly announced his resignation, he with his usual duplicity privately protested against it, on the ground of compulsion, and announced his intention of rescuing his daughter as soon as possible from what he called her captivity, and asserting his own claims to the regency.

Philip and Joanna, together with their youthful son Charles, received the oaths of allegiance from the Castilian States at Valladolid, July 12th, 1506. The Archduke assumed the title of Philip I., seized the entire administration, and attempted wholly to set aside Joanna, and to confine her on the plea of her insanity; but the States would not consent to this proceeding. Philip enjoyed only for a very brief period his newly-acquired power. He was carried off suddenly at Burgos (September 25th), at the early age of twenty-eight, by a fever, occasioned by drinking cold water after heating himself in a game of tennis. Besides his two sons, Charles, now in his seventh year, and Ferdinand, who was scarcely four, Philip left three infant daughters; and Joanna was again pregnant at the time of his death. He deserved his surname of Philip the Handsome. His complexion was fair, his features regular, his person well formed and of the middle height. His careless easy temper, combined, however, with a certain magnanimity and ambition, and his frank and open bearing, seemed calculated to win popularity; but being unskilled in business, and trusting too much to his favourites, and particularly to his Netherland courtiers, he contrived in the few months during which he held supreme power in Castile, completely to alienate the hearts of his new subjects. Disregarding the counsels of Archbishop Ximenes, he adopted the most extravagant scale of expenditure, and by the whole tenor of his conduct excited such disgust, that symptoms of insurrection began to appear before his death. That event created great confusion. Both the Netherland and Spanish followers of Philip were struck with alarm, and began to consider of offering the regency to the Emperor Maximilian, or to the King of Portugal; while Ximenes and the adherents of Ferdinand looked forward to the re-establishment of the regency. At the instance of Archbishop Ximenes

a provisional council of seven, of which he himself was the head, was appointed to conduct the government.

After her husband's death, Joanna had sunk into a state of apathetic insensibility. She shed no tears, but she sat in a dark room, motionless as a statue, refusing to attend to any business or sign any papers, and finding only in music some alleviation of her woe. Few words could be drawn from her, yet what she did say betrayed no symptoms of insanity, and formed a striking contrast to her extraordinary behaviour. She spent hours in contemplating the dead body of her husband, which she accompanied with a long train of ecclesiastics, when removed to Granada for interment. The funeral procession moved forward only by night; during the day the body was deposited in some church or monastery, where funeral services were performed, to which no female was admitted; for the Queen appeared still to retain that jealousy of her husband which she had felt during his life.

Immediately on Philip's death messengers were despatched to Ferdinand, who had sailed for Italy with his consort only three weeks before. He had previously weakened Gonsalvo by withdrawing half his army, and had also recalled the Viceroy himself; alluring him with the promise of the Grand-Mastership of St. Iago. Gonsalvo, however, procrastinated his return, although there seem to have been no just grounds for Ferdinand's suspicions; and with the consciousness of innocence he proceeded to Genoa to meet his Sovereign.[1] Hence he accompanied Ferdinand to Naples. Although they were met at Porto Fino by the messengers announcing Philip's death, Ferdinand persisted in his intention of proceeding to Naples, but promised to return to Spain as soon as he had arranged the affairs of the former Kingdom; for, assured of his ascendancy over the mind of Joanna, he felt that the evils of anarchy would soon make his absence from Castile regretted even by his opponents. He met with a cordial reception from the Neapolitans. In the Parliament which he assembled, he said nothing of the claims of his consort, as settled by the treaty of Lyon, but caused the oath of allegiance to be taken only to Joanna and her posterity.

In June, 1507, Ferdinand set sail on his return to Spain, and was followed in a day or two by Gonsalvo. Ferdinand, during his stay at Naples, manifested an entire confidence in the Great

[1] Jovius, however, in his *Life of Gonsalvo*, says that the first interview took place on the north-west coast of Naples.

Captain, who, besides being left in possession of all his other estates and dignities, was created Duke of Sessa, and seemed completely to direct the counsels of his master. In the patent for his honours, the King had expressed the feeling that he should never be able adequately to reward his eminent services, and it was not till after the Great Captain's arrival in Spain that Ferdinand showed any symptoms of discontent with him. The equitable administration of Gonsalvo, as well as his winning and popular manners, had made him a universal favourite with the Neapolitans, notwithstanding the reckless extravagance with which he had squandered their revenues. Ferdinand's nephew, the Count of Ribagorza, was appointed to succeed him as Viceroy of Naples, but with powers very much curtailed.

The Spanish fleet on its return touched at Savona, where an interview had been arranged between Ferdinand and Louis XII. Some events in France had confirmed the latter monarch in his anti-Austrian policy, and consequently disposed him to draw still closer the bonds of his alliance with Ferdinand. His most prudent counsellors, in order to prevent him from retracing his steps and yielding to the entreaties of his consort Anne with regard to the Austrian marriage, had advised him to summon the States-General of his Kingdom, and to sound the inclinations of the nation, which they well knew were in favour of the marriage of Louis's daughter Claude with Francis of Angoulême (*supra*, p. 261). The States were accordingly assembled, May, 1506, at Plessis-lez-Tours; and at a solemn audience in the grand apartment of the Castle, Thomas Bricot, Canon of Notre-Dame and deputy for Paris, speaking in the name of the States, after enumerating all that Louis had done for France, bestowed on him the title of "Father of his People;" and concluded his harangue, himself and all the Assembly kneeling, by requesting the King to give his daughter to Francis. During this scene, Louis himself and all the audience were moved to tears; yet in the very midst of it, he was contemplating an act of the grossest dissimulation. With the view apparently of making his compliance appear to be a spontaneous concession to the wishes of the Assembly, Louis said that he would consult his family and council respecting the marriage with Francis, which he declared that he had never heard suggested, although he had himself determined on it more than a twelvemonth before! A few days after (May 23rd) Francis and Claude were actually affianced.

The death of Philip of Austria delivered Louis XII. from some

embarrassments, though many yet remained behind. The attitude of Maximilian became every day more hostile; and the Germanic Diet assembled at Constance, alarmed by the large preparations making in France for an expedition into Italy, seemed disposed to second the Emperor's warlike inclinations. The French armament was directed against Genoa. That city having risen in insurrection and driven out Ravenstein, the French Governor (October 25th, 1506), Louis determined to quash this rebellion by a vigorous stroke; and, crossing the Alps in April, 1507, with a numerous army, he soon reduced the Genoese to obedience, and constructed a new fort, called *La Briglia*, or the Bridle, to overawe the city. Louis then made a sort of triumphal progress through Lombardy, and afterwards proceeded to Savona, for the interview with Ferdinand already mentioned. At this meeting, which was celebrated with superb fêtes, the two Sovereigns displayed the most entire confidence in each other. The greatest captains of the age, who had recently been opposed to one another in the field, as the Marquis of Mantua, D'Aubigny, Gonsalvo, and others, were here assembled together in harmony; but none of them drew so much attention as the Great Captain, who, at the request of Louis, was admitted to sup at the table of the Sovereigns,—an honour which served only to increase Ferdinand's jealousy of Gonsalvo.

Ferdinand landed in Valencia, July 20th, 1507. At Tortoles he was met by Archbishop Ximenes and Joanna, with whose altered and haggard figure he was much struck. She submitted herself implicitly to her father's will, and soon afterwards took up her residence at Tordesillas, which she never quitted during the remaining forty-seven years of her life: and though her name appeared in instruments of government, along with that of her son Charles, she could never be induced to attend to business or sign any papers. From the time of his return, Ferdinand exercised all the royal authority. By the clemency and affability which he assumed, he won back the hearts of many of the malcontents; but he at the same time took care to assure his authority by keeping on foot a considerable military force and surrounding his person with a bodyguard. Ximenes retained the supreme direction of affairs, who soon after the King's return received a Cardinal's hat from Pope Julius II., and the post of Inquisitor-General of Castile.

Gonsalvo de Cordova, who landed in Spain soon after the King, was received by the people with such unbounded applause, that his

journey resembled a triumphal procession. But it soon became apparent that the King had forgotten his promises to him; and when reminded of the Grand-Mastership of St. Iago, the subject was evaded, and at length dismissed. Ferdinand, who had united in his own person the Masterships of the three Orders, was unwilling to relinquish a post, which, by the distribution of commanderies, enabled him to work on the fears and hopes of the nobles. Gonsalvo was indeed presented with the royal town of Loja, near Granada; which appointment, however, was, in effect, an honourable banishment. Ferdinand offered to perpetuate the grant of Loja to his heirs if he would relinquish his claim to the Grand-Mastership, of which the King, when at Naples, had given him a written promise; but Gonsalvo replied that he would not forego the right of complaining of the injustice done him for the finest city in the King's dominions. He consequently passed the remainder of his life in seclusion.

After Philip's death, Maximilian set up pretensions to the regency both of Castile and the Netherlands, as natural guardian of his youthful grandson Charles. In the former of these claims he had little or no chance of success, and after some vain attempts to raise a party in Castile, and some empty threats of invasion, he quietly abandoned all his designs in that quarter. Charles was at this time residing in the Netherlands; for Maximilian had rejected Ferdinand's demand to send that young Prince into Spain in order that he might become habituated to the language and manners of his future subjects. The States of the Netherland Provinces also, at first refused Maximilian's claims to be guardian of his grandson and to conduct the government of the country; and they appointed a Council of Regency under the auspices of Louis XII. as Lord Paramount of West Flanders. After a short period, however, being disturbed by internal commotions, and by the incursions of the Duke of Gelderland, who had broken loose during Philip's absence, the Netherlanders, at the instance of the Lords of Croy and Chimay, to whom Philip had intrusted his son Charles, voluntarily submitted to the regency of Maximilian. The Emperor being at that time engaged in the affairs of Italy, appointed his daughter Margaret to be Governess of the Netherlands, who, after having been married to John, Prince of the Asturias, and afterwards to Duke Philibert II., of Savoy, was now again a widow. One of the first acts of Margaret was to bring about the celebrated League of Cambray; and as her father played a leading part in that unjust and impolitic transaction, it will be necessary here to take a brief review of the circum-

stances which occasioned that policy, and of the causes which prevented Maximilian from carrying it out successfully.

Although Maximilian was much more active and enterprising than his father Frederick III., yet he had if possible still less real power. By his marriage with the daughter of Charles the Bold, he had indeed added much to the future grandeur of the House of Austria; but the same circumstance served rather to diminish than increase his authority as Emperor. The Netherlands, as well as the Austrian dominions of the House of Habsburg, were subject to frequent commotions and revolts; and as the German Princes were called upon to help the reigning house in quarrels which did not concern them, they considered themselves all the more entitled to assert their own views with regard to Germany. One of the most important concessions obtained from Maximilian was a reform of the supreme tribunal of the Empire, according to a promise extorted from him by the States assembled at Nuremberg in 1489, when he was in want of their aid against Hungary. This promise Maximilian had faithfully performed at the Diet of Worms, in 1495, the first held after his accession. Under Frederick III., the members of the tribunal in question were named by the Emperor, and followed him wherever he went. But in 1495 its composition was entirely altered. The Emperor now nominated only the President, or *Kammerrichter,* and the Assessors were appointed by the States. Thus the tribunal, from a mere *Kaiserliches-Gericht,* or court of the Emperor, became a *Reichs-Kammer-Gericht,* or court of the Empire. It no longer followed the Emperor, but sat on appointed days at a fixed place, at first Frankfort, afterwards Spires, and finally at Wetzlar. Another most important alteration was that the President was allowed to pronounce the ban of the Empire in the Emperor's name. The same Diet of Worms also established a perpetual public peace, or *Landfriede.* The previous ones had only been for terms of years. But though *Faustrecht,* literally Fist-right, or the right of private war, was forbidden under heavy penalties, the prohibition did not prove effectual, and at an advanced period of the sixteenth century we still find the Sickingens, the Huttens, and the Götz von Berlichingens retaining their lawless habits. The Diet of Augsburg, in 1500, made perhaps a still more important alteration in the constitution of the Empire by insisting on the establishment of a permanent Council for the administration of political affairs. This Council was in fact nothing more than a permanent committee of the States, in which the three

Colleges of Electors, Princes, and Free Cities were represented; and the only privilege reserved to the Emperor was that of presiding in person, or naming the President. In order to regulate the representation of the Princes, Germany was now divided into six circles, which were at first called "provinces" of the German nation; viz., Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony.[1] Each of these circles sent a Count and a Bishop to the Council; to which were added two deputies from Austria and the Netherlands. Two deputies were also named alternately by the chief Cities. Each of the Electors was represented, and one of them was always present in person.

The state of Maximilian's foreign relations had compelled him to make these concessions, which were virtually an abdication of the Imperial power in favour of the States, or rather of the College of Electors, whose power would be predominant in the Council; and the matter was regarded in this light by Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to the King of the Romans at that period.[2] The whole administration of affairs, foreign and domestic, was in fact vested in the Council, who assumed the title of the *Reichs-Regiment*, or Council of Regency. They negotiated of their own mere authority with Louis XII.; and as they seemed willing to invest him with Milan, Maximilian anticipated them by himself bestowing it upon Louis as already related. As it was soon found, however, that neither the members of this Council nor the Assessors of the *Kammer-Gericht*, or Imperial Chamber, could obtain payment of their salaries, nor carry through any of their measures, they dissolved themselves, and returned to their homes; and Maximilian recovered for a while all his former power, and was again regarded as the fountain of justice. In consequence of this state of things, the Electors held a solemn meeting at Gelnhausen, in June, 1502, and pledged themselves to stand by one another for the maintenance of the rights of the Empire. Maximilian, however, was supported by a party among the Princes; and he had also wonderfully recovered his authority by his conduct in the war of the Bavarian succession, to which we have already adverted. At length, at the Diet of Constance, in 1507, a sort of compromise was made between the Imperial and Elec-

[1] The Empire was finally divided into ten circles at the diet of Cologne in 1512, when the Electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg were added as a seventh circle (Lower Saxony); the four Rhenish Electorates, Mentz, Treves, Cologne, and the Palatinate, as an eighth (the Lower Rhine); Austria as a ninth; and Burgundy as a tenth.

[2] Canuto, Arch. zu Wien, B. iv., ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 44.

toral authority, and the chief institutions of the Empire were settled on a permanent basis. The *Kammer-Gericht*, or Imperial Chamber, was again established according to the model laid down by the Diet of Worms, though with a few modifications. The *Reichs-Regiment*, or Council of Regency, appears, however, to have remained in abeyance during the reign of Maximilian, but was re-established by the first Diet held by Charles V. at Worms, in 1521, though with some few alterations in favour of the Emperor's authority; but its power was again broken in the Diet of 1524, by a combination between the Emperor and the Free Cities.

Another important point established by the Diet of Constance was the system of taxation. There were two methods of assessment in Germany, the Roll, or Register (*Matrikel*), and the Common Penny (*der gemeine Pfennig*). The first of these was levied on the separate States of Germany, according to a certain roll or list; the second, which was a mixture of a poll-tax and a property-tax, was collected by parishes, without any regard to the division of States. The Diet of Constance, by finally establishing the *Matrikel*, recognized a very important principle; since that system contemplated the contributors as the subjects of the different local States into which Germany was divided, while that of the Common Penny considered them as the subjects of a common Empire. By this decision, therefore, the independence of the different States was recognized; while, on the other hand, the Imperial Chamber established the principle of the unity of the Empire. These two institutions, the *Matrikel* and the Imperial Chamber, lasted three centuries. The fame of having founded them has been attributed to Maximilian: but in fact he did all in his power to oppose them—they were forced upon him by the Electors and States, and chiefly by the exertions of Berthold, Count Henneberg, Elector of Mentz. They were warmly opposed by certain parties in the Empire, and especially by the knightly and ecclesiastical orders. The Knights, attached to the old feudal system, objected to paying a money tax; they protested that as free Franks they were dutifully ready to shed their blood for the Emperor, but that a tax was an innovation, and an encroachment on their liberty; while the Prelates demurred to acknowledge the authority of a tribunal so completely temporal as the Imperial Chamber. Maximilian at this Diet virtually recognized the independence of the Swiss Confederates, by declaring them free from the jurisdiction of all the Imperial tribunals, as well as

from the *Matrikel*, or States tax. He had then need of Swiss troops, but those which he raised among them received a stipend.[1]

We have before adverted to the hostile demonstration of this Diet of Constance against Louis XII., when that King was preparing his expedition against Genoa (*supra*, p. 267). Pope Julius II., who was also alarmed by the same preparations, and who was exceedingly jealous of the influence which the French were acquiring in Italy, importuned Maximilian to cross the Alps with an army; and his appeals were seconded by the Venetians, who offered a free passage for the German troops through their territories. Maximilian had been already meditating an expedition into Italy. He wished to establish the rights of the Empire in the Italian lands, to help Pisa[2] against the Florentines, and also to march to Rome, in order to receive the Imperial Crown from the hands of the Pope. He therefore listened to these applications; and in an animated address to the Diet he exhorted them to resist the ambitious and encroaching spirit of the French King, who, he said, had already alienated some of the Imperial fiefs in Italy, and whose design he represented it to be even to avert from him the Imperial Crown itself. These topics, enforced with that eloquence and those powers of persuasion which Maximilian possessed in a high degree, made a great impression on the assembly. With an extraordinary burst of patriotism the Diet voted an army of 90,000 men, to be further increased by 12,000 Swiss; and measures were taken for raising this large force with an alacrity quite unusual. Alarmed by these mighty preparations, Louis, after finishing his Genoese expedition, quietly disbanded his army, and applied himself through his agents to tranquillize the minds of the Germans. This policy was quite successful, and had a result very mortifying to Maximilian. The Diet demanded that the Italian expedition should be conducted in their name, that they should appoint the generals, and that the conquests should belong to the whole Germanic body: which conditions being rejected by Maximilian, they reduced the forces voted to 12,000 men. Maximilian in vain endeavoured to persuade the Venetians, who had altered their views, to join with him in a partition of the Milanese. They united with Chaumont, the French Governor of the Milanese, to oppose the passage of Maximilian, notified to him

[1] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 176.

[2] The succour of Pisa had been so often promised and delayed that the *Soccorso di Pisa* had passed into a proverb. Murat, *Ann.* t. x. p. 33.

that he should be received with all honour in their territories if he came with an unarmed retinue on his way to Rome, but that they could not permit the passage of an army; while Pope Julius II. also announced through his Legate that he had reconciled himself with Louis, and dissuaded Maximilian from his contemplated journey. But he was not to be diverted from his project. He now resolved to turn his arms against the Venetians, at whose conduct he was highly incensed; and in January, 1508, he began an expedition into Italy with what troops he could collect. One division of his army was directed against Roveredo; another against Friuli; he himself advanced with a third to Trent, where he assumed the title of "Roman Emperor Elect." Having erected an Imperial tribunal, he despatched a herald to Venice with an absurd message, summoning before him the Doge Leonardo Loredano and the whole Senate, and on their refusal to appear, he published against them the ban of the Empire. At first Maximilian's arms were attended with success, and several places were taken; but he soon began to feel that want of means which commonly rendered all his enterprises abortive and ridiculous; and he was obliged to return into Germany, in order if possible to obtain fresh troops and more money. Meanwhile the Venetians, aided by the French, not only recovered the lost places, but even captured several Austrian towns; and Trent itself would have fallen into their hands had not Trivulzio, the French general, from a feeling of jealousy, withdrawn from them his support. Maximilian, finding no hope of succour, was compelled in May to abandon his ill-judged enterprise; and the Venetians, disgusted by the desertion of the French, entered into a separate armistice with him for a term of three years. As a kind of salve for his honour, Maximilian published a bull of Pope Julius II., by which the title of "Emperor Elect" (that is, Emperor *chosen*, but not yet *crowned*) was granted to him. This event marks the severance of Germany from Rome. From Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V., downwards, this title of "Roman Emperor Elect," "Romanorum Imperator Electus," "Erwählter Römischer Kaiser," was taken by all Maximilian's successors in the Holy Roman Empire, immediately upon their German coronation. But the word "Elect" was soon dropped, and the German Sovereign, even on formal occasions, was never called anything but "Emperor."[1]

This miscarriage, after such magnificent pretensions, and espe-

[1] On this subject see Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. xvii.

cially the insolent and even childish manner in which the Venetians celebrated their success, inflicted a deep wound on the Emperor's vanity. Alviano, the Venetian commander, was gratified with a sort of Roman triumph for his victories over the Austrian commander, Sixt von Trautson, in the Friuli: and he made a solemn entry into Venice, with a long train of German prisoners. At the same time, what was perhaps still more provoking, Maximilian and the Empire were abused and ridiculed throughout the Venetian dominions in caricatures, farces, and satirical songs.

We have before seen that Venice had been for some years the object of the ill-will and jealousy of several European Powers, and Maximilian now resolved to call all these latent passions into action, and to make them the instruments of his revenge. Both Louis XII. and the Pope had recently received from the Venetians what they considered fresh causes of offence. Louis was annoyed by their concluding the armistice with the Emperor without his consent, and the Pope because they had refused to install one of his nephews in the vacant bishopric of Vicenza, and had named to it a countryman of their own, in conformity with their maxim, that no benefice in their territories should be conferred on a foreigner, or indeed on anybody without their consent. Julius was also offended by the shelter which they afforded to John Bentivoglio, whom he had recently driven out of Bologna. In the first few years of his Pontificate, Julius had acted with a moderation which surprised those who knew his restless mind and his former conduct, which more resembled that of a *condottiere* than of a priest. During these years he had occupied himself in amassing money, and had shown a parsimony not before observed in his character; but towards the end of August, 1506, after declaring several times in Consistory that it was necessary to purge the Church of tyrants, he sallied forth from Rome at the head of twenty-four Cardinals and a small army. John Paul Baglione, of Perugia, and John Bentivoglio, of Bologna, who like the Medici at Florence, had become the chief men, or Lords, of those cities, were the objects of his attacks, and with the aid or connivance of the French, the Florentines, and other States, he soon expelled them from Perugia and Bologna, and annexed these cities to the immediate dominion of the Church. Julius remained in Bologna till February, 1507, when he returned to Rome, and employed himself in his favourite project of fomenting a league against Venice.

Self-interest was the chief motive which swayed both Louis and

the Pope in their hostility to Venice, as it was the sole one which influenced Ferdinand the Catholic. All these Powers, on the ground of inalienable and imprescriptible right, laid claim to some of the Venetian possessions, which that Republic held under the faith of treaties. Thus Louis XII. as Duke of Milan, claimed Brescia and Bergamo, which had been made over to the Venetians by the Sforzas, as well as Cremona and the Ghiara d'Adda, which he had himself given them as the price of their assistance. The Pope claimed Rimini, Faenza, and other places, as ancient possessions of the Holy See, under the grants of the Exarchate by Pipin and Charlemagne. Ferdinand, who in great measure owed his Neapolitan throne to the help of the Venetians, wished to recover the maritime towns of Trani, Brindisi, Gallipoli, Pulignano, and Otranto, which his predecessor, King Frederick, had pledged to the Republic as security for its expenses.

The machinations against Venice were secretly conducted, under pretence of an arrangement between Maximilian and Louis XII on the subject of the Duke of Gelderland. Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, had persuaded her father that it would be for the interest of his grandson Charles to conciliate the French, who were supporting the Duke of Gelderland in his hostilities; and Maximilian, who had now another reason for desiring the friendship of Louis, consented to enter into negotiations. An interview, at Cambray, was accordingly arranged between Margaret, who combined with female dexterity the judgment and decision of a man, and the Cardinal d'Amboise. Margaret, though without any formal powers, acted for Ferdinand the Catholic as well as for her father; while d'Amboise in like manner represented the Pope as well as his own Sovereign; and though a Papal Nuncio and an ambassador of the Catholic King were present at Cambray, neither of them took any part in the conferences. The affair of the Duke of Gelderland gave rise to some warm discussion; but it was at last arranged that Charles should provisionally hold Gelderland and the County of Zutphen, surrendering only a few places. The question of the future homage of the Archduke Charles to the King of France was also settled; and Maximilian, in consideration of 100,000 gold crowns, ratified the rupture of the marriage treaty between his grandson and the Princess Claude, and renewed the investiture of Milan to Louis and his heirs. The negotiators were sooner agreed on the subject of Venice, and the treaty which formed the celebrated LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY was signed in the cathedral of that city,

December 10th, 1508. The principal stipulations were that of the places to be wrested from the Venetians, Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, and Forlì should be assigned to the Pope; Padua, Vicenza, and Verona to the Empire as Imperial fiefs; Roveredo, Treviso, and Friuli, to the House of Austria; the five maritime towns of Naples, before mentioned, to Ferdinand the Catholic; and to Louis XII. all the places that had at any time belonged to the Duchy of Milan. The Pope was to excommunicate the Venetians, and to absolve their subjects from their oath of allegiance: a proceeding which would enable him to invoke, in support of the Papal sentence, the arms of Maximilian, as Advocate or Protector of the Church, and thus release him from the armistice to which he had so recently sworn. The French King was to commence the war by the 1st of April following, and the other Allies were to appear in the field at the expiration of forty days. Other Powers who had any claims, real or imaginary, upon Venice, were to be invited to join the League within a given period: as the King of Hungary, for the Venetian lands in Dalmatia and Slavonia; the Duke of Savoy, as heir of the family of Lusignan, for Cyprus, which the Venetians had occupied by virtue of the will of their fellow-citizen, Catharine Cornaro, widow of James II., the last King of Cyprus; the Duke of Ferrara, for the Polesine of Rovigo; and other princes for various claims.

The LEAGUE of CAMBRAY is remarkable as being the first great combination since the time of the Crusades, of several leading European Powers for a common object. A modern historian has observed,[1] that it laid the foundation of public law in Europe, by raising either in itself or its consequences three questions, on one of which that law must be founded; namely, the question of imprescriptible right alleged by Louis XII. and the Emperor Maximilian; the right of treaties, as pleaded by the Venetians; and, finally, when Pope Julius turned round upon his allies, and attempted to drive them out of Italy as "barbarians," the question of the public good—the only sure ground on which any political system can be erected. The League was long kept secret from the Venetians, who were naturally slow to believe in an alliance among Sovereigns who were jealous of one another, and had so many grounds of mutual distrust and enmity. Louis XII. even protested to their ambassadors that nothing had been done at Cambray disadvantageous to the Republic, and that he would

[1] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* ch. cv.

never commit any act that might be injurious to such ancient allies! But the bond which embraced such discordant interests was knit together by a common cupidity and envy; motives which are betrayed in the preamble of the treaty itself, which also contains an example of the gross hypocrisy so often seen in the diplomacy of those times. This preamble states that the Emperor and the King of France, having, at the solicitation of Pope Julius II., allied themselves, *in order to make war on the Turks*, had first resolved to put an end to the rapine, losses, and injuries caused by the Venetians, not only to the Holy Apostolic See, but also to the Holy Roman Empire, the House of Austria, the Duke of Milan, the King of Naples, and many other Princes; and to extinguish, as a common devouring fire, the insatiable cupidity and thirst of domination of the Venetians[1]. Thus the Allied Sovereigns, who had of course no serious intention of entering into a crusade against the Turks, pretended to begin a war against them, by destroying a State which had proved the securest barrier against Moslem encroachments, and which by its maritime power was still best able to arrest their further progress.

The Sovereigns of France and Spain secured the adhesion of the Florentines to the League of Cambray, by a transaction which, as a modern historian observes[2], cannot be paralleled for mercenary baseness in the whole history of the merchant princes of Venice. At the time of the conference at Savona, Ferdinand and Louis, in consideration of a large payment, agreed to betray Pisa, which had long been making a noble struggle for its independence, to the Florentines, by putting in a garrison which the Pisans would receive without suspicion, but which, after a given time, should open the gates to the enemy. Meanwhile, the French King assisted Pisa, in order to hinder it from falling into the hands of the Florentines before the expected sum had been received; and the Florentines were at length induced to sign a convention (March 13th, 1509), by which they agreed to pay Louis 100,000 ducats, and Ferdinand 50,000, in consideration of those Princes withdrawing their protection from Pisa. Ferdinand, who was to be kept in ignorance that his brother King had received

[1] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* an. 1509, t. xi. p. 527. That envy of the wealth and power of Venice is the true key to this conspiracy against her, plainly appears from the speeches of Hélian, the French minister at the Diet of Augsburg in 1510, in Du Bos, *Ligue de Cambray*, t. i. 141 sq. (ed. 1710.)

[2] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. iii. p. 314.

more than himself, subsequently transferred his share to Maximilian; in consideration of which, and of the further aid of 300 lances, Maximilian, ever mean and necessitous, agreed to relinquish his pretensions to the regency of Castile.[1] Pisa was at this time brought to extremity of famine. The Florentines entered it June 8th, 1509, and behaved with great liberality in relieving the distress of the inhabitants.

[1] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. iii. p. 349.

CHAPTER VII.

WHEN the Venetians were at length tardily convinced of the reality of the League of Cambray, they endeavoured to detach some of the members from it; but in this they were unsuccessful, as well as in their attempts to obtain aid from England and the Ottoman Porte. Their own resources, however, enabled them to assemble a considerable army on the banks of the Oglio, consisting of about 30,000 foot and 12,000 horse, under two Orsini; the veteran Count of Pitigliano, with Alviano, a bastard of the same house, as second in command; with whom were joined Andrew Gritti and George Cornaro, as *Provveditori*. In the spring Louis despatched a herald to declare war against the Venetians, and about the same time, Julius launched against them a bull of excommunication, filled with the bitterest reproaches; to which the Venetians replied by a manifesto equally abusive, and, as usual, they appealed from the Pope to the expected General Council. In April Louis passed the Alps at the head of an army somewhat inferior in force to that of the Venetians. He had crossed the Adda, and was marching along its banks, when, at a bend of the river, the hostile armies suddenly found themselves in presence. A battle ensued, May 14th, 1509, which has been called by the French the Battle of Agnadello, and by the Italians, the Battle of Vailà, or of the Ghiara d'Adda. On this day the French van was led by Chaumont d'Amboise and Marshal Jacob Trivulzio; Louis himself commanded the main body, while La Palisse and the Duke of Longueville brought up the rear-guard. Pitigliano, whom the Venetian Senate had ordered to avoid a battle, had passed with his van the spot where the encounter took place. Alviano, with his division, had therefore to sustain the whole shock of battle; and though he made a brave resistance, his troops were cut down or dispersed, and he himself made prisoner. This victory enabled Louis to take possession of the whole Ghiara d'Adda. Crema was sold to him by the treacherous Venetian governor, Concino Benzone; Cremona, Bergamo, and Brescia also opened their gates. Peschiera, one of the few places that

resisted, was taken by assault; when Louis, with an inhumanity alien to his general character, caused its brave defender, Andrew Riva, and his son, to be hanged from the battlements, and the garrison to be put to the sword.

Louis had now achieved the conquest of all the territory assigned him by the Treaty of Cambray—namely, as far as the Mincio;[1] he therefore halted his victorious army, and left the Emperor to achieve his part by reducing the places east of that boundary. He delivered to Maximilian's ambassador the keys of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, which the inhabitants had sent him in token of their submission; and after making a triumphant entry into Milan, he dismissed great part of his army, and returned home. Meanwhile, the Papal army, under command of Francis Maria della Rovere, a nephew of the Pope's, had entered Romagna, all the towns of which, except Ravenna, were soon reduced. Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantua, who had also joined the League, had succeeded in capturing several places. Although Ferdinand of Spain had ratified the Treaty of Cambray, he had no intention of carrying it out, beyond the recovery of his Neapolitan towns. Before the commencement of hostilities he had assured the Venetians that he had only entered into that part of the treaty which related to the Turks; that he was ignorant of Louis's motive in attacking them, and that he would use for them his good offices with that King. He took, at first, no part in the war in Upper Italy, but he sent a body of Spaniards to lay siege to Trani. It was late before the Emperor Maximilian appeared in the field. While the King of France was gathering his forces, he had assembled a Diet at Worms, to whom he submitted the plan of the League, and demanded their support. This, however was not only refused by the Diet, but they even accompanied their refusal with reproaches and complaints. Maximilian retorted with truth and vigour, though without effect, in a celebrated apology; and he found himself compelled to resort to his hereditary dominions to levy an army. It was not till three weeks after the battle of Agnadello that he appeared at Trent, with one thousand horse, and eight companies of infantry, for he had been delayed in raising even this small force, till he had received some money which he had

[1] Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxii. § 12, and Coxe, *House of Austria*, ch. xxiv., represent Louis as advancing to the neighbourhood of Venice, and insulting the Queen of the Adriatic with a distant cannonade; but there does not appear to be any adequate authority for this statement. See Muratori, *Annali*, t. x. p. 41; Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. xiii. p. 467; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 376.

borrowed from the King of England,[1] and from his other allies; and he was further detained in Trent till he should receive some auxiliaries raised by his daughter Margaret.

After the defeat of Agnadello the situation of Venice seemed desperate. A great part of the remnant of her army under Pitigliano had dispersed; the rest, almost in revolt, had retired to Mestre, on the Lagoon. It was under these circumstances that the Venetians issued the celebrated decree, by which they released all their Italian subjects from their allegiance; and thus, by an act by some attributed to fear and despair, by others to a refined and subtle policy, stripped themselves of what their enemies were seeking, and reduced their dominion to the islands which had been its cradle. They also abandoned to Ferdinand the seaport towns which they held in Apulia, and sent ambassadors to make the most humble submission to Pope and Emperor. Julius at first received the ambassadors with haughtiness, and prescribed some very insulting conditions; though at the same time he held out hope that he would not be inexorable. Antonio Giustiniani, the ambassador despatched by the proud aristocracy of Venice to Maximilian, is represented by some authors as making on his knees a most humiliating address to the Emperor;[2] and he is said to have carried with him a *carte blanche*, on which Maximilian might write his own conditions. It is, at all events, certain that Venice made very humble submission, and even offered to pay the Emperor and his successors a yearly tribute of 500 pounds of gold; but Maximilian, whose chivalrous and romantic temper had been charmed by the magnanimity of Louis in abstaining from all encroachment on his possessions, had resolved to adhere to the French alliance; and he had even burnt his *Red Book*, in which were recorded all the injuries that he had ever received from France. He was not yet, however, in a position even to occupy the towns which had voluntarily surrendered, except with very inadequate forces; for Padua itself, though, from its vicinity to Venice, the most exposed to danger, he could spare only about 800 German troops. The lower classes in that city were favourably disposed towards the Venetians, who, encouraged by the absence of the French army, and by the apparent weakness of the

[1] Henry VII. was a warm supporter of Maximilian, and in 1502 lent him 10,000*l.* for the war against the Turks. Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 9.

[2] His speech is given by Guicciardini, lib. viii. (tom. iv. p. 193 sqq., ed. Milan, 1803), and the Latin original, from which he professed to translate it, has since been published by Goldasti, in the *Polit. Imperial.* But by Venetian authors it has been pronounced a literary imposture.

Emperor, permitted Andrew Gritti to retake Padua, which he captured by surprise, July 17th, 1509: upon which, all the surrounding territory declared in favour of the Venetians. This was the first symptom that Venice was beginning to revive, and it was followed by a few more successes. The peasants of North Italy, ruined and incensed by the ravages of French and Germans, supplied numerous willing recruits to her army, whose ranks were also swelled by the garrisons recalled from the towns in Romagna and Apulia, which had been abandoned to the Pope and the King of Aragon, as well as by the enlistment of fresh Albanians and Dalmatians; and Pitigliano thus again found himself at the head of a very considerable force. On the other hand, Maximilian's troops were also at last beginning to assemble on the frontier. The loss of Padua made him reflect with shame on his inactivity, and he resolved to wipe out the disgrace by recovering that city. His generals, Rudolph of Anhalt, the Duke of Brunswick, and Christopher Frangipani, a Hungarian, marched into the Friuli and Istria, where they took several places. In the war in these districts the Germans are said to have committed the most horrible cruelties, and to have hunted out with dogs the women and children who had hidden themselves in the cornfields. Maximilian, after ravaging the country round Padua, established his headquarters before the gate of Portello, September 15th, 1509. The Venetians, sensible of the importance of Padua, had thrown their whole army into that place. At the instance of the Doge, Leonardo Loredano, two of his sons, followed by 100 foot soldiers raised at their own expense, joined the garrison, and this animating example was followed by 166 nobles, each with a train proportioned to his means; though, by Venetian custom, those of gentle blood should serve only in the fleet. Thither, also, came all the peasants of the surrounding districts, with their herds and flocks; and that vast but deserted city received, without inconvenience, within its walls, a multitude amounting to five times its usual population.

Maximilian's army consisted of some 40,000 men, with 200 guns—a larger force than had for centuries been employed in any siege. All parties to the League of Cambray were represented there by at least a small body of troops, which consisted of Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and French; but of the last there were only 500 lances, under La Palisse, and 200 gentlemen volunteers. During this siege Maximilian gave signal proofs of bravery, activity, and intelligence; he was constantly present at the post of danger, and displayed all those military qualities which made

him beloved by his soldiery. Practicable breaches were soon made in the walls, and two assaults were delivered, but repulsed. In the last, the Imperialists had succeeded in establishing themselves on the bastion; but at this moment the Venetians blew up the works, which they had undermined; great part of the victors were hurled into the air, and the remainder, in this moment of consternation, were charged by the Venetians, and driven from every post.

Staggered by this obstinate defence, and foreseeing that he should soon be without means to pay or feed his army, Maximilian now proposed to La Palisse that before the breach could be repaired by the garrison, the French *gendarmerie* should dismount, and, with the German lance knights, try the fortune of another assault. But the Chevalier Bayard declared that, however poor he might be, he was still a gentleman, and would not degrade himself by fighting on foot with lance knights; and this feeling was shared by La Palisse and the rest of the French knights. They offered, however, if the German nobles would dismount, to show them the way to the breach; but this was declined, on the ground of its being derogatory to gentlemen to fight except on horseback. Maximilian, whose patience was soon exhausted, now hastily quitted the camp, and instructed his lieutenants to raise the siege (Oct. 3rd); and a few days after he dismissed the greater part of his army. The Venetians now speedily recovered Vicenza, Bassano, Feltre, Cividale, Monselice, the Polesine of Rovigo, and other places; and they attempted to punish the Duke of Ferrara for the part he had taken against them; but the fleet which they fitted out on the Po for that purpose was almost destroyed by Alfonso's artillery.

Early in 1510 the Venetians effected a reconciliation with Pope Julius II., whose jealousy of Louis had been recently increased by a quarrel respecting the investiture of a new Bishop of Avignon. Julius had also conceived a supreme contempt for the Emperor, from his poverty and ill-concerted enterprises; and he was alarmed by Maximilian's offer to place Verona in the hands of Louis, for a loan of 50,000 ducats. The Pope had never desired the success of the League of Cambray, except so far as his own interests were concerned; and as the Venetians had ordered the Governor of Ravenna to admit the Papal troops, and had instructed their Doge to address a humble letter to Julius, he began to listen to their protestations of repentance. He admitted their envoys to an audience (Feb. 24th), and in spite of the remonstrances of the French and Imperial ambassadors, removed the

interdict which he had fulminated against Venice. The ecclesiastical punishments imposed by the worldly Pontiff were but light. The only penance enjoined was that the Venetian deputies should pay a visit to the seven magnificent *Basilicas* of Rome; and the strokes of the rod, usually inflicted by the Pope and Cardinals on the excommunicated, during the singing of the *Miserere*, were in this instance omitted from the ceremony of absolution. On the other hand, the Venetians were required no longer to dispose of ecclesiastical benefices, except such as were subject to lay patronage; to refer all cases relating to ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Rome; to forbear from exacting any contributions from Church property; and to renounce all pretension to the territory of the Holy See. But the two articles most reluctantly conceded by that haughty Republic were, the renunciation of their right to have a *vidame* at Ferrara, and the allowing to the Pope's subjects the free navigation of the Adriatic.

All the objects of the Pope in organizing the League of Cambray were now accomplished: the Venetians had been humbled, the towns claimed by the Holy See wrested from them, and Julius was at liberty to apply himself to the second and more arduous project formed by his enterprising mind—that of driving all foreigners from Italy. Of these foreigners the King of France was the most powerful and the most dreaded, and it was against him that the Pope's machinations were first directed. Without reflecting on the dangers which might arise from the Spanish dominion in Naples, and that it was for the interest of Central Italy to balance one foreign domination against the other, he formed the plan of making one the instrument for the other's expulsion. He therefore endeavoured to bring about a peace between the Emperor and the Venetians,[1] and to detach the Duke of Ferrara from the League; and in order to embarrass Louis in his foreign relations, he attempted to incite England, as well as the Swiss, against him. But of these four projects only the last succeeded. Neither Maximilian nor Alfonso d'Este was prepared to renounce the alliance of Louis; and even the youthful Henry VIII., who had succeeded to the throne of England on the death of his father, April 21st, 1509, at first withstood all the blandishments of Julius. The vanity of Henry, who pretended to be at once theologian and warrior, was, indeed, flattered when Pope Julius seemed to constitute him the arbiter of the disputes arising out of the League of Cambray. The Pope and his clergy succeeded in

[1] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x. p. 50.

making him believe that peace had been granted to the Venetians chiefly through his intercession; and at Easter, 1510, Julius sent him the golden rose, which the Roman Court annually presents to the Sovereign on whose assistance it most relies. But Henry adhered to the counsels of his dying father. In March, 1510 he had confirmed the treaty of Naples with Louis XII.; he had previously renewed the alliance with the Emperor; and in May he concluded a defensive treaty with Ferdinand of Aragon.

Julius was successful only in his negotiations with the Swiss, with whom Louis had imprudently quarrelled. The Swiss had sent the French King an insolent message, ascribing all his late victories to their help, and demanding an increase of the yearly payment; and he had returned a haughty answer to these, as he termed them, "wretched mountaineers." This disposed the Swiss to listen to the Pope's agent, Matthew Schinner, Bishop of Sion, or Sitten, in the Republic of Wallis, a man of low origin but considerable learning, who was a determined enemy of the French, and had long directed his sermons with much success against the practice of foreign enlistment. Julius, when he heard of the French King's quarrel with the Swiss, summoned Schinner to Rome, who, dazzled with the prospect of a Cardinal's hat, which was actually conferred upon him the following year, seemed to forget all his former scruples on the subject of mercenary service. Provided with a considerable sum of money, as well as large bundles of indulgences, the Bishop of Sion, after his return, easily persuaded his countrymen to enter into an alliance with the Pope for a term of five years. They engaged not to form any connection that might be hurtful to Rome, to oppose all the Pope's enemies, and to supply him with 6,000 or more chosen troops whenever they might be wanted; and Julius promised in return an equivalent payment and his spiritual protection. This was a great achievement. The Swiss, formerly the instruments of transmontane violence, were now converted into soldiers of the Holy See, and champions of Italian independence.

The death of the Cardinal d'Amboise, who expired May 25th, 1510, was another event favourable to the Pope. Holding the post of Papal Legate, which the Court of Rome was afraid to withdraw from him, he exercised an almost absolute authority over the Church in the French Kingdom and Northern Italy. "God be praised," exclaimed Julius when he heard of his former rival's death, "at length I am the only Pope!" Though D'Amboise had been the principal author of the ill-considered policy of France

with regard to Italy, his death did not extinguish the Pope's jealousy of the French Court, while it deprived Louis of a minister whose zeal and energy could not be replaced. Julius now redoubled his intrigues against Louis, and in particular he sought to form a closer connection with Ferdinand of Aragon. In order to bind that monarch to his interests, the Pope at length granted him the long-withheld investiture of Naples (July 3rd, 1510), besides releasing him from that part of his marriage contract with Germaine of Foix, by which half Naples was to revert to the French Crown, in case his consort should die without issue. The Pontiff soon after remitted the feudal services due for Naples for the annual tribute of a white palfrey, and the aid of 300 lances, in case the States of the Church should be invaded. By these means he assured the neutrality of Ferdinand, if not his immediate co-operation.

The intractability of the Duke of Ferrara, before adverted to, was the immediate cause, or at all events the pretext, for an open breach between the Pope and the French King. Alfonso was the only feudatory of the Church whom Julius had spared; he had interfered for him with the Venetians, had prevented them from attacking him during the winter, and had procured for him the restoration of the town of Comacchio. On all these grounds Julius considered himself entitled to the Duke's gratitude; and his anger, therefore, was extreme when he found that Alfonso was implicitly guided by the counsels of Louis. As this conduct, however, could not be made any just cause of quarrel, Julius sought to create one. He forbade the Duke to manufacture salt at Comacchio, to the detriment of the Pontifical salt works at Cervia; he demanded the surrender of those castles in Romagna which Lucretia Borgia had brought to Alfonso as part of her dowry, and which he contended were the property of the Holy See; and he also required that the tribute paid by Ferrara should be increased from 100 florins to 4,000 annually. These unjust demands were resisted by Alfonso. Louis XII., who wished to preserve his influence in Ferrara, without breaking altogether with the haughty and violent Pontiff, had some months been attempting to effect a reconciliation between Julius and Alfonso, when suddenly the Pope dismissed the ambassadors of Louis, as well as those of the Duke, and called upon Alfonso to renounce his adherence to France (July, 1510).

At this time the allied Imperial and French army had penetrated as far as Monselice; for while the Pope was hatching these

intrigues, Louis and the Emperor were carrying on the war in Northern Italy, though without much vigour. The Diet summoned by Maximilian to meet at Augsburg in the spring had proved more than usually compliant. The Pope's Nuncios who appeared at that assembly made great efforts to reconcile Maximilian with the Venetians, and endeavoured to inspire the States with a mistrust of the unnatural alliance between the Emperor and France; but their representations were so successfully combated by Hélian, Louis's envoy, that the Nuncios were even dismissed from Augsburg, and a considerable supply voted to Maximilian. At this Diet were renewed the *Gravamina*,[1] or complaints of the German nation against the Apostolic See, which since the Council of Constance had been so often brought forward. The Emperor's unfriendly relation to the Pope at this period inclined him to listen to these representations; and he appears even to have sent to France for a copy of the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis,[2] with a view to draw up some similar regulations for the protection of Germany against Papal oppression; a step, however, which led to no practical result. Maximilian's temper, at once hasty and procrastinating, and his love of show and magnificence, led him to fritter away the funds at his disposal for the conduct of the war. His want of means to maintain Verona in an efficient state of defence had led him to pledge that city to the French for 60,000 ducats; yet the chronicles represent him as spending at this very time enormous sums at Augsburg in hunting parties, balls, banquets, and masquerades; and he is said to have appeared at a tourney with the Elector Frederic III. of Saxony, in a suit of armour worth 200,000 florins. In the month of April, however, he despatched 1,000 horse and 8,000 foot,[3] under command of the Prince of Anhalt, to Verona, where they were soon joined by Chaumont d'Amboise, Viceroy of Milan, and John James Trivulzio, with 1,500 lances, 3,000 light cavalry, 10,000 infantry of various nations, and a large train of artillery. The Duke of Ferrara also came to the aid of the Allies with a considerable force. Offensive operations were now resumed against Venice, under the Prince of Anhalt, as Commander-in-Chief. The death of the Count of Pitigliano, in the preceding February, had deprived the Republic of an experienced and skilful commander, and his place had been supplied

[1] These *Gravamina Nationis Germanicæ* will be found in Freher, *Germ. Rer. SS.* t. ii. No. 40.

[2] Of this there will be occasion to speak further on.

[3] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x. p. 51.

by John Paul Baglione of Perugia. The Venetian army, which consisted of only 800 men-at-arms, 4,000 light horse and Stradiots, and 8,000 foot, not being strong enough to oppose the advance of the allied French and Imperial army, retired to a strong position between the rivers Brenta, Brentella, and Bacchiglione. Vicenza was thus exposed to the fury of the Allies, the German portion of whom were enraged by its revolt in the preceding autumn; and when the citizens sent to deprecate the wrath of the Prince of Anhalt, he at once told them that he meant to make them a memorable example of the punishment due to rebellion. The citizens balked the fury and cupidity of the Germans by transporting their women and children, as well as the most valuable part of their property, to Padua, whither also they themselves retired on the approach of the enemy; but a portion of them, together with the peasantry of the surrounding country, were not so fortunate. These unhappy people, to the number of 6,000, had taken refuge in two vast caverns near Vicenza, called the Caves of Masano, or Longara; and L'Hérisson, a captain of French adventurers, finding it impossible to force a passage through the narrow, dark, and tortuous entrance of the caves, filled the openings with faggots, which he set on fire, and thus smothered all who were within! One young man alone escaped, who, from a crevice in the rock, had obtained a scanty supply of air!

From Vicenza the Allies proceeded to take Legnano, a place deemed almost impregnable, whence, after almost cutting to pieces the Stradiot cavalry, they laid siege, as before said, to Monselice. That place yielded to the Imperial arms, after an obstinate resistance; but this was the term of the success of the Allies, for the plots of Julius were now ready to explode. While they were engaged in this siege the Pope declared war against the Duke of Ferrara: a Papal army under Julius's nephew, the Duke of Urbino, invaded Alfonso's territories, and took Massa de' Lombardi, Bagnacavallo, Lugo, and other places, including Modena, which the Duke of Ferrara held as a fief of the Empire. The Pope excommunicated Alfonso August 9th, denouncing him in the most awful terms as a son of perdition, releasing his subjects from their allegiance, and his soldiers from their oath of fidelity. At the same time a Papal fleet and army attacked Genoa, while a large body of Swiss in the Pope's pay threatened Milan, and compelled Chaumont to hasten to its defence.

Deprived of the support of Chaumont and Alfonso, the German

army was no longer able to make head against the Venetians. Maximilian had neither appeared in person, nor had he remitted the necessary funds for the pay of the troops, whose ranks were consequently thinned by desertion, while they made up for their arrears by plunder. The Germans now began to retreat, followed closely by the Venetians, who recovered, one after another, Vicenza, Asolo, the Polesine of Rovigo, and other places, but failed in an attempt upon Verona.

The designs of Julius against the French, though well conceived, were not attended with success. The attempt to excite a rebellion against them in Genoa, and to assist it with the Papal and Venetian arms, proved a failure. A Papal army, under Marcantonio Colonna, crossed the Magra, occupied Spezia, and advanced towards Genoa, and at the same time a Venetian squadron, after taking Sestri and Chiavari, appeared off the port. But the call to liberty met with no response from the Genoese, and both fleet and army were obliged to retire. The invasion of the Milanese by the Swiss was equally unsuccessful. They entered that Duchy early in September by Bellinzona, but unprovided with cavalry, artillery, or pontoons for passing the numerous rivers, and being harassed by the *gens d'armes* and light infantry of Chaumont, they suddenly returned into their own country, without having fought a single battle.

Louis XII. was much embarrassed by the attitude assumed by the Pope towards the Duke of Ferrara, whom Louis was bound by treaty to protect; yet being naturally scrupulous in matters of religion, he hesitated to levy open war on Christ's Vicar upon earth. These scruples were increased by his consort, Anne of Brittany, whose superstitious terror deprecated, with tears and entreaties, all hostilities against the Holy Father; and D'Amboise was no longer there to fortify the King with his energy and decision.[1] Louis recollected, however, his late minister's project of an ecclesiastical Council, and he resolved to relieve himself of his perplexity by assembling the French clergy, and submitting the case to their decision. A national Council was accordingly assembled at Tours early in September (1510), the majority of whom declared the King justified in making war upon the Pope in defence of himself and his allies, and pronounced beforehand all Papal censures that might be fulminated in consequence to be null and void. The Council further decided that the Pope

[1] The Letters of Macchiavelli, now Florentine ambassador at the court of France, throw considerable light on this period of French history.

should be required to put an end to the hostilities which he had begun, and to call a General Council in conformity with the decrees of the Council of Basle; and in case he should refuse to summon such a Council, the Emperor and other Christian Princes were to be requested to take the work in hand. Thus the Gallicanism which D'Amboise had fostered in the Gallic Church was still alive. Matthew Lang, Bishop of Gurk, Maximilian's secretary, who arrived at Tours towards the close of the Council, approved of all their resolutions, and promised to send a deputation of German bishops to Lyons, in which city the Council was to re-assemble by adjournment, March 1st, 1511. Lang, however, was not in earnest in his hostility to the Church; all he wanted was French assistance to recover certain portions of Northern Italy; and with this view, a fresh treaty was concluded at Blois between Maximilian and Louis, November 17th, 1510, by which the Emperor engaged to enter Italy with an army in the ensuing spring, while Louis was to assist him with a subsidy and a somewhat smaller force.

The failure of the attempts upon Genoa and of the Swiss invasion had only served to inflame the ardour of Julius II.; and being still further irritated by the Council of Tours, he haughtily rejected all French propositions for a separate peace, although Louis, still moved apparently by a superstitious compunction, plainly intimated that he would be willing to abandon the Duke of Ferrara. Julius was resolved, with Venetian assistance, to bring the Duke of Ferrara under obedience to Rome: and with this view, having despatched his army to the Po, he himself entered Bologna with his Court towards the end of September. Here he fell dangerously ill, and while he lay upon a sick bed he very narrowly escaped being carried off by the French. Chaumont, at the instigation of the Bentivoglios, who represented to him the weakness of the Papal force at Bologna, advanced by a rapid march to within a few miles of that city (October 12th), and there was nothing apparently to hinder him from entering it on the morrow. In this desperate conjuncture, Julius alone preserved his presence of mind. His Cardinals and Court were in an agony of terror, the people of Bologna declined to take up arms in the Pope's defence, and even the Imperial, Spanish, and English ambassadors pressed him to enter into negotiations with Chaumont. Julius outwardly complied, and selected as his negotiator Gian Francesco Pico, Count of Mirandola. But the Pope only intended to amuse Chaumont. He knew that the

Venetian army was advancing towards Bologna, and that he might hourly expect a force which Ferdinand was bound to furnish as feudatory for the Kingdom of Naples. To quicken the Venetians, he despatched a message to their camp at Stellata, that if he did not receive reinforcements before the following evening he should make peace with the French. This had the desired effect. By the evening of October 13th, 600 light horse and a corps of Turkish cavalry in the service of Venice had entered Bologna, while a body of Stradiots and the expected Spanish contingents were just at hand. Thus was presented the singular spectacle of the Vicar of Christ defended by a body of Infidels from the arms of the most Christian King! Julius now changed his tone; Chaumont, finding himself the weaker party, slowly withdrew his army; while the vexation of Julius that his generals had not pursued and destroyed it occasioned such a paroxysm of his disorder that his life was despaired of.

Julius had not yet recovered when, amidst the snows and ice of a rigorous winter, he resolved on besieging Mirandola in person. This fortress and Concordia formed the principality of the family of the Pichi. Count Luigi Pico of Mirandola had married a daughter of Marshal Trivulzio, who, being left a widow, had placed her residence in the hands of the French; whilst Count Gian Francesco, who also claimed the inheritance, was entirely devoted to the Pope. The progress of his army was too slow for the impatient Julius. Concordia was not taken till the middle of December; his troops were four days before Mirandola without firing a shot. The fiery Pope accused his captains, including his own nephew, the Duke of Urbino, either of incapacity or perfidy, and, accompanied by three Cardinals, he caused himself to be carried in a litter to the camp of the besieging army, where he took up his residence in the cottage of a peasant within range of the enemy's artillery, and employed himself in directing the works, placing his guns in battery, and hastening their fire. Armed with cuirass and helmet, he constantly showed himself on horseback to his troops, animating them with hope of plunder, and sharing all the counsels, fatigues, and dangers of the siege.[1] In one of the excursions which he was wont to make in the neighbourhood, he was near falling into the hands of Bayard, who had laid an ambuscade for him; and he with difficulty escaped into the Castle of San Felice by jumping out of his litter and helping to raise the drawbridge with his

[1] Guicciardini, lib. ix. (t. v. p. 108 sq., ed. Milan, 1803).

own hand. At length, a practicable breach having been made in the walls of Mirandola, which a hard frost enabled the besiegers to approach by crossing the moat on the ice, the garrison were forced to capitulate, January 20th, 1511. There had been some difficulty to dissuade the Pope from sacking the place, which, too impatient to wait till the gates were opened, he entered by a ladder at the breach. After the capture of Mirandola, Julius and the Venetians again directed their whole attention towards Ferrara, and they attempted to take the Castle of La Bastia, on the Lower Po, in order to deprive the city of its supply of provisions; but their army was surprised by Duke Alfonso, according to a plan suggested to him by Bayard, and they suffered such severe loss that they were fain to abandon the siege.

The death of Chaumont d'Amboise, the French commander (February 11th, 1511), who was succeeded by Marshal Trivulzio, allowed a short interval of rest, which was employed in negotiations. Anger against the Venetians had induced Maximilian to adhere to the French alliance with a constancy quite foreign to his character, and he warmly adopted all Louis's projects against the Pope and for a reform of the Church in head and members. In a circular addressed to the German States he had denounced, in language which might almost have become a future disciple of Luther, the troubles and disorders occasioned by the Papal government; he complained of the enormous sums continually extorted by the See of Rome from Germany, which, instead of being employed in God's service, were perverted to the purposes of luxury and ambition; and he concluded by declaring his intention to call a General Council, as the only permanent and effectual remedy for these abuses.[1] But a synod of German bishops, whom he assembled at Augsburg, proved less compliant than the Gallic prelates, and they firmly resisted the proposal for a General Council, as calculated to produce schism in the Church. This opposition induced the Emperor to listen to the King of Aragon, who persuaded him to secure the conquests he had already made in Italy, and perhaps also his further claims, by a treaty of peace. Maximilian accordingly commissioned his secretary, Lang, Bishop of Gurk, to open a congress at Mantua, to which the Pope, the Kings of France and Aragon, and the Venetians were invited to send ambassadors. The Emperor could not have entrusted his affairs to worse hands than those of

[1] See Schmidt, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vii. C. 34.

his secretary, whose pride and arrogance totally disqualified him for a diplomatist. It was with difficulty that the Spanish ambassador could persuade him to pay a visit to Julius, who was now at Ravenna, a mark of deference and respect which the Pontiff might naturally expect from a Bishop sent to negotiate with him. Julius himself, however, bent on gaining the Imperial plenipotentiary, stood not on etiquette, but met the Bishop half-way, at Bologna. It was plain from the first that Julius entered into these negotiations with no sincere desire of peace with France, but merely with a view to detach Maximilian from his alliance with that country. Before he left Ferrara he created eight Cardinals, including Matthew Schinner, telling the Sacred College that he reserved a ninth *in pectore*—a bait plainly held out for the Bishop of Gurk. But the haughtiness of that prelate stood in his own way as well as his master's. Having assumed the title of Lieutenant of the Emperor, Lang entered Bologna with almost Imperial magnificence; at the Pope's reception he insolently required that the Venetian ambassador, as his master's enemy, should retire from the audience chamber; and he afterwards declared in full Consistory that he would treat on no other conditions than the relinquishment by the Venetians of all they had ever usurped from the Austrian domains or the territories of the Empire. He refused to transact business with anybody but the Pope himself, and when Julius once deputed three Cardinals to confer with him, he appointed three of his gentlemen to meet them. Nothing but hatred of the French could have induced the haughty Pontiff to submit to the insolence of the Imperial envoy. With regard to the objects of the congress nothing could be effected. Louis XII., though he sent the Bishop of Paris to Bologna as his ambassador, had from the first regarded the assembly as a mere snare; and the only feeling with which it inspired him was alarm at this symptom of defection in Maximilian. It was soon evident that neither the differences between the Emperor and Venice, nor those between the Pope, the King of France, and the Duke of Ferrara, were yet capable of peaceable adjustment; and after a stormy interview with Julius, the Bishop of Gurk suddenly quitted Bologna, April 25th, 1511.

Upon the failure of the congress hostilities were resumed. Trivulzio, now Viceroy of Milan, had in his army two young captains who afterwards acquired great renown: Gaston of Foix, Duke of Nemours, nephew to Louis XII. by his sister, Mary of Orleans; and George of Frunsberg, a German knight, who had

joined the French with 2,500 lance-knights. At the first movements of Trivulzio, Julius II. was seized with an unaccountable panic; and after a formal rhetorical address to the Bolognese Senate, in which he recommended them to provide for their own safety, he hastily set off for Ravenna, leaving Francesco Alidosio, Cardinal of Pavia, in command at Bologna, with the title of Legate. But the Cardinal himself, alarmed at the insubordination displayed by the Bolognese, fled a few days afterwards in all haste to Imola; and when his flight was known the citizens admitted the Bentivoglios, whom Trivulzio had sent forward with 100 French lances (May 22nd). The Duke of Urbino, who was encamped with his army under the walls of Bologna, no sooner heard of the Legate's flight, and the insurrection of the citizens, than he also was panic-stricken, and though the night was far advanced, gave the signal for retreat, which soon became a disorderly flight. The Papal army was set upon both by the citizens and the peasants from the mountains; while the French *gens d'armes* joined in the pursuit, and captured without a blow so large a number of beasts of burden that they gave this rout the name of the *Journée des âniers*, or battle of the ass-drivers. The Papal army lost its standard, besides a great many other colours, and twenty-six pieces of cannon.

Julius II. was inconsolable for the loss of Bologna, an acquisition which he had regarded as the chief glory of his Pontificate; and his regret was still more embittered by the conduct of the inconstant and ungrateful Bolognese, who, though they had flattered him during his residence among them, now pulled down and broke in pieces with every mark of contempt his bronze colossal statue, one of the noblest works of Michael Angelo Buonarotti. Both the Duke of Urbino and the Cardinal of Pavia went to Ravenna to justify themselves before the Pope; mutual recriminations ensued between them; and the Duke, stung with jealousy and anger at the hold which Alidosio still retained on the confidence and affection of Julius, openly murdered him with his own hand in the midst of his guards, as he was on his way to dine at the Papal palace. This outrageous act on the part of his nephew wounded the Pope so deeply, that he quitted Ravenna the same day, and returned to Rome overwhelmed with grief. The Duke of Urbino was sentenced to be deprived of all his offices; but the sentence was never carried out; and in two or three months he received a pardon, and recovered his former influence.

Julius's misfortunes at this period were aggravated by the news that in many of the Italian cities proclamations were posted up for the assembly of a General Council at Pisa, on September 1st, before which he himself was cited to appear. It had been established by the Council of Constance, that a General Council should be held every ten years, and Julius himself had sworn at his election to call one; but he neglected all the representations which the Emperor and the King of France addressed to him for that purpose, and those Sovereigns had therefore resolved to call a Council by their own authority. In this course they were supported by the adjourned synod of Gallic prelates at Lyon, as well as by five refractory Cardinals, who, suspecting that one of their colleagues had been poisoned at Ancona by the Pope's orders, had retired from Rome to Milan, where they put themselves at the head of the French or opposition party. In truth, however, Julius II. had little to dread from this blow, which he parried by a counter one. In July he issued a bull for the holding of a Council at St. John Lateran, April 19th, 1512, which assembly, having the sanction of Papal authority, would, of course, be regarded by the orthodox as the only genuine one.

Although the French victory at Bologna seemed to leave the Pope at the mercy of France, yet Louis XII., instead of following up his advantage, no sooner heard of that affair, than he directed Trivulzio to withdraw into the Milanese. He, as well as his consort Anne, who governed him, was seized with remorse at making war upon the Holy See; he forbade all public rejoicings for his victory; he declared his readiness to humble himself for the sake of peace, and to ask pardon of the Pope; and he resolved to limit his attacks upon the Holy Father to the peaceful and legitimate operations of the Council. But the demands of Julius rose in proportion to the submission of Louis; it was soon plain that nothing would satisfy him but the ruin of the Duke of Ferrara and the expulsion of the French from Italy; with the view of effecting which projects he had entered into negotiations with Ferdinand of Aragon, Henry VIII. of England, and the Swiss. But before we relate their result, we must take a brief retrospect of Spanish history.

After Ferdinand's resumption of the regency of Castile,[1] the domestic history of Spain presents but little of importance. Guided by the counsels of his great minister, Cardinal Ximenes, his civil rule on the whole was moderate and equitable, though

[1] See above, p. 267.

chequered with a few severities necessary to subdue the spirit of the haughty grandees of Castile. But the fiery enthusiasm of Ximenes could not submit to complete inactivity. His zeal for the Catholic faith incited him to lay plans for a crusade in Palestine, which, however, were diverted into a safer channel. Since the conquest of Granada, the Moslems of Africa had infested the coasts of Spain, and in 1509 Ximenes persuaded Ferdinand to fit out an expedition for the conquest of Oran, the command of which, Gonsalvo de Cordova lying under the King's displeasure, was given to the celebrated engineer, Count Pedro Navarro. Ximenes himself accompanied the expedition, and his conduct, which literally displayed the Church militant, might emulate the deeds of his spiritual Father, Pope Julius II. Clad in his ecclesiastical robes, but with sword in hand, he appeared at the head of the army; before him rode a Franciscan friar, bearing as a standard the massy silver archiepiscopal cross of Toledo; and he was surrounded by a troop of other Franciscans girt with scimitars over the frock of their order. Oran was taken on the first assault. It was firmly believed by the Spaniards, and was attested by four eye-witnesses of character and learning, as well as by a host of others, that Joshua's miracle was repeated on this occasion, and the sun arrested four hours in his course for the convenience of the Christians![1] Yet Navarro, a plain soldier, seemed not to have highly valued these supernatural powers, and after the fall of Oran gave the Cardinal a plain intimation that he would do better to keep to his own profession and return home. Ximenes was urged in the same direction by a letter of the King's, which accidentally fell into his hands, and which plainly showed that his selfish and ungrateful master was contriving his ruin during his absence. The Cardinal found good reason to suspect that Ferdinand meant to deprive him of the archbishopric of Toledo in favour of his own natural son, Alfonso of Aragon; and therefore, after providing for the wants of the army for several months, he returned in a quiet and unostentatious manner to Spain. Here his energy took another direction. He employed himself in promoting the welfare of the University which he had recently founded at Alcalà de Henares, and in superintending the preparation of his famous Polyglot Complutensian Bible.[2] The Cardinal's literary tastes, however, were quite subordinate to his Catholic enthusiasm, and in 1499 he had shown himself a thorough

[1] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, vol. iii. p. 290, note.

[2] Alcalà is supposed to be the ancient Complutum.

Vandal by burning many valuable Arabian books. After the departure of Ximenes, Navarro extended his conquests in Africa. Bugia, Algiers, and several other towns submitted to his arms, the crowning glory of which was the capture of Tripoli, July 26th, 1510, after a bloody and stubborn defence. In the following month a terrible defeat in the island of Gelves put a stop to Navarro's progress, who soon after returned to Spain; but the conquests made on the coast of Africa were held during a long period by the Spanish Crown.

Jealousy of the French had now determined the Catholic King to take an active part against them, and after the capture of Bologna, Ferdinand despatched Navarro, with a chosen body of Spanish infantry, into North Italy. Yet, had not Ferdinand's character been well known, the nature of his intercourse with the French Court was calculated to disarm all suspicion. The remonstrances which he addressed to Louis XII. respecting his aggressions on the Roman See were couched in the mildest and most brotherly language; while, true to his policy of covering every political design with the mantle of religion, he pretended that the preparations which he was making both by sea and land were only designed to spread the banner of the Cross in Africa. But Louis had reason to know his royal brother better. "I," he exclaimed, "am the Saracen against whom these armaments are directed."

The suspicions of the French King were well founded. On October 4th, 1511, the alliance called the HOLY LEAGUE was concluded by the Pope, King Ferdinand, and the Venetian Republic. Its professed object was the protection of the Church, menaced by the Council, or rather *conciliabulum*, of Pisa; and Ferdinand talked much of the necessity of saving Rome from the hands of the French, in order to preserve the freedom of Italy, and even of Europe.[1] There were two other parties to this League, who, for the present, remained in the background: the Emperor Maximilian and Henry VIII. of England. Margaret, in her cabinet at Brussels, had long been scheming a reconciliation between her father and Ferdinand, and the union of both with England, in order to overwhelm France; but before the French successes at Bologna, the Catholic King appears to have hung back, owing to the little love he bore to his Flemish grandson and heir, the

[1] See P. Martyr, *Opus Epistt.* Ep. 466. In spite of the careless manner in which Martyr's work has been published, its value as contemporary evidence has been vindicated by Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschicht-schreiber.*

Archduke Charles.[1] Christopher Bambridge, Cardinal-Archbishop of York, the English ambassador at Rome, had assisted in negotiating the League. The vanity of Henry VIII. seems to have been tickled with the idea of becoming the head of that holy confederation, as well as with the promised title of "Most Christian King," of which, in his favour, Louis XII. was to be deprived. Ferdinand soon afterwards dazzled his vainglorious son-in-law—for Henry had celebrated his marriage with Catharine of Spain in the June following his accession—with the prospect of reconquering Guienne. This enterprise would serve the purposes of the Holy League by creating a diversion of the French arms; and by a treaty between Ferdinand and Henry, November 17th, 1511, it was agreed that the former should furnish 9,000 men, the latter 6,500, to carry out the enterprise. The Catholic King's real object in this treaty we shall presently see; meanwhile, it was kept secret till Henry should have received another instalment of the pension payable by France, under the treaty of Etaples. Maximilian's accession to the League was, as we have said, also kept secret, till his defection from France was declared at an unexpected and fatal moment, on the eve of the battle of Ravenna, in the following year. The army of the Holy League was to be commanded by Don Raymond de Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, a man of polished and agreeable manners, but of no military experience, whom the rough old Pope nicknamed "Lady Cardona."

The Council of Pisa, though summoned, as we have said, for September 1st, did not meet till November 1st. After the publication of the Holy League, the Pope had deprived the refractory Cardinals of their dignity, and excommunicated them as schismatics (October 24th); and he also laid an interdict on the Florentines for having permitted the obnoxious Council to meet in the town of Pisa. The Assembly consisted only of four Cardinals and a few French and Milanese prelates, who were protected by a guard of 150 French archers. The clergy and populace of Pisa received them with marks of the greatest aversion, and after a short residence the assembled Fathers eagerly seized the occasion of a brawl which arose between some of their domestics and the townspeople to quit Pisa and adjourn to Milan. But it is hardly necessary to detail the subsequent proceedings of an assembly which was never seriously regarded,

[1] See Margaret's letter to Henry VIII. (April 14th, 1511), ap. Michelet, *Renaissance*, p. 164.

even by those who summoned it, and which Louis himself characterized as a comedy.

Meanwhile the Emperor Maximilian still adhered, in appearance, to the alliance with France. After the failure of the congress at Bologna he had leagued himself more closely than ever with Louis, and they had secretly agreed to divide Italy between them. France was to content herself with the Milanese, Mantua, Ferrara, and Florence; whilst the Emperor was to have Venice, with its dependencies, together with Rome and the Papal States. Maximilian's projects were always on a scale of magnificence which formed an absurd contrast with his means to execute them. He dreamt of nothing less than marching to Rome and restoring to the Empire all the prerogatives formerly exercised by Charlemagne or Otho the Great. With restless activity, he showed himself by turns at Innsbruck, at Trent, at Brunecken; he negotiated alternately with France, the Pope, and the Venetians; sometimes he seemed to threaten an immediate descent upon Italy, and as suddenly withdrew to attend a hunting-party. The Pope's illness at the time fixed for the opening of the Council of Pisa had inspired him with a singular idea. He resolved to become a candidate for the tiara; sent 300,000 ducats, which he had raised by pawning to the Fuggers the Imperial jewels and mantle, to the Bishop of Gurk, at Rome, to buy the votes of the Cardinals; and in anticipation of uniting the Empire and Pontificate, assumed, like the ancient Roman Emperors, the title of Pontifex Maximus! which, like many other Pagan names and usages, had been adopted as a Christian one and applied to the Bishop of Rome. Thus, as a modern historian has observed, the Princes of that period seem to have exchanged parts. Maximilian wished to be a Pope and Saint, and Louis XII. was holding a Council, while the Pope himself, aping the name and deeds of the greatest of the Cæsars, and covering his white hairs with a helmet, led a body of old priests under the cannon's mouth.[1]

In November many thousand Swiss, in the pay of Venice and the Pope, came down from the St. Gothard with the standard under which they had defeated the Duke of Burgundy, and another bearing in large golden letters the boastful inscription, *Domatores Principum, Amatores Iustitiæ, Defensores Sanctæ*

[1] Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, lib. xxiii. § 7. See also Maximilian's letter to his daughter Margaret, Sept. 18th, 1512, in the *Lettres du Roy Louis XII.* t. iv. p. 1; and another to his minister Lichtenstein, *ibid.* t. iii. p. 324.

Romanæ Ecclesiæ;[1] and they advanced to the very gates of Milan, Gaston of Foix, now Viceroy of the Milanese, retreating before them by Trivulzio's advice. The garrison of Milan consisted only of about 300 *gens d'armes* and 2,000 foot; but the Swiss were totally destitute both of the skill and means for attacking towns, and they shortly after withdrew by way of Como, not without suspicion of having been bribed by the French.

The armies of the Pope and of the King of Aragon united at Imola in December. The Papal army was commanded by Cardinal John de' Medici, the Duke of Urbino having refused to serve under the Spanish Viceroy Cardona, who was generalissimo. Navarro, Captain-General of the Spanish infantry, which was at that period chiefly composed of Mussulmans, had been despatched, as we have said, against the possessions of the Duke of Ferrara, and succeeded in reducing all the fortresses south of the Po. The fact that the poet Ariosto was an eye-witness of these obscure combats, which he has illustrated by his verses, lends them an interest they would not otherwise possess.[2] The Pope's most ardent desire was to recover Bologna, before which the allied army sat down January 26th, 1512. The French on their side attached the highest importance to the preservation of that city, both as a military position and a point of honour, and Louis had declared that he would defend it as if it were Paris itself. He had provided Gaston of Foix with all the money and reinforced him with all the troops he could collect, including his own *Maison,* or household troops. They could not have been intrusted to more competent hands. In a short career of two months Gaston revealed to France the true secret of its military power—the capacity of its infantry to perform marches of extraordinary rapidity.[3] The maxim of Marshal Saxe, that battles are gained, not with the hands, but with the feet, was never more strikingly illustrated than by the operations of this youthful commander. The Allies had already made a practicable breach in the walls of Bologna, when Gaston of Foix hastened to Finale, whence, during a stormy night of wind and snow, he succeeded in throwing himself into Bologna, with 1,300 lances and 14,000 infantry, without meeting a single vedette or sentry (February 5th). Don

[1] "Vanquishers of Princes, Lovers of Justice, Defenders of the Holy Roman Church."

[2] See *Vita di Ariosto,* p. xxii. (*Class. Ital.* t. xl. Milan, 1812).

[3] See Michelet, *Renaissance,* p. 167.

Raymond de Cardona immediately raised the siege, and retired to Imola.

Gaston was deterred from pursuing the enemy by news which arrived from Lombardy. Brescia and Bergamo, disgusted by the cruelty and brutality of the French garrisons, had admitted the Venetians with cries of *Viva San Marco!* and it was to be feared that this success might invite a new Swiss invasion. Gaston now made even a more extraordinary march than his former one. Leaving 300 lances and 4,000 foot in Bologna, he quitted that city with the rest of his army, February 8th, and appeared before Brescia on the 16th, after attacking with his cavalry and defeating on the way, near Isola della Scala, the Venetian division under Baglione. This long march, therefore, was accomplished in eight days, in spite of broken roads and overflowed rivers.[1] Brescia was taken by assault, to which Gaston mounted with bare feet, on account of the slippery nature of the soil. It was here that Bayard received a wound, which was at first thought mortal.[2] The inhabitants made a stubborn defence, for which they suffered by a general massacre and a sack, accompanied with the most horrible outrages, which lasted a week. Brescia was the richest city of Lombardy after Milan. The plunder was estimated at three million crowns; but this sack contributed much to ruin the French army, as a great part of the soldiers returned home to enjoy their booty. Bergamo submitted, and escaped with a fine of 20,000 ducats.

This campaign of a fortnight, in which Bologna had been rescued, the Venetians defeated, and Brescia and Bergamo recovered, is perhaps one of the most extraordinary on record, and spread the fame of Gaston of Foix all over Europe. But, in spite of this brilliant success, the French cause in Italy seemed anything but promising. The Spanish army was untouched; the Swiss turned a deaf ear to the tardy and repentant overtures of Louis; the King of England had thrown off the mask and declared war; while Maximilian was evidently preparing to join the enemy. Louis began to perceive the machinations of Margaret, and felt the necessity for striking a speedy and decisive blow.

[1] On the day of the affair with Baglione, who had no notion that the enemy was near, Gaston's cavalry is said by an eye-witness to have marched fifty miles without drawing bridle. The *Anonimo Padovano*, ap. Muratori, *Annal.* t. x. p. 69.

[2] The story of the convalescence of the good knight, "without fear and without reproach," in the house of a Brescian lady, is one of the most interesting and characteristic episodes in his life. See *Hist. du Chev. Bayard*, c. 50, 51. Tartaglia, the restorer of the mathematics, was nearly killed at this siege. Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxiii. § 15.

He seemed suddenly to have emancipated himself from his own bigotry and the influence of his consort; the Pope was attacked by pamphleteers, and openly ridiculed on the Paris stage by the *Enfans sans souci;* nay, a medal was even struck with the legend *Perdam Babylonis Nomen,* a name for the Holy See which has hardly been surpassed in the vocabulary of subsequent reformers. Gaston was instructed to deliver a decisive battle, after which he was to march to Rome, dictate a peace, and depose the Pope. These proceedings were to be authorized by a Legate despatched from the Council of Pisa, now at Milan, who was to accompany the army.

Instructions of this nature exactly suited the taste of the young hero to whom they were addressed. Towards the end of March Gaston set out with his army for Finale, in the Modenese, having been joined by the Duke of Ferrara with his troops, and especially with that celebrated artillery, the best in Europe, to which Alfonso gave so much attention.[1] Gaston directed his march on Ravenna, and Don Raymond de Cardona, whose army was inferior in force, retired before him, manœuvring in order to avoid a battle. At length Gaston found himself shut in between Ravenna and the camp of the Allies, which was on the banks of the Ronco, about three miles from the city; provisions and forage began to fail, and to add to his embarrassment, a message arrived at this decisive moment that Maximilian had concluded a ten months' truce with the Venetians, and had recalled, on pain of death to their leaders, the German lance-knights serving in Gaston's army, in number about 5,000 men. Jacob Empser, one of their commanders, to whom the letter was delivered, being a great friend of Bayard's and a devoted servant of Louis, engaged indeed to keep the order secret; but, as fresh commands of the same tenor might speedily arrive, it became needful to act with promptness and decision. On April 9th a terrible assault was delivered on Ravenna, which failed from the breach not being sufficiently practicable. Gaston now determined to storm the enemy's position on the Ronco, and on the 11th orders were given to cross that stream. Gaston had put on a rich and heavy armour, with embroideries bearing the arms of Navarre, to which Kingdom he pretended; he regarded the Spaniards as personal enemies who kept him out of that inheritance, and he had left his right arm bare to the elbow in hope of bathing it in their blood. The battle began by a

[1] Ariosto did not partake his patron's taste in this matter, and curses the invention of fire-arms, so destructive to his beloved chivalry. See *Orl. Fur.* c. xi. st. 26.

dreadful cannonade of three hours. The French army was drawn up in the form of a crescent, and Alfonso's artillery being stationed at the extremity of the left wing, kept up a tremendous cross-fire, which carried off whole ranks of the enemy. At length, however, both armies became tired of this distant butchery; the signal was given to charge; Gaston himself led the French men-at-arms, and ran his lance through an Italian cavalier; and after a short but terrible encounter the Spanish and Papal cavalry were overthrown. Cardona and Carvajal, who commanded the rear-guard, retired too early for their honour, and were escorted from the field by Antonio de Leyva, then a young subaltern, who afterwards acquired so much renown in the wars of Italy. Fabbrizio Colonna, already a distinguished Italian captain, the young Marquis of Pescara, a Neapolitan, whose fame was yet to be achieved, and Cardinal John de' Medici, were taken prisoners; and the last, who had retained his ecclesiastical habit in the midst of the fray, was conducted before the Cardinal of San Severino, the Legate of the *conciliabulum* at Milan. The struggle, which was not so soon decided between the infantry, served to display the relative merits of the Spanish foot and the German lance-knights. The Germans, like the Grecian phalanx, were armed with spears of enormous length, and fought in close column; the Spaniards, furnished like the Roman legionaries with a short sword and buckler, again established the superiority of that equipment. The Spaniards, protected by their defensive armour, thrust themselves between the ranks of the Germans, whose unwieldy lances became useless at close quarters, and they would have been cut to pieces had they not been rescued by the French cavalry.[1] The Spanish infantry was broken, and Pedro Navarro made prisoner; but a considerable body of them was retiring in good order, when Gaston, maddened at the carnage which they had made, and forgetting his duty as general, charged them at the head of a few *gens d'armes*, when he was struck from his horse by a Spanish soldier. In vain his cousin Lautrec exclaimed, "Spare his life! it is our Viceroy, your Queen's brother!" Gaston fell, pierced with twenty wounds, and Lautrec shared the same fate.

Thus died Gaston of Foix, Duke of Nemours, at the early age

[1] The comparative value of these troops has been estimated by Macchiavelli, *Arte della Guerra*, lib. ii. Cf. *Il Principe*, cap. ult. The great defect of the Spanish infantry was, that it could not resist cavalry. Besides the ordinary historians, the battle of Ravenna has been described by Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, in a letter to Vadeus of St. Gallen (Freher, *Germ. Rer. SS.* t. iii. No. 8).

of twenty-three, who in the course of a few months had achieved the most brilliant military reputation, and acquired the surname of the "Thunderbolt of Italy." His victory was indeed complete, but it was counterbalanced by his death. "Would to God," exclaimed the weeping Louis, "that I had lost all Italy, and that Gaston and those who fell with him were safe!" The consternation of the Allies amounted almost to a panic. Ravenna was taken the next day while treating for a capitulation, and was sacked with the greatest brutality;[1] Imola, Forlì, Rimini, all Romagna, hastened to submit to La Palisse, who now assumed the command, and to the Cardinal of San Severino, who received the keys of the surrendered towns in the name of the Council of Pisa; terror reigned at Rome, and even the stout heart of Julius himself was so shaken that he at first agreed to receive the conditions of peace proposed by Louis XII. before the battle. Ferdinand displayed the extent of his consternation by ordering Gonsalvo de Cordova to prepare for a campaign in Italy. But, in fact, the victory of Ravenna proved fatal to the French themselves. The soldiers were disheartened by the loss of Gaston; the officers were divided; San Severino disputed the command with La Palisse; the Duke of Ferrara, who had refused it, returned home, released his prisoner, Fabbrizio Colonna, and endeavoured to make his peace with the Pope; Maximilian withdrew his lance-knights, and the Swiss were preparing for a fresh descent into Lombardy. Under these circumstances, La Palisse was obliged to retire into the Milanese, and Julius II. regained his wonted courage. On May 3rd, three weeks after the battle, he opened the General Council of the Lateran, which, at the first session, was attended by eighty-four prelates from Italy, Spain, England, and Hungary. The Cardinal of York, as well as an Aragonese Cardinal, dissuaded him from accepting the proposals of France, and Julius readily yielded to counsels which, indeed, he had himself suggested. The towns evacuated by the French were immediately occupied by Papal troops, and Bologna itself, the object of so much anxiety, was again wrested from the Bentivogli. Meanwhile Cardinal Schinner had agreed with the Emperor and the Pope to restore Maximilian Sforza, eldest son of Lodovico il Moro, to the ducal throne of Milan.[2] Instructed

[1] It should be remembered, however, that at this period all sides were nearly equally brutal. Giulio Vitelli, Bishop of Città di Castello, having recovered Ravenna by capitulation after the retreat of La Palisse, broke his word, and abandoned the four chief officers of the garrison to the populace, who buried them alive before his eyes! Sismondi, *Rép. It.* t. xiv. p. 239.

[2] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x. p. 76.

by their previous miscarriages, the Swiss now resolved to supply themselves with cavalry and artillery from the Venetians, and with this view they pressed eastward through Coire and Chiavenna, as well as through Trent, into the territory of Verona. La Palisse was compelled to retire before them as far as Pavia, and Maximilian Sforza was everywhere proclaimed with enthusiasm.[1] Cardinal John de' Medici profited by the confusion of this retreat to make his escape; the Fathers composing the Council of Pisa fled from Milan at the approach of the Swiss; and the Italians signalized their hatred of the French by killing all they could lay hands on.

The Swiss and Venetians soon appeared before Pavia, and after a bloody engagement, La Palisse was forced to evacuate that place and retreat into France. At the end of June, less than three months after the victory of Ravenna, Louis XII. held in the Milanese little more than Brescia, Peschiera, and Crema, and the Castles of Milan, Cremona, and Novara. But the success of the Holy League bred in it those dissensions which invariably attend such confederations. The grasping Julius, on pretence that Parma and Piacenza had at one period formed part of the Exarchate of Ravenna, proceeded to occupy those cities, in violation of the rights of the new Duke of Milan, as well as those of the Emperor. The Pope, at the intercession of Fabbrizio Colonna and his powerful family, and of the Catholic King, consented to pardon the Duke of Ferrara, after he had submitted to a suitable humiliation; and six Cardinals were appointed to settle with him the terms of his pacification. But what was the surprise of Alfonso a few days after, to hear that the Pope was resolved to claim the whole Ferrarese for the Holy See; that he must content himself with the County of Asti in exchange; and that the Duke of Urbino had actually occupied some of his towns! Julius was prepared to extort his demands by keeping Alfonso a prisoner at Rome; and Fabbrizio and Marcantonio Colonna were obliged to secure his return to his dominions by forcing the Papal guard at the gate of S. Giovanni. Maximilian, as grasping, and still more capricious than Julius, although now confederated with the Venetians, would not relinquish his pretensions to their continental territories. Raymond de Cardona was immediately to lead his army into Lombardy, in order that he might have more influence on the distribution of the territories occupied by the Holy League, as well as to feed his army at the expense of that country, which

[1] He was actually restored Dec. 15.

Ferdinand assigned to them in place of pay. The Swiss, after restoring the Duke of Milan, continued to levy contributions on his subjects, and, on their return, permanently occupied the Valtellina, Locarno, and Chiavenna; while the Venetians were making some fruitless attempts on Brescia and Crema, without the participation of their allies. All parties complained of one another; on one point only were they agreed—the necessity of punishing Florence, although the only crime that could be alleged against that State was a too timid and vacillating policy.

A Republic had continued to exist at Florence since the death of Savonarola (*supra*, p. 221 *sqq.*); and Pietro Soderini, who had been one of the chief supporters of that reformer, enjoyed the supreme direction of its affairs, having been elected Gonfalonier for life. Although during the Holy League Soderini observed a strict neutrality, Julius could not pardon his partiality for France, and still less his having given a safe-conduct to the five rebellious Cardinals who had lent their names and authority to the Council of Pisa. The Pope had even incited a Florentine citizen, Prinzivalle della Stufa, to murder Soderini, but the conspiracy was discovered and frustrated.[1] After the triumph of the Holy League, the ruin of Florence was resolved on by the resentment of Julius, the intrigues of the exiled Medici, and the cupidity of the generals of the Allies.

A Congress had been opened at Mantua, for the purpose of arranging a general pacification, to which John Victor Soderini, a jurisconsult, and brother of the Gonfalonier, was despatched to watch over the interests of Florence, and procure her admission into the treaty. There was nothing that the Holy League was more in want of than money. The Bishop of Gurk offered the Florentines the Imperial protection in consideration of a sum of 40,000 florins. Soderini hesitated, and the Republic was lost. Julian de' Medici, third son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who had also appeared at the congress, hinted that, if the armies of the League were in want of money, they could more readily procure it from the Medici than from the popular party at Florence. The argument was irresistible. The congress ordered Don Raymond de Cardona, with the Spanish army, accompanied by the Cardinal John de Medici, to march upon Florence and change the government.

The Spaniards, crossing the Apennines, approached Florence by Barberino and Prato. The latter place was taken by assault,

[1] Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* t. xiv. p. 128 sq.

August 30th, when a general massacre and pillage ensued, accompanied with atrocities which surpassed even those committed at Brescia and Ravenna. Meanwhile the Florentines were deliberating on the proposition of Cardona, who had demanded the banishment of Soderini and the restoration of the Medici, not, however, as lords, but simply as private citizens. The Grand Council consented to the latter demand, on condition that Soderini should remain at the head of the Republic, and that no changes should be made in their laws and government. But after the capture of Prato Cardona raised his terms, and demanded in addition a large sum of money. The barbarities perpetrated at Prato had filled the Florentines with consternation; the Gonfalonier himself could not conceal his terror, and offered to abdicate. In this conjuncture the revolution which restored the Medici was accomplished by a literary society of some thirty young men, who were accustomed to assemble in the gardens of Bernardo Ruccellai, and who had previously been in secret correspondence with Julian de' Medici. On the morning of the 31st of August the conspirators proceeded to the Public Palace, seized Soderini, and having assembled the government, compelled them to depose him. Ambassadors were then despatched to Cardona, to accept the terms already named; the money payment being fixed at 80,000 florins for the Spanish army, 40,000 for the Emperor, and 20,000 for Cardona himself.

Cardinal John de' Medici, although the eldest surviving son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, did not desire for himself the headship of the Florentine State; his views were directed to the Papacy, which he obtained in the following year. But in spite of the terms of the capitulation, he wished to procure for his brother Julian the supreme power at Florence. Julian entered the city before his condemnation had been reversed (September 2nd); and the measures which he first concerted with the Albizzi, now his partisans, were of a sufficiently mild and liberal character. But on the 14th the Cardinal, who had hitherto remained at Prato, entered Florence with a large military escort, and took possession of the Medici palace. On the next day Julian proceeded to the Public Palace, and having intimidated the government, and summoned what was called a *balía*, or assembly of the people, which was composed in reality of his own creatures and soldiers, he established, in place of the former constitutional government, a narrow oligarchy, which subsisted till the expulsion of the Medici in 1527.

It was soon discovered that Julian had not energy enough to

curb the turbulent democracy of Florence; and after the elevation of Cardinal John de' Medici to the Papal throne, he resigned his authority to his nephew Lorenzo, took up his residence at Rome, and was appointed Captain-General of the Church. Under Lorenzo the Florentine government became a perfect despotism.[1] On the other hand, Genoa recovered her liberty, if the various phases of sedition and anarchy which characterized that Republic deserve the sacred name. The exile Gian Fregoso, being sent thither by the allies, raised an insurrection, drove out the French, and was elected Doge (June 29th).

Both Ferdinand of Aragon and his son-in-law Henry VIII. were very dissatisfied with the Pope's alliance with Maximilian. Ferdinand's attention, however, was at this moment engrossed with his domestic policy, and he was endeavouring to add the Kingdom of Navarre to his dominions. After Eleanor's brief reign, to which we have already adverted, the blood-stained sceptre of Navarre passed to her grandson Francis Phœbus, 1479, who, however, lived only four years, and was succeeded by his sister Catharine. Ferdinand and Isabella endeavoured to effect a marriage between Catharine and their own heir; but this scheme was frustrated by Magdalen, Catharine's mother, a sister of Louis XI. of France, who brought about a match between her daughter and John d'Albret, a Gascon nobleman, who had large possessions on the border of Navarre (1485). Nevertheless the Spanish Sovereigns supported Catharine and her husband against her uncle John of Foix, Viscount of Narbonne, who pretended to the Navarrese Crown on the ground that it was limited to male heirs; and after John's death the alliance with Spain was drawn still closer by the avowed purpose of Louis XII. to support his nephew, Gaston of Foix, in the claims of his father. After that young hero's fall at Ravenna, his pretensions to the throne of Navarre devolved to his sister, Germaine of Foix, the second wife of King Ferdinand; an event which entirely altered the relations between the Courts of Castile and Navarre.[2] Ferdinand had now an interest in supporting the claims of the house of Foix-Narbonne; and Catharine, who distrusted him, despatched in May, 1512, plenipotentiaries to the French Court to negotiate a treaty of alliance. John d'Albret, Catharine's husband, was a careless, easy Prince, who hated show and ceremony; he heard every day

[1] "Hora non si serva più ordine; quel ch' el vol (Lorenzin) è fatto."—*Relazione* di S. Marin Zorzi, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 259. (Mrs. Austin's transl.)

[2] See Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. vii. p. 411. This circumstance is totally overlooked by Prescott.

two or three Masses, dined with any body who would invite him, attended every village festival, and danced in public with the wives and daughters of his peasantry and citizens. In vain Louis XII. advised him to be on his guard against Ferdinand; John continued his easy course of life, while the storm preparing for him was ready to burst over his devoted head.

We have already adverted to the treaty between Ferdinand of Aragon and his son-in-law, Henry VIII., for the avowed purpose of invading Guienne.[1] Henry communicated that project to his Parliament in February, 1512; and he represented that his views in creating this diversion were also to oblige Louis to dissolve the Council of Pisa, and to restore Bologna to the Holy See. The English Parliament is said to have been seduced by a timely present from the Pope. A vessel laden with Greek wines and southern fruits displayed, for the first time, the Pontifical standard in the Thames, and the English senators, corrupted by the distribution of these delicacies, are represented as voting, in consequence, liberal supplies for an object so foreign to their interests! We may with more probability ascribe these grants to the favour which a war with France still found in the minds of the English people. But from this purpose the English forces were diverted by the duplicity of the wily Ferdinand. Having sent his own vessels to convey the English army, near 10,000 strong, for a pretended expedition against Bayonne, Ferdinand caused it to be landed at Pasages, in Guipuzcoa, June 8th; and he then represented to the Marquis of Dorset, the English commander, that it would first of all be necessary to occupy the Kingdom of Navarre, as the inclinations of its Sovereigns could not be trusted. King John, indeed, soon afterwards concluded, at Blois (July 17th), a treaty with Louis XII., one stipulation of which was that neither Power should allow the enemies of the other to pass through its dominions; and the King of Navarre further pledged himself to declare war against the English assembled in Guipuzcoa. Dorset was not slow to perceive the real drift of Ferdinand's policy, the nature of his relations with Navarre, and the reasons why he had carried the English to Spain and dissuaded them from making a direct attack upon France; and he consequently declined to exceed his instructions by entering upon a war with the Navarrese. The mere presence of the English army, however, assisted the designs of the Catholic King, by overawing his opponents. Ferdinand, who was aided by the Navarrese faction of the Beaumonts,

[2] Above, p. 298.

to which his general, the Duke of Alva[1] belonged, ordered his army to invade Navarre. The pretexts which he alleged for this act were, that Navarrese Sovereigns had refused his demands that they should accede to the Holy League, grant him free passage through their dominions, and guarantee their neutrality by delivering to him six of their principal fortresses. Another ground adduced breathed all the hypocrisy of Ferdinand. In joining Louis the Navarrese Sovereigns had recognized the Council of Pisa, and were therefore comprised in the excommunication fulminated against its adherents, which involved the deprivation of their dominions! In fact, Ferdinand, in letters written during this period, attributes his unjust and ambitious aggression to a desire of extirpating "the accursed schism," and saw in the rapid success which attended his arms the miraculous interposition of Providence.[2] King John retired before the Spaniards to Lumbier, and, after in vain invoking the help of the French, took refuge with his family in the French Kingdom; while Alva, who found but small resistance, subdued nearly the whole of Upper Navarre in less than a fortnight. He even penetrated into Lower Navarre, but, not meeting with the support which he expected from the English, was obliged to retire before the Duke of Longueville and the French troops, the veterans of Italy under La Palisse. Alva threw himself into Pamplona, which he succeeded in defending. The Marquis of Dorset, who loudly complained, and not without reason, that his master had been duped, re-embarked his forces in October, and returned to England without having had an opportunity to strike a single blow. Ferdinand affected to assume that he was the injured party in this transaction, "which," he observes in one of his letters, "touches me most deeply, for the stain it leaves upon the honour of the most serene King, my son-in-law, and the glory of the English nation, so distinguished in times past for high and chivalrous enterprise."[3] The policy of the Catholic King was, however, crowned with substantial success, as we shall here relate by anticipation. In the following year he effected at Orthez a year's truce with Louis XII. (April 1st, 1513), by which Louis sacrificed his ally, the King of Navarre, and afterwards, by renewing the truce, allowed Ferdinand permanently to settle himself in his new conquest. The States of Navarre had previously taken the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand as their

[1] Grandfather of the Duke of Alva, notorious for his cruelties in the Netherlands.

[2] Prescott, vol. iii. p. 334.

[3] Prescott, *ibid.* p. 337, who, from his way of relating the story, seems to partake the opinion of his hero Ferdinand.

King, and on the 15th of June, 1515, Navarre was incorporated into the Kingdom of Castile by the solemn act of the Cortes. The dominions of John d'Albret and Catharine were now reduced to the little territory of Béarn, but they still retained the royal title of Navarre.

Pope Julius II. was dead before Ferdinand consummated his treachery towards the Holy League by the truce of Orthez. Julius was still occupied with his favourite scheme of expelling the "Barbarians" from Italy, as well as with his plans for extending the domains of the Church, when he was attacked by a slow fever and dysentery, which after a few days proved mortal (February 21st, 1513). He was a Pontiff, observes Guicciardini, worthy of imperishable glory had he worn any other crown than the tiara; and certainly the idea of making the Papacy the instrument of Italian liberation was a grand one, however incompatible with the proper vocation of the Holy See. Julius must be regarded as the founder of the States of the Church, which in great part had been acquired by Cæsar Borgia to gratify his own selfish ambition. Macchiavelli has observed that, before the time of Julius, the most insignificant baron despised the Papal power, of which subsequently even the King of France stood in awe. Julius II. was economical, and even miserly, in his way of life, confining the expenses of his household to 1,500 ducats a month,[1] so that, in spite of his constant wars, he left a considerable sum in his treasury. Yet, as a ruler, all his ideas were on a gigantic scale. He resumed the building of St. Peter's, in which, and other architectural designs, he found in Michael Angelo Buonarotti a genius of kindred vastness to assist him. One of his last acts was to deprive Louis XII. of the title of "Most Christian," and to transfer it to Henry VIII. by a decree of the Lateran Council; and at the same time he issued a bull laying France, with exception of Brittany, under an Interdict.[2]

[1] *Relazione* di Domenego Trivixian, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 257.

[2] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* 1512, t. xi. p. 638. Cf. Guicciardini, lib. xi.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE period which we have been hitherto contemplating was marked by the commencement of ocean navigation, which, by the discoveries it effected, had a wonderful effect on the commerce of modern Europe, and on the respective power and resources of its several States. It therefore becomes necessary to give some account of these discoveries, which could not well have been presented, in a connected form, in the preceding chapters.

A knowledge of the properties of the magnet was a necessary antecedent of distant ocean voyages and the discovery of unknown lands. Like gunpowder, however, the magnetic needle was long known before it was applied to its present use. The invention of the compass has been attributed to Flavio Gioja, a native of Amalfi, who flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century; but though Dr. Robertson laments that Gioja has been defrauded of his just fame,[1] it is certain that the compass was known nearly two centuries before his time. It is minutely described in a Provençal poem by Guiot of Provins, supposed to have been written towards the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.[2] The age of Guiot may indeed be disputed; yet that the compass was known at least in the first half of the thirteenth century, appears from the writings of Cardinal Vitry (Jacobus de Vitriaco), Bishop of Acre, in Syria, who died in 1244. Vitry, indeed, in his "History of the East," confounds the magnet with the adamant or diamond, as some of our own writers have also done; yet he describes the polarity of the magnetic needle, and intimates its indispensable necessity to navigation.[3] In 1263 the magnetic needle, fitted in a box, was in common use among the Norwegians. A letter written by Pietro Peregrini in 1269, and preserved among the manuscripts in the University of Leyden, contains a scientific account of the properties of the magnetic needle, and even of the construction of the

[1] *Hist. of America*, book i.
[2] Koch, *Révol. de l'Europe*, t. i. p. 246.
[3] The passage of Vitry is in Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, t. iv. lib. ii. c. ii. s. 30.

azimuth compass.[1] The description of Guiot of Provins, who was probably older than the authors cited, shows the compass in a very rudimentary state; merely a needle rubbed on a loadstone, and floating on a cork or other light substance in a vessel filled with water; a method, however, used early in the twelfth century by the Chinese, who were acquainted with the compass long before it was known in Europe.[2] The English, with that talent for practical adaptation which characterizes them, seem to have made great improvements in the compass.[3]

But although the compass was so early known, it was not till the fifteenth century that voyages of discovery were prosecuted on any systematic plan. The Spaniards had indeed discovered the Canary Islands about the middle of the fourteenth century, but rather by accident than from design; which might easily have happened, as they lie considerably less than 200 miles from the continent of Africa. Cape Non on that continent, which lies opposite to the Canaries, was long considered an impassable boundary, till an expedition fitted out by the Portuguese King John I., or the Bastard, in 1412, succeeded in doubling it and reaching Cape Bojador, 160 miles further.[4] The only effect of this voyage was to awaken a desire for further discoveries. King John's fourth son, Henry,[5] who was distinguished both by an enterprising temper and a love of art and science, especially geography, establishing his residence at Sagres (Tercena Naval, afterwards called *Villa do Infante*), near Cape St. Vincent in the Algarves, gathered around him from all quarters men practically acquainted with navigation, as well as others versed in mathematics and astronomy, and discussed with them bold projects of maritime enterprise. Henry's cares were rewarded by the discovery of the Madeiras[6] (1419), and subsequently of the Azores, Cape Verde, and Guinea. His death in 1463 checked the progress of these voyages, which had extended to within five degrees of the equinoctial line.

[1] Torpæus, *Hist. Norv.* Pars IV. lib vi. c. 4, p. 345. Peregrini's name has been erroneously converted into *Adsiger*. See Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.* t. iii. p. 31, note.

[2] Klaproth, ap. Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.* t. iii. p. 34.

[3] On the subject of the compass see further, Gilbertus, *De Magnete*, lib. i. c. 4 and 5; Pluche, *Spectacle de la Nature*, t. iv. p. 424.

[4] It appears, however, that Don Jayme Ferrer, a Catalan, had, in 1346, sailed six degrees to the south of Cape Non, and that some mariners of Dieppe had penetrated as far as Sierra Leone and Rio Sestos in 1364. Humboldt, *Ex. Crit.* t. i. p. 284.

[5] See above, p. 65.

[6] Madeira is said to have been previously discovered by an Englishman named Macham, or Machin, who, flying to France with a lady of whom he was enamoured, was driven by stress of weather to that island. Sir Geo. Staunton's *Acc. of an Embassy to China*, vol. i. p. 65; and Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, App. No. xxvii.

The importance of these discoveries had roused the apprehension of the Portuguese that their title to the possession of them might be contested; and in order to settle this question, they applied to Pope Eugenius IV., who issued a bull liberally granting to Portugal all the lands from Cape Non to India! The Popes claimed a peculiar property in all islands and undiscovered lands, rather, it would seem, as the successors of the Roman emperors, than, as some authors have asserted, as the Vicars of Christ upon earth. The Guelf doctors and canonists held that the Pope was lord of all the world, while the Ghibeline doctors assigned that lordship to the Emperor. In accordance with the former of these views, Pope Adrian IV. had bestowed Ireland on Henry II.; and in 1295 Boniface VIII. granted Gerba and some other islands on the African coast to Admiral Ruggiero di Loria, on condition of homage and tribute.[1]

King Edward, the eldest brother of Prince Henry, and successor of their father John, and Edward's son Alfonso V., did not pay much attention to navigation; but the spirit of maritime discovery was revived by Alfonso's son John II., who ascended the throne in 1481. In 1484, a Portuguese fleet sailed 1,500 miles south of the line, and observed the stars and constellations of another hemisphere; settlements were made on the coast of Guinea, which were fortified, and a regular trade was established. From their own experience of the line of coast, as well as from information obtained from the natives, the Portuguese now began to conceive the possibility of reaching India by a southern navigation, agreeably to the ancient accounts of the Phœnician voyages. To acquire information and aid in effecting this design, John II. despatched two ambassadors to the King of Abyssinia, a Christian Prince, near the Red Sea, whom he supposed to be the Prester John, famed in the stories of eastern travellers, and from their inquiries it was evident that a passage round Africa to India was feasible. Meanwhile, however, Bartolomeo Diaz had already set off to attempt it. In spite of great dangers from storms and mutinous crews, this enterprising navigator sailed far enough south not only to descry but to *double*[2]

Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, lib. xix. c. 5. When Albert of Austria sent deputies to Boniface VIII., requesting to be recognized as King of the Romans, that Pope appeared in public with sword and cuirass, and said, "It is I who am the Cæsar. There is no other King of the Romans but the sovereign pontiff." And after opening the Jubilee in his pontifical habit, he showed himself, the following day, to the multitude of pilgrims that swarmed in Rome, with the imperial ensigns, the sword, the sceptre, and the globe. Baillet, *Hist. des Démêlés de Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, p. 69 sq. ap. Martin, t. iv. p. 423.

[2] Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.* t. i. p. 232.

the *Cabo Tormentoso,* or Cape of Storms, the southern boundary of Africa (1487) ; and as the coast beyond was ascertained to trend to the north-east, the prospect of success seemed now so clear that King John renamed this headland *Cabo de Boa Esperança,* or Cape of Good Hope.

The discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in the East Indies were, however, reserved to be effected in the reign of John II.'s cousin, Emanuel the Great, who ascended the throne on John's death in 1495.[1] Vasco da Gama, having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at Calicut on the Malabar coast in May, 1498, and returned to Portugal in the following year ; without indeed having founded any settlement, but bringing home a rich cargo of the various products of the country. In 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral, with a Portuguese fleet, having stood to the westward in order to avoid the calms and variable breezes on the African coast, arrived off the coast of Brazil and took possession of that country, of which Cabral considered himself the discoverer, for the Crown of Portugal. But though his pretensions in this respect have till lately been sanctioned by the highest authorities,[2] it appears from more recent researches that two Castilian navigators, one of whom was Vicente Pinzon, the companion of Columbus, had previously landed there and claimed the country for Spain.[3] These conflicting pretensions were settled by the treaty of Tordesillas, to which we shall advert further on.

While the Portuguese were making this progress in eastern navigation, the Spaniards had made still more brilliant and striking discoveries in a new hemisphere, though probably not more important in a commercial point of view.

The existence of a fourth continent and of a race of antipodes had been at least suspected by the ancients centuries before the beginning of our æra. The sphericity of the earth was known to the Pythagoreans. Plato in his *Timæus*[4] refers to an Atlantis greater than Asia and Africa put together. Aristotle asserted the possibility of sailing from the extremity of Europe or Africa to the eastern parts of Asia,[5] and the same idea was adopted by

[1] These conquests are related by the Portuguese historian Osorio, whose work has been translated by Gibbs. See also the Abbé Raynal, *Hist. des Etablissemens des Européens dans les deux Indes* (translated by Justamond) ; Robertson, *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India,* sect. iii.; De la Clède, *Hist. générale de Portugal.*

[2] Robertson, *Hist. of America,* book ii. ; Raynal, *Hist. of Settlements, &c.,* book ix. *sub init. ;* Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce,* vol. ii. p. 19, &c.

[3] Navarrete, *Viages,* t. iii. p. 18 sq., ap. Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.* vol. ii. p. 468.

[4] P. 25, tom. vii. p. 12 sq., ed. Tauchn.

[5] *De Cœlo,* lib. ii. c. 14.

Strabo.[1] Aristotle likewise thought it probable that there were other lands in the opposite hemisphere;[2] and Ælian also maintained the existence of a fourth continent of enormous extent.[3] Seneca the philosopher affirms that with a fair wind the voyage from Spain to the Indies might be accomplished in a few days;[4] and the same writer in one of his tragedies has uttered on the subject the following most precise and striking prophecy:

> "Venient annis sæcula seris
> Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
> Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
> Tethysque novos detegat orbes
> Nec sit terris ultima Thule."[5]

A prophecy which could hardly have been uttered but for the prevailing opinion among the learned just alluded to.

This remarkably consentient opinion of civilized antiquity continued to prevail during the earlier ages of Christianity till the Doctors of the Church, with that narrowness of view which led them to stifle all liberal knowledge, did their best to suppress it, and thus contributed to defer its realization.[6] The work called *Christian Topography* (Τοπογραφία Χριστιανική), attributed to Cosmas Indicopleustes, exhibits the strange geographical notions which must have been entertained by the Fathers of the Church. It is a return to barbarism. The earth is described as a vast oblong plain, more than twice as long from east to west as it is broad, and surrounded by the ocean. The old idea nevertheless partially survived, and was recorded by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, and by other writers in the Middle Ages.[7]

Even the circumnavigation of Africa by the Portuguese had been anticipated six centuries before the Christian æra. With some minds antiquity is a fatal objection to any narrative that appears a little extraordinary, or that runs counter to their own narrow prejudices: yet a capricious incredulity is a more dangerous critical fault than too ready a belief; and there are two circumstances in Herodotus's narration[8] of the voyage round the African continent, undertaken by some Phœnician mariners at

[1] Lib. i. p. 103, and lib. ii. p. 162, Alm. ed.

[2] *De Mundo*, c. 3.

[3] *Var. Hist.* lib. iii. c. 18.

[4] *Nat. Q.* Præf. 11.

[5] *Medea*, act ii. v. 375. "The time will come in distant years when Ocean may relax the bonds of things, and an immense region be laid open: Tethys may then unveil new worlds, and Thule be no longer the remotest spot of land."

[6] See the arguments against the theory of Antipodes in Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* lib. iii. c. 24, and in St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, lib. xvi. c. 9.

[7] All the ancient and mediæval learning on this curious and interesting subject, will be found collected in Humboldt's *Exam. Crit. de l'Hist. de la Géogr. du nouveau Continent*, § 1.

[8] Lib. iv. c. 42.

the command of Pharaoh Necho, which give it an indelible stamp of truth. By this voyage it was discovered that Africa was detached from any other continent except at the Isthmus of Suez, and could consequently be circumnavigated. Again, the Phœnicians asserted that on their voyage (which, as they started from the Red Sea and returned by the Columns of Hercules, or Straits of Gibraltar, was performed from east to west) they had the sun on the *right* hand. Both these circumstances are true, yet neither could be guessed *à priori;* the latter indeed was so contrary to all experience and probability, that Herodotus himself refused to believe it. These two facts are sufficient to dispose of the futile objections which have been raised against the story.

It is probable that America had been visited by Europeans centuries before the time of Columbus. Historians who long preceded him have related that, towards the close of the tenth century, Eric Rauda, Biorn, and other Icelandic navigators, visited Greenland and a country lying to the south-west of it, which they called Winland, from its grapes. In this country the sun is described as being eight hours above the horizon in the shortest day; and as this would happen in about latitude 49°, Winland was probably Newfoundland. A colony was settled there, but after a time all intercourse with it was dropped. As the distance between Iceland and Greenland is not great, there is no *à priori* improbability in this account, which is attested by most respectable authorities.[1] Other voyages and discoveries, as that of the Welsh Prince Madoc ap Owen in 1170,[2] and the navigation towards India by the west of the two Genoese, Guido de' Vivaldi and Teodosio Doria, in 1281 and 1292, are perhaps not so well authenticated. But in the time of Columbus these discoveries seem to have fallen into oblivion.

Little is known about the early life of Christopher Columbus.[3]

[1] As Adam of Bremen, who died in 1076, in his *De Situ Daniæ;* Ordericus Vitalis, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, in his *Hist. Eccl.* ann. 1098; and Snerro Sturlesson, who was repeatedly Lawman of Iceland, 1215—1232, in his *Hist. Olafi Trygves,* ap. Macpherson, vol. i. p. 280. Cf. Mallet, *Introd. à l'Hist. de Dannemarc*, ch. xi., and Forster, *Hist. of Voyages in the North.*

[2] Dr. Powel, *Hist. of Wales*, ap. Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 340. Cf. Humboldt, *Ex. Crit.* t. i. p. 29.

[3] His biography has been written by his son, Fernando Colon (the Spanish name of the family), entitled *Historia del Almirante.* One of the most authentic works on Columbus and his discoveries is the first two vols. of the *Viages y Descubrimientos* of Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete (1825), who was commissioned by the Spanish Government to examine the public archives for materials. These volumes were used by Washington Irving for his *Life of Columbus.* A contemporary author, Peter Martyr, wrote a book, *De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe*, but somewhat hastily compiled, and therefore frequently erroneous. Another leading authority is Herrera,

He was a native of the territory of Genoa, but the year of his birth is so utterly unknown as to have been variously placed between 1430 and 1455. It was probably 1436. Columbus was bred to the sea, and served not only in the merchant service, but also in some warlike maritime expeditions, as that of John of Anjou for the conquest of Naples in 1459, and in some cruises against the Turks and Venetians, in which he distinguished himself by his bravery. According to his own account, Columbus visited *Tille*, or Thule, by which he probably meant either the Feroe Isles or Iceland.[1] In 1470 he proceeded to Portugal, and remained in that country till 1484. His love of enterprise was no doubt stimulated by the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese; and it has been recently proved that he conceived the first idea of his great discovery shortly after his arrival in that country, and consequently three years before he was in communication on the subject with Paolo Toscanelli.[2] There can be no doubt, however, that his correspondence with Toscanelli, a Florentine physician and distinguished cosmographer, fortified Columbus in his project. Everything proves that his original idea and principal purpose were to reverse the Portuguese method, and to seek a passage to India, the land of gold and spices, by sailing westward; and that the discovery of lands between Europe and the eastern shores of India was only a secondary consideration both with him and Toscanelli. The idea was necessarily founded on the sphericity of the earth, and on the geographical opinions of some of the ancients, which, as we have said, were not altogether extinguished during the Middle Ages, and which Columbus appears to have more immediately derived from the treatise *De Imagine Mundi* of Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambray. The theory that an unknown land, which he supposed to be India, lay at no great distance in the western ocean, was confirmed by the circumstance of trees, pieces of carved timber, and other things, having been cast by the waves on the coast of Madeira and the Azores; nay, even the bodies of two men of unknown race. Columbus was also encouraged by his own errors and those of the authors on whom he relied. He did not imagine that the globe was so large as it really is, and thought that

Historia General de las Indias Occidentales, which is a good deal founded on the contemporary but unpublished *Cronica de las Indias Occidentales* of Las Casas.

[1] MS. on the *Cinco Zonas Habitables*, ap. Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.* t. i. p. 102. The MS. says the visit was made in 1477, but Humboldt thinks this must be a mistake.

[2] Navarrete, *Viages*, t. i. p. lxxix. ap. Humboldt, *ibid.* p. 12. Paolo Toscanelli erected in 1468 the great gnomon in the cathedral of Florence.

India extended much further to the east, leaving consequently a smaller space of ocean to be traversed.

It does not detract from the merit of Columbus that his project was founded on the previous opinions of others, and on such slight evidence in favour of it as could be collected; on the contrary, allowing it to be possible that the idea could have even entered his mind without these aids, still he would rather deserve to be called a madman than the greatest of all discoverers, if he had set out on his voyage without a rational probability of success. His merit consists in having realized, by courage and perseverance, what others had only speculated on in their closets. Like Luther, and all the other great benefactors of mankind, he was the man of action. Thought is a noble thing, and must necessarily precede all great and noble undertakings; but so long as it remains merely thought, it is of no practical benefit to mankind.

It is well known what difficulty Columbus found to persuade the Princes and Powers of the world to help him in realizing the magnificent theory which had taken such complete possession of his own mind. For many years he applied in vain, first to the Genoese Republic,—for he wished to bestow on his own country the honour and profit of that great discovery and precious birth of time—as well as to the governments of Portugal, England, and Spain. He was not, however, a man to be easily discouraged and thrust aside. Like most great geniuses, he had a vein of enthusiasm in his temper; and it appears from the frequency of his citing it, that the aforementioned prophecy of Seneca had made a deep impression on his mind; deeper, perhaps, than the more learned opinions of the ancient writers. This disposition degenerated, indeed, in his old age into a kind of superstition, when his soul, like that of Newton, became engrossed by a mystic theology. In a letter addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella from Jamaica, in July 1503, and still more strongly in the sketch of his extravagant work entitled *Prophecies* (*Profecias*), written a year or two later, he professes that neither human reason, nor mathematical science, nor maps of the world had been of any service in his enterprise, which was simply an accomplishment of the predictions of Isaiah. This result, and the gold which his discoveries might afford for effecting the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre, are, he asserts, alone of importance. All the letters of Columbus, indeed, express the greatest anxiety to amass gold; but this sordid desire is covered with the veil of religion. Thus in one of his letters he says:—"Gold is a most excellent thing; whoever possesses it is master

of everything in the world; it even brings souls into Paradise:"[1] a reference apparently to the practice of buying indulgences.

We have entered rather fully into the circumstances which led to the discovery of America, both because that event is one of the most striking and important of the 15th century, and because it is, perhaps, more entertaining and instructive to trace the rise and development of a great idea than to detail the steps by which it was carried into practical execution. The latter, indeed, our space does not allow, nor is it necessary to our purpose. The narratives of the discoveries, conquests, and settlements of the Portuguese and Spaniards in the East and West Indies are episodes in the history of Europe, important only in relation to the effects which they produced on its commerce, politics, and manners; and we shall therefore only briefly indicate the leading features of these discoveries.

Shortly after the conquest of Granada by the Spanish Sovereigns in 1492, Columbus,[2] after many tedious years of suspense, at length succeeded in gaining for his scheme the sanction and assistance of Queen Isabella. An agreement was signed with him constituting him High Admiral in all the seas and Viceroy in all the lands which he might discover, securing him one-tenth of the nett profits of their products, and another one-eighth on condition of his furnishing one-eighth of the expense of the expedition. Ferdinand, though he signed this agreement, refused to take any part in the enterprise, the expenses and profits of which were therefore limited to Castile. Columbus appears to have been aided in advancing his stipulated share of the outfit by Martin Pinzon, a wealthy shipowner and experienced navigator of Palos de Moguer, a little seaport town in Andalusia. Pinzon had been one of the chief patrons of his scheme, and with his brothers Vicente and Francisco, not only furnished one of the vessels required for the expedition, but also engaged personally to accompany it.

On the 3rd of August, 1492, Columbus left the mouth of the Odiel with his little squadron, consisting of three ships; the largest of which, the Santa Maria, in which he hoisted his flag, was under 100 tons' burden, and the only one decked. The two other vessels, called *caravels*, were little better than boats, being open in the centre, with cabins in the stern and forecastle.[3] Our

[1] See Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.* t. i. p. 110. Cf. p. 15 sq.

[2] He appears to have been present at the surrender of Granada by Boabdil. Wash. Irving, *Life of Columbus*, ch. vi.

[3] Columbus seems purposely to have chosen small vessels, as better suited by

limits will not permit us to pursue the details of this extraordinary voyage,[1] which forms, perhaps, the most interesting chapter in all the records of human adventure. Suffice it to say that, after touching at the Canaries to refit, and again sailing thence on September 6th, the sagacity and perseverance of Columbus, and the courage and fortitude with which he braved not only the perils of that long and unknown navigation, but also the still more formidable danger of alarmed and mutinous crews, were at length rewarded by the discovery of land (Friday, October 12th). This proved to be one of the Bahama islands. Columbus called it San Salvador, but it is better known by the native name of Guanahani. In his further searches he discovered the large and important islands of Cuba and Haiti, the latter of which he called Hispaniola. The loss, however, of his largest ship, and other events, compelled Columbus to return to Europe. After building a little wooden fort which he called Navidad, or Christmas, where he left a garrison of thirty-nine men, he set sail from Hispaniola, January 4th, 1493; and after many adventures, being driven by a fearful storm into the Tagus, he landed at Lisbon, February 24th. Here he had an interview with King John II., who received him with much apparent honour, but with secret jealousy and mortification at his success. Columbus arrived at Palos March 15th, seven months and eleven days after the date of his sailing thence. In proof of his success he had brought home with him some native Indians, as well as birds, stuffed specimens of animals, and bracelets and other ornaments of gold. We have already adverted to the splendid reception which he met with from Ferdinand and Isabella at Barcelona.

The Spanish Sovereigns were readily induced by the success of Columbus's first voyage to fit out another expedition on a larger scale. A fleet of seventeen ships was prepared, reckoned to carry 1,500 persons, with all the means and appliances necessary for colonizing; and so great was now the ardour to share in the enterprise that many persons of distinction volunteered to join it. A board was established at Seville for the management of the affairs of India; for Columbus still believed that he had touched at the eastern parts of that country; whence the islands which he discovered have still retained the name of *Indies*, though qualified with the epithet of *West*.

their little draught of water for voyages of discovery, in coasting unknown shores, and exploring bays and rivers. See Wash. Irving, *Life of Columbus*, App. xvi.

[1] The reader who is inclined to enjoy the pleasures of romance, combined with the truth of history, may read the account of it in the pages of Washington Irving.

There was one circumstance, however, which gave the Catholic Sovereigns some uneasiness. They felt no scruple in wresting these newly discovered lands from their native masters, who were infidels and enemies of Christ, and consequently their possessions conceived to be lawfully at the mercy of the first Christian Prince who could seize upon them; but the King of Portugal, as we have said, had already obtained from the Pope a donation of the Indies, and King John had referred to this matter in his interview with Columbus at Lisbon. A fresh appeal to the Pope seemed to be the only way to escape this embarrassment. Alexander VI., who then occupied the See of Peter, was a Spaniard by birth, and might be presumed therefore to view with favour the claims of the Spanish Sovereigns; which, however, were urged upon him in that high and independent tone which, in the midst of all its bigotry, distinguished at that time the intercourse of the Spanish Court with Rome. Alexander readily undertook to settle a question which appeared to him the simplest in the world. The theory of the sphericity of the earth, on which the discoveries of Columbus were founded, and in accordance with which the Spanish and Portuguese adventurers might come into collision in their new settlements, was an erroneous notion which could not for a moment be entertained by the See of Rome. Unfolding the orthodox map, before mentioned, of Cosmas Indicopleustes, from which it appeared that the longer the Spaniards sailed to the west, and the Portuguese to the east, the further they would be separated from one another, Pope Alexander drew with infallible hand from north to south a line of *demarcation*, passing 100 leagues to the west of the Azores and Cape Verde; all to the east of this line he gave to Portugal, all to the west, to Spain.[1]

The jealousy of the King of Portugal, however, was not so easily appeased. By the advice of some of his courtiers he had prepared, under pretence of an expedition to Africa, a naval armament, destined to seize the countries discovered by Columbus; and as King Ferdinand had heard of these preparations, a keen diplomatic game ensued between the two Sovereigns. After lengthened negotiations, the points in dispute between the two Courts were arranged by the treaty of Tordesillas, June 7th, 1494, by which it was agreed that the line of demarcation should be placed 370 leagues to the west of the Cape Verde Islands. Under this treaty the Portuguese subsequently claimed Brazil.

[1] The bull is in Leibnitz, *Codex Diplom.* pars i. p. 72.

Meanwhile Columbus had set sail from Cadiz on his second voyage, September 25th, 1493, carrying with him Father Boyl and a troop of friars destined to convert the natives. He now held a more southerly course, which brought him to the Caribee Islands, November 2nd. Dominica, Marigalante, Guadalupe, Antigua, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and other islands, were successively discovered, and found to be inhabited by a race of ferocious cannibals, the very reverse of the gentle natives whom he had met with in his former voyage. On arriving at his settlement of Navidad, in Hispaniola, he found that all his men had been destroyed by the natives, whom they had ill-treated. Having now greater means at his disposal, he founded a town, which he named Isabella, in honour of the Queen of Castile, and soon after erected Fort St. Thomas. But he had great difficulties to contend with. His followers were discontented and mutinous, and not the least turbulent among them was Father Boyl. Columbus now deemed it prudent to send home twelve ships for reinforcements. Meanwhile he set out on a further voyage (April 24th, 1494), which, however, after a five months' cruise, ended only in discovering Jamaica. On his return to Hispaniola, he found his colony there in the greatest distress. In March, 1496, he returned to Europe, where a new plan was formed of a settlement on a more extended scale; and as gold dust had been discovered in Hispaniola, the attention of the settlers was to be directed, not to cultivation, but to the working of that precious metal. Two years were spent in preparation, and in July, 1498, Columbus again set sail with only six ships. On this occasion he steered due south till near the equinoctial line, and then to the west. Trinidad was discovered August 1st, and soon after the American continent (Paria and Cumana) with the small adjacent islands. On the 30th of August he again reached Hispaniola. The success of Columbus stimulated other navigators to emulate his voyages. One of the most eminent of those who followed in his track, the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci, had either the address or the good fortune to make it appear that he had first discovered the American continent in 1497, which to the disparagement of Columbus, has from him derived its name.[1]

The profits of Columbus's discoveries did not answer the

[1] Humboldt, in his *Examen Critique*, explains as follows the way in which the name of Amerigo Vespucci came to be given to the new continent. Vespucci wrote a letter to René, Duke of Lorraine, giving an account of his voyage, which letter was placed by the duke in the hands of Martin Waldseemüller, an excellent cosmographer of Fribourg, who published some popular geographical works, under the Grecianized name of Hylacomylus. Waldseemüller seems to have first proposed the name of America for the newly discovered continent *proprio motu*, and

expectations of the Spanish Sovereigns; jealousy and envy were at work against him, the minds of Ferdinand and Isabella were poisoned by the machinations of his enemies, and in 1500 Don Francisco de Bovadilla, Commander of the Order of Calatrava, was despatched to Hispaniola to inquire into the charges of maladministration which had been brought against the Indian Viceroy. Bovadilla was a man of small and malignant mind; he encouraged the colonists to bring accusations against Columbus, whom he caused to be arrested, and sent home in irons. On Columbus's arrival in Spain, December 17th, 1500, the Spanish Sovereigns ordered him, indeed, to be set at liberty; but although he cleared himself from the charges brought against him, he was superseded in the government of Hispaniola.

The active mind of Columbus was still brooding over new schemes of discovery. The experience of his former voyages had taught him that he must look still further for the shores of India; he anticipated the existence of the great Pacific Ocean, which he thought might perhaps be entered by a narrow strait, and India reached. He set out from Cadiz on his fourth and last voyage, May 9th, 1502, with only four small barks, and discovered on this occasion the coast of the American main from Cape Gracias a Dios to Puertobello; but he was not destined to behold the Pacific. Compelled to quit the Honduras coast by violent hurricanes, he bore away for Hispaniola, and in the passage was wrecked at Jamaica. Here he was forced to linger more than a year; for, though two of his officers, Mendez a Spaniard, and Fieschi a Genoese, had with incredible difficulty and danger contrived to reach Hispaniola in a canoe, Ovando, the governor, from a mean jealousy of Columbus, could not for a long period be persuaded to send a vessel to bring him away. It was impossible for the Admiral to remain in Hispaniola with a man of the temper of Ovando; he quitted that island as soon as he could, and arrived at San Lucar, in Andalusia, December, 1504. Queen Isabella was now dead. The mean and ungrateful Ferdinand evaded the recognition of Columbus's claims under the agreement of 1492, amusing him with fair words and deceitful promises; till the great navigator, worn out by blasted hopes and the fatigues and troubles which he had undergone, died, unrewarded, at Valladolid, May 20th, 1506. Ferdinand may surely claim the first rank in the

without any suggestion on the part of Vespucci; and as his works had an extensive circulation, the appellation became irrevocably established. After all, it can scarcely be doubted that Cabot first saw the American continent in 1497.

list of pseudo and ungrateful patrons. Of Gonsalvo, indeed, who had acquired for him the Kingdom of Naples, and who was allowed to end his days in banishment and disgrace, it may be said that he had only discharged his duty as his Sovereign's officer; but Columbus, who had added a new world to the dominions of Spain, was actually cheated out of the reward stipulated by a solemn agreement under the royal hand.[1]

We shall only briefly pursue the principal remaining discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese during the period comprised in the preceding pages. In 1508 Puerto Rico was settled by the Spaniards. In 1509 Juan Diaz de Solis and Pinzon discovered long reaches of the coasts of South America, landed in several places, and took possession for the Crown of Spain. In 1511 Cuba was reduced by Diego Velasquez; and in the following year Florida was explored by Ponce de Leon. Ponce is said to have undertaken this voyage with a view to discover a miraculous fountain, whose waters were reputed to restore to the aged and decrepit all the vigour and beauty of youth. In 1513 Balboa penetrated into the Isthmus of Darien, and from the top of the Sierra de Quarequa first beheld the vast expense of the South Sea[2]—a discovery which excited almost as great a sensation as that of America.

Meanwhile the Portuguese had been extending their conquests and settlements in the East. Cabral, to whose expedition we have before adverted, established friendly relations with the *Zamorin*, or Ruler of Calicut, whose dominion extended over Malabar, and thence he pursued his voyage to Cochin and Cananor. The renowned Alfonso Albuquerque was, however, the chief founder of Portuguese power in India. He established a settlement at Goa, in the middle of the Malabar coast, one of the most advantageous posts in India (1508); and subsequently, by his conquest of the island of Ormus, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, obtained a station which commanded the trade between Persia and the East Indies. The Portuguese went on adding to their settlements at Malacca, the Molucca Islands, Ceylon, and other places; and though the route to India through Egypt and the Red Sea still lay open to European commerce, yet it had been rendered almost useless by the command which the

[1] Ferdinand, however, supplied the first tomb of Columbus in Seville Cathedral, with a noble inscription: A Castilla y a Leon Nuevo Mundo dió Colon (Columbus gave a new world to Castile and Leon). He asked for bread and received a stone! Vida, c. 108, ap. Humboldt, *Ex. Crit.* t. iii. p. 368.

[2] P. Martyr, *Opus Epistt.* Ep. 540.

Portuguese had obtained of the Indian markets, as well as by the superior advantages of the sea route.

England was not altogether without participation in these great maritime discoveries. In 1497, under the auspices of Henry VII., Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol, and one of three sons of John Cabot, a Venetian merchant settled in that city, sailed round the northern coast of Labrador, and penetrated into Hudson's Bay, in the attempt to find a north-west passage to India.[1] He reached as far as $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north; but being unable to go further, sailed to the south along the coast of America as far as 38°. His enterprise, however, led to no immediate advantage; for though some subsequent voyages were made, no trade or settlements were established. Thus the navigation of the Atlantic was first opened by men springing from the two great maritime Republics of Genoa and Venice, on whose Mediterranean commerce these discoveries were to inflict a fatal blow. The voyages of the French to Canada fall after this period.

The commercial effects of the discoveries in the East and West Indies were not immediately felt. We shall, therefore, postpone the consideration of them, and close this chapter by describing some of the results of the new European System, the commencement of which, inaugurated by the Italian wars of the French, has been shown in Chapter V. As before observed (p. 4), one of the effects of it was to establish a sort of community of nations, maintained by negotiations, treaties, and finally by a code of international law. In this intercourse of nations, ambassadors were necessary, and we will here give a brief sketch of the origin and progress of their functions.

Ambassadors,[2] who in early times, and even in the reign of Henry VIII., were called *orators*, were, of course, at all periods occasionally necessary in the intercourse of nations; yet except among the Venetians, embassy, as a diplomatic office, was un-

[1] The patent of John Cabot and his three sons, Louis, Sebastian, and Sancius, authorizing the expedition of discovery, and reserving one-fifth of the profits of the enterprise to the King, dated March 5th, in the 11th year of Henry VII. (1496), is in Rymer, t. xii. p. 595. The patent for another voyage, dated Feb. 3, 1498, which distinctly alludes to the discoveries made in the former one, is printed by Mr. Biddle from the original in the Rolls' Chapel, in his *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot* (p. 76); a work which contains an accurate examination of all the facts relating to the Cabots.

[2] Prescott (*Ferd. and Isab.* vol. i. p. 412) derives the word *ambassador* from the Spanish *embiar*, to send; an ambassador being, in other words, an envoy, or person sent. But though this derivation seems plausible, the words *ambactia*, legatio, *ambactiare*, legationem obire, with other allied forms, occur frequently in the Latin of the middle ages; and Ducange gives the etymology from the Gallic Latin *ambactus*, a hired servant, German, *Ambacht*. The following account of embassies is principally taken from Reumont, in Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1841.

known in the middle ages, and the functions of an ambassador were from time to time discharged by eminent men, when the interests of their country might require their services. The custom of employing resident ambassadors belongs to the period of modern history; for though the Kings of Poland and Sweden, the Knights of St. John and of the Teutonic Order, had residents at Rome in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who bore the title of *procurators*, these seem different from what we properly understand by the term *ambassador*. Mr. Prescott ascribes the introduction of resident ambassadors to Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain. The practice, however, does not appear to have become common till towards the middle of the sixteenth century; nor indeed during the whole of that century can the diplomatic career be said to have been thoroughly established, as the office of ambassador was often filled not by regularly bred diplomatists, but by distinguished ecclesiastics, magistrates, and influential citizens.

The Florentines distinguished themselves from an early period as diplomatists and ambassadors; and often undertook the office not only for their own city but also for foreign States; thus escaping one part of Sir Henry Wotton's definition, that, "an ambassador is a clever man sent abroad to lie for his country." Each of Florence's great literary triumvirate, Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, was employed as an ambassador, and at a later period Macchiavelli distinguished himself in the same capacity. His despatches, under the title of *Legazioni*, are published among his works, and although not correctly arranged, contain a treasure of authentic information respecting the persons as well as the political relations of the period. The Venetians, however, were the first to bestow any systematic attention upon embassies. The Venetian Signory, by an order of September 9th, 1268, directed their ambassadors to deliver up on their return all the presents they had received[1]; and in December of the same year the Great Council ordered them to make a report of what might be useful to the Government (Oratores in reditu dent in nota ea quæ sunt utilia Dominio). It was necessary that the Venetian ambassadors should be nobles and past the age of thirty-eight. In the sixteenth century, after the custom of resident ambassadors had been introduced, the term of Venetian embassies was restricted to three

[1] It was customary for Princes to make large presents to ambassadors on their departure. Thus we find Henry VII., on dismissing the Danish ambassadors, giving the chancellor of Denmark 100*l.*, the doctor 40*l.*, the chancellor's brother 20*l.*, and the herald 10*l.* Rymer, t. xii. p. 516.

years, lest the patriotism of the ambassadors should be weakened by too long a residence abroad. The disadvantages attending the appointment of a new and inexperienced minister were thought to be counterbalanced by the number of men conversant with foreign affairs which by this arrangement would be always congregated at Venice: nor did their recall preclude them from being again appointed. We have already alluded to their reports, or *Relazioni*, which in process of time became elaborate descriptions of the countries and courts to which they were accredited. The substance of some of the oldest of them is preserved in the Chronicle of Marino Sanuto.

The ambassadors of Rome were divided into two classes; if Cardinals, they bore the title of *Legates*, while other Papal ambassadors of high rank were called *Nuncios*. In the middle ages, Legates were frequent enough, while in modern times Cardinals are seldom sent in a diplomatic character. The ambassadors of Rome hold the highest place in the diplomatic body: they are now always Archbishops, mostly *in partibus;* a condition not indispensable in the middle of the sixteenth century, when persons who were not even clerical had the office and title of Nuncios, as Castiglione and Acciajuoli under Clement VII. The reports of some of the Roman ambassadors, like those of the Venetian, have become important historical papers.

Ambassadors had the title of *Excellence* at the beginning of the sixteenth century, though perhaps only by courtesy. The official address was *Magnifico Oratore* or *Magnifico Signore*. Charles V. ordered that the title of ambassador should be given only to the envoys of Kings and of the Republic of Venice, and not to the agents of any vassal State.[1] After the Papal ambassadors, the Venetian had the precedence. In Italy the Imperial ambassadors naturally took the first place; next those of France, and then those of Spain. It was usual in former times for ambassadors to follow the movements of the Court to which they were accredited, whithersoever it went; and as journeys were then generally made on horseback, they had thus a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with the countries which they visited.

In the middle ages treaties were promulgated by the voice of the herald, nor was it customary to print and publish them till long after the invention of printing. The Golden Bull, however, the fundamental law of the Holy Roman Empire, forms an excep-

[1] Vinc. Ferdeli, *Relazione* on the court of Cosmo I. of Florence, 1561, ap. Reumont, *Hist. Taschenb.* 1841, S. 452.

tion, which appeared at Nuremberg in Latin in 1474, and at Ulm and Strasburg in German in 1484 and 1485. The *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius, the first volume of which appeared at Rome in 1588, is one of the earliest historical works in which treaties are inserted.[1]

Of international law, another and very important result of the European system, we shall speak in a subsequent chapter, as its foundations were hardly laid in the period we are considering; and we will close this chapter with some account of the methods of warfare at this period.

Even at the beginning of the sixteenth century the *gens d'armes*, or heavy cavalry, were still pretty generally regarded, at least in Western Europe, as forming the pith of armies; though in the Spanish forces the heavy cavalry were not so numerous as the light, who fought in Moorish fashion. The Burgundian *gens d'armes* had a great reputation.[2] Infantry, however, were now beginning to be more employed. During the preceding century, and especially the first half of it, little or no care had been bestowed on the raising or discipline of the infantry, who were considered incompetent to resist cavalry. Yet those horsemen all cased in iron, who fought with long lances and heavy swords, could not engage except upon an open plain; a small fortification, a little stream, even a ditch, arrested them; and it was rarely that they ventured to attack an intrenched camp. Thus an engagement could not take place unless the generals on both sides were desirous of it; and in Italy, especially, there was frequently no pitched battle, scarcely even a skirmish, in the course of a war. The expeditions were confined to what were called *cavalcades*, or forays into the enemy's country; when the horsemen swept over the plains, destroying the crops, carrying off the cattle, and burning the houses. In short, war was thus made upon the people, and not against the enemy's army.[3]

The Swiss, whose mountainous country is ill adapted to horsemen, were the first European people who organized a formidable infantry; and its effect on the Burgundian horsemen has been seen. The Swiss foot soldiers were armed with pikes of enormous length, or halberds; they had gigantic sabres, wielded with both hands, and a club armed with points of iron, called the *Morgenstern*, or morning-star. Such arms were necessary against the

[1] *Hist. abrégée des Traités de Paix*, par Koch et Schoell, *Introd.* p. 15. The most complete collection of treaties is that of Dumont, *Corps Universel Diplomatique*.

[2] Von Raumer, *Gesch. Europas*, B. i. S. 272 ff.

[3] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. viii. p. 56 sq.

helms and cuirasses of mounted knights. Among the German peasantry, oppressed and discontented for a long series of years, it was also easy to raise soldiers, and it was in their villages that were recruited the lance-knights (*Lanzknechte*, whence the French *lansquenets*), who played so great a part in the wars of Europe during the period we are contemplating. In this respect the example of their Swiss neighbours had a great influence upon them. The German lancemen were also, as their name implies, armed with long spears. But however effective against cavalry, these troops could not contend in close combat with the short swords of the Spanish infantry.

The missile weapons used before the introduction of muskets were arrows, discharged from bows or crossbows. Hand-guns, or arquebuses, are first mentioned in 1432, when Sigismund, on his journey into Italy, had a guard of 500 men so armed.[1] These arquebuses were so heavy as to require a rest, and were fired with a matchlock; which inconveniences long caused them to be considered inferior to the crossbow. It appears from a passage of Æneas Sylvius,[2] that the hand-guns used in 1459 were also without locks. Muskets, or pistols, with locks were first made at Nuremberg in 1517.[3] But a century elapsed before the bow was quite laid aside. Artillery (in the modern sense of the word) had come into pretty general use before the end of the fourteenth century. It seems to have been first used by the Moors in their wars with the Spaniards about 1312.[4] In 1339 the Scots battered the walls of Stirling Castle with bombards,[5] and the Turks are said to have used artillery with effect at the first siege of Constantinople in 1422.[6] The use of gunpowder in mining was a Spanish invention, first adopted by Francisco Ramirez at the siege of Malaga in 1487. Pedro Navarro afterwards used mines on a more extended and scientific scale in the Italian wars of the sixteenth century, as before related.

In a military point of view, the nations of Eastern Europe presented some peculiar features. They possessed few fortresses in comparison with the Romance or Teutonic nations, and their chief military force, even down to the seventeenth century, consisted of enormous bodies of cavalry. Louis King of Hungary and

[1] Bandini, ap. Muratori, *Scripp. Rer. Ital.* t. xx. p. 41.

[2] *Commentarii*, lib. iv. p. 105 (ed. 1614).

[3] De Murr, *Beschreibung von Nürenberg*, ap. Koch, *Révol. de l'Eur.* i. p. 244.

[4] Casiri, *Biblioth. Arab. Hisp.* ap. Koch, *ib.* 243; Zurita, *Annales de Aragon*, t. ii. p. 99.

[5] Froissart, liv. i. c. 74.

[6] Chalcocondyles, lib. v. (p. 281 ed. Bonn.).

Poland often assembled, about the middle of the fourteenth century, an army of 40,000 or 50,000 horsemen, to the astonishment of the Italians, who in their most important wars could hardly raise 3,000. The Hungarians served like the Poles on the condition of their tenures. Athough well mounted they were badly armed, having only a long sword, a bow and arrows, and no coat of mail; for which, however, a thick jacket formed a kind of substitute.[1] It was computed in the sixteenth century that the Polish cavalry was equal in number to that of Spain, France, and Germany combined. The Grand-Prince of Moscow could bring into the field 150,000 mounted combatants. The force of the Voyvodes of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia was reckoned at 50,000 horsemen each, and the Szekler in Hungary at 60,000.[2] Beyond were the bordering Tartar hordes, who may be said to have lived on horseback.

We have already adverted to the origin of standing armies in the reign of Charles VII. of France, and previously among the Turks; but it was long before they were kept up in any force, and only some garrisons and a few *gens d'armes* were retained in time of peace. The institution of standing armies, like every other division of labour, must, on the whole, be regarded as having promoted civilization, by enabling those not engaged in military service to direct their whole attention to other pursuits. This institution was one of the effects of centralization, or the establishment of the great monarchies, the progress of which we have already seen. But this centralization was not yet complete. Considerable remains of feudalism still lingered in Europe, and we shall see in the sequel its gradual extinction.

We now resume the narrative.

[1] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. vi. p. 267. [2] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, Vorrede.

CHAPTER IX.

THE choice of the conclave which assembled after the obsequies of Pope Julius II. had been performed fell on Cardinal John de' Medici, the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who assumed the name of Leo X. Lorenzo, by creed a deist, had regarded the Church merely as a source for his son of lucrative emoluments, and dignities which might be crowned with the tiara. Leo, who was in his thirty-eighth year at the time of his election, was still only a deacon, and had to be ordained priest and bishop before his coronation could be performed; yet, besides some minor preferments, he enjoyed six rectories, fifteen abbacies, one priory, and one archbishopric: all of which had been procured for him, before he had completed his seventeenth year, through his father's influence with Louis XI. of France and Popes Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. Innocent, although he had solemnly promised at his election not to bestow the purple on anybody under thirty years of age, had made John a Cardinal in his thirteenth year. In the house of his father, who was surrounded by men of kindred tastes and sentiments, the youthful Cardinal had imbibed a fine taste in ancient and profane literature, but very little respect for the doctrines of the Church. Amidst an extensive collection of the rarest specimens of art and *virtù*, he had become a first-rate connoisseur in such subjects; while the splendour of the Medicean palace and of the fêtes and exhibitions in which Florence was unrivalled, had imbued him with that love of show and magnificence which characterized his pontificate. During his exile from Florence he had relieved the tedium of his banishment and improved his acquaintance with mankind by visiting most of the principal cities in Germany (including the Netherlands) and France. Besides his accomplishments, Leo possessed the gentlest temper, the most winning manners. It was probably to these qualities, or the reputation of them, that he owed his election; though some have ascribed it to a fistula with which he was at that time afflicted, and which seemed to promise another speedy vacancy to the Papal

throne. The Cardinals had had enough of two ferocious Popes, one of whom had endangered their lives by the dagger or the cup, the other by leading them up to the cannon's mouth.[1]

Leo, even before he left the Conclave, signalized his literary tastes by naming as his secretaries two celebrated writers, Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleto. The approach of holy week had compelled him to celebrate his coronation in a slight and hasty manner, and it was therefore repeated a few weeks later when he took possession of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, the peculiar Patriarchal Church of the Roman Pontiffs. The day selected for the ceremony was the anniversary of the battle of Ravenna (April 13th), and Leo figured in the procession on the same white charger which he had ridden on that occasion. The standard of the Church was borne by Alfonso of Ferrara, while Julius de' Medici carried that of the Knights of Rhodes. This splendid spectacle, with the accompanying fêtes, cost 100,000 florins. Leo soon betrayed an indecent haste to enrich and advance his family and friends. His cousin Julius was immediately created Archbishop of Florence, and received soon after a Cardinal's hat and the Legation of Bologna. Innocenzo Cibò and three other nephews of Leo, together with Bernardo di Bibbiena, his secretary, and Lorenzo Pucci, an adherent of the Medici family, were also speedily invested with the purple.

The policy of Leo at first seemed undecided. He appeared willing to put an end to the hostilities with France, and he earnestly dissuaded Louis XII. from a fresh enterprise which he was contemplating for the recovery of the Milanese. But though Louis would willingly have abandoned his Council of Pisa, now transferred to Lyon, his heart was set on the Italian expedition; and it was with the view of releasing for it his troops on the Spanish frontier that he had concluded with Ferdinand the truce already mentioned (*supra*, p. 310), which, however, did not regard Italy. A little previously (March 24th, 1513) he had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Venetians, who had been alienated from the Holy League by the arrogant pretensions of Maximilian; ceding to the Republic

[1] The chief authorities for the Life of Leo X. are, the biography of P. Jovius, and the Diary of Peter de Grassis, master of the ceremonies to the Roman Court. Jovius, though patronized by Leo X., as well as by his successors, Adrian VII. and Clement VII., tells, nevertheless, some home truths respecting those Pontiffs. Among modern Lives of Leo may be mentioned Fabroni's, in Latin, published at Pisa in 1797, and Roscoe's well-known work; than which last, however, Niccolini's *Vita di Leon X.* is reckoned more trustworthy. See Lord Broughton's *Italy*, vol. i. p. 253.

Mantua, whose Marquis he sacrificed, in return for the Cremonese and the Ghiara d'Adda. On the other hand, Maximilian's daughter, Margaret, concluded at Mechlin, April 5th, a counter-treaty in the names of the Emperor, the Catholic King, the King of England, and the Pope, the parties to which not only agreed to pursue the war against the French in Italy, but also to make each a separate attack on France. Henry VIII. was to invade Normandy, Picardy, and Guienne; Ferdinand, Béarn and Languedoc; the Pope, Provence and Dauphiné; while Maximilian was to penetrate through Burgundy into the interior of the French Kingdom. But Henry VIII., who wished to wipe out the disgrace of the preceding year, was the only party who entered with sincerity into this treaty. Ferdinand, as we have seen, had already made a truce with France, which, with his usual duplicity, he carefully concealed; and when called on to ratify the treaty of Mechlin, he declined to do so, on the ground that his minister had exceeded his instructions. Leo X. had not the slightest intention to undertake so distant an expedition; and Maximilian was induced to join the league only for the sake of 100,000 gold ducats which the English King engaged to pay to him.

Louis XII. resolved to hasten his attempt for the recovery of Milan before Henry should be ready for his projected invasion of France. The campaign that followed is one of the most extraordinary on record. In the course of a few weeks the Milanese was won and lost. Early in May a large French army under La Trémoille and Marshal Trivulzio crossed the Alps and entered Piedmont by way of Susa. Cardona, the Spanish Viceroy, who after his successful campaign in Tuscany (*supra*, p. 307) had taken possession of several Milanese towns, retired on their approach, and took up a position near Piacenza; the Swiss, not being strong enough to oppose the advance of the French, also retreated upon Novara; while the Milanese subjects, disgusted with the brutality and avidity of that people, as well as by Maximilian Sforza's want of spirit and capacity, rose on every side and welcomed the French, whom they had murdered by thousands only the year before. The Duke of Milan found it necessary to take refuge in the Swiss camp, and immediately on his departure the French flag was hoisted at Milan. Meanwhile Genoa was attacked by a French squadron—the partisans of the Adorni and Fieschi rose, drove out the Doge Gian Fregoso, and restored the city to the suzerainty of France. The

Venetians, on their side, had advanced to the Adda; and thus the whole of the Milanese, except Novara and Como, was reduced in the short space of three weeks.

The French, however, were destined to be deprived of their conquest as speedily as they had made it. The Swiss considered it a point of honour to maintain Maximilian Sforza in the duchy to which they had restored him; and Leo X., alarmed at the reappearance of the French in Italy, aided the Swiss with money, but secretly, in order not to break with Louis.[1] La Trémoille and Trivulzio had laid siege to Novara, when the approach of a fresh army from Switzerland compelled them to raise it, and to retire towards Trecase, a village three miles off. But after the junction of these reinforcements the Swiss resolved on assuming the offensive. Before daybreak on the 6th of June, and covered by a wood which lay between them and the enemy, they advanced in silence upon his camp, and seizing, after a murderous struggle, the French artillery, an arm with which they themselves were unprovided, they turned it upon the French ranks. The victory was complete. In less than two hours a large and well-organized army, commanded by captains of renown, was completely beaten by a body of infantry unsupported by cavalry or guns. The only part of the *gendarmerie* in the French ranks which did its duty was the Walloons, under Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon. His two sons, Jametz and Fleurange, had fallen covered with wounds, when Bouillon, by a desperate charge, recovered their bodies, and bore them off on the necks of his men's horses. Fleurange, so well known by his name of *Le jeune Aventureux*, and by his Memoirs, one of the most original productions of that period, almost miraculously survived; though he had received no fewer than forty-six wounds! This battle decided the fate of Italy. The French army was completely demoralized; after the passage of the Sesia, it is said that not a single cavalier retained his lance. They hastened to recross the Alps; and the inconstant Milanese were now obliged to entreat mercy of the victorious Swiss, by whom they were amerced in heavy fines. After the defeat of the French, Cardona began to gather the fruits of a victory whose dangers he had not shared. Pescara was despatched with 3,000 foot to levy a fine upon the Genoese; and, although there was no declared war between Spain and Venice, Cardona proceeded to occupy Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, and other places which the Venetians had abandoned, and which now

[1] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x. p. 85.

felt the effects of Spanish avarice and ferocity. At the instance of the Cardinal of Gurk, the Emperor's Lieutenant in Italy, who gave Cardona a reinforcement of Germans, that general after an abortive attempt on Padua, crossed the Brenta, burnt Mestre, Marghera, and Fusine, and advancing to the shore of the Lagoon, insulted Venice by a distant cannonade. He then retired to Verona, after defeating with great loss the Venetian commander Alviano, who had issued from Padua to intercept his march (October 7th, 1513).

Meanwhile Louis XII. had need of all his forces to defend his own dominions. Louis had endeavoured to avert the English invasion by means of his ally, the Scottish King, James IV.; to whose gallantry also the French Queen Anne had appealed, as her knight and champion, according to the romantic ideas of that age. James sent some ships to the aid of France, and threatened to invade England with a large army; but he was only preparing his own destruction. The Scots were overthrown by the Earl of Surrey in the bloody and decisive battle of Flodden, in which their King was slain (September 9th, 1513); nor did his unfortunate attempt arrest for a moment the English preparations against France. The war, however, went at first in favour of the French. The English admiral, the gallant Sir Edward Howard, was repulsed and killed in an attempt to cut some French galleys out of the port of Conquet (April 25th, 1513); and Préjean de Bidoulx, the French commander, venturing out of harbour, made a descent upon the coast of Sussex. He was, however, repulsed, and could not prevent the passage of an English army to Calais. With a portion of this force the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert (afterwards Earl of Somerset) laid siege to Térouenne, in Artois (June 17th). King Henry himself with the main body of his army landed at Calais, June 30th; but it was not till August 1st that he began his march to Térouenne. Whilst he lay encamped before that place, he was joined by the Emperor Maximilian with a small body of cavalry. That needy Sovereign, unable to discharge the obligations he had incurred by the treaty of Mechlin, was willing to make some amends by personal service; and he scrupled not to degrade the majesty of the Empire by declaring himself the soldier of the English King, and receiving as such a stipend of 100 crowns a day. The youthful Henry, however, bowed to the superior experience of his "soldier," and Maximilian in reality directed the operations of the campaign. Térouenne made an obstinate defence. It was relieved by some

Albanian Stradiots in the service of France, who penetrated to the town, bearing provisions and ammunition on their horses' necks. But the campaign was decided in a singular manner. The French *gendarmerie*, while retiring from a skirmish with the English and German cavalry, perceiving on the hill of Guinegate two large bodies of infantry and some batteries of guns, were seized with a panic, clapped spurs to their horses, and never turned their heads till they gained their camp at Blangi (August 16th). Hence the French themselves gave to this affair the name of the *Battle of the Spurs*. Few French were killed, but many of their most distinguished captains were made prisoners, among them the Duke of Longueville, grandson of the famous Dunois.

Térouenne now surrendered and was razed to the ground. The alarm was great at Paris. Louis XII., who was laid up with gout, caused himself to be carried in a litter to Amiens, to concert measures for the defence of the Somme. But instead of pushing on to Paris, Henry, at the instigation of the Emperor, invested Tournay, a town very conveniently situated for Maximilian, but the possession of which could neither be of any service to the English, nor contribute much to the success of the war. Tournay surrendered after a short siege (September 24th), and was retained by Henry; to the mortification of the Emperor, who departed before the end of the month. But Margaret, with her nephew Charles, repaired to Tournay, and dissipated in some degree by her arts and flattery the clouds which had begun to rise in Henry's mind. The match between Charles and Henry's sister Mary was confirmed; and the English King agreed to advance 200,000 gold crowns for the preservation of their common conquests till the following summer, when, as Ferdinand's truce with Louis would have expired, a combined attack was to be made on France by Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Henry. After making this arrangement, Henry returned home (October 21st).

While these things were passing in the north of France Maximilian, relying on the strength of the English exchequer, had hired a large body of Swiss, as well as Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg with a few thousand cavalry, to invade Burgundy. This force marched straight upon Dijon, into which town La Trémoille, then Governor of Burgundy, had thrown himself. Unable to meet the Swiss in the field, La Trémoille attacked them by their weak point—their love of money; and by a treaty which he concluded with their commander, Jacob of Wattenwyl, Bailiff of

Bern, he agreed that Louis XII. should abandon the Council of Pisa, withdraw his pretensions to the Milanese, restore to the Roman See and to the Empire all that had been wrested from them, and engage to enlist no troops in Switzerland without the consent of all the Cantons. Such extravagant concessions were evidently made only to be disavowed;[1] yet the Swiss did not stop to inquire what powers La Trémoille and Wattenwyl had to conclude a treaty which regulated the fate not merely of Dijon and Burgundy, but also of a great part of Christendom. Of the stipulated sum, La Trémoille could pay down only 20,000 crowns; and he gave as hostages for the remainder the mayor and four of the richest citizens of Dijon, together with his own nephew, De Mézières. Yet he advised Louis not to ratify the treaty, and to leave these hostages to their fate! The astonishment and indignation were universal. Maximilian and Henry VIII. denounced the Swiss as villains and traitors, and they were not better received at home, while Louis XII. was at first inclined to put La Trémoille on his trial. At length, however, he accepted the excuses of his general and paid the Swiss 50,000 crowns as an instalment.

Thus ended the eventful campaigns of 1513. Before the end of the year Louis XII. reconciled himself with the Pope, and by a treaty signed at the abbey of Corbie,[2] October 26th, he agreed to renounce the Council of Pisa and acknowledge that of the Lateran; before which assembly his envoys formally made submission, December 31st, when Leo remitted all the ecclesiastical censures fulminated by his predecessor against the French realm. The coalition, no longer animated by the impetuous spirit of Julius II., was now evidently falling to pieces; and Louis, to further his views upon Milan, sought the friendship of the Emperor and of the Catholic King. Maximilian was conciliated by the offer of Louis's second daughter, Renée, for one of his grandsons, either the Archduke Charles or Ferdinand, to whom Renée was to bring as her portion the French claims on the Milanese duchy. The death of Louis's consort, Anne of Brittany (January, 1514), who had employed herself in effecting this arrangement, opened up new bases for negotiation. Ferdinand now offered Louis, in his own name and that of Maximilian, the hand either of Maximilian's daughter, Margaret, Governess of

[1] Michelet characterizes this treaty as "*le mensonge* par lequel la Trémouille, sans pudeur, attrape les Suisses qui nous allaient prendre Dijon." — *Renaissance*, p. 184.

[2] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 175.

the Netherlands, or of his grand-daughter Eleanor of Austria, sister of Charles and Ferdinand. Louis, who was very desirous of an heir, selected Eleanor, and a general truce for a year was provisionally signed, March 13th, with the view of preparing a regular treaty.

The death of the French Queen removed the only obstacle which had delayed the marriage of her daughter Claude and Count Francis of Angoulême, whose wedding was solemnized a few months after (May 18th, 1514). Louis now invested them with the Duchy of Brittany, without opposition from the Breton States, although, by the marriage contract of Louis and Anne, Brittany should have fallen to their second child Renée. Queen Claude died in 1524, whereupon Brittany, was not allowed to pass to her first-born son, the Dauphin Francis, but was in 1532 formally and definitively annexed to the French Crown.

The war continued in Italy in 1514, but its operations are not worthy to be detailed. Cardona and the Imperial captains resumed hostilities against the Venetians, and the ferocious Frangipani devastated the Friuli and the March of Treviso, inflicting great loss and misery on the inhabitants, but contributing nothing to the issue of the war. The French were driven from the few remaining places which they held in Italy. The citadels of Milan and Cremona capitulated in June; and on the 26th of August, the fortress of *La Lanterna* at Genoa, though deemed impregnable, was compelled to surrender. During this period the policy of Leo X. was vacillating and difficult of explanation, except that he followed wherever self-interest led. Leo had as much ambition as Julius II., but without the same nobleness of view or frankness of character. If he aimed like his predecessor at extending the dominion of the Roman See, it was only that he might enrich his family with the spoils; if he entertained the project of freeing Italy from the Barbarians, it was only in order that its various States might be united under the House of Medici. He pursued these schemes with the greatest duplicity, courting and betraying all parties in turn. Leo was much alarmed at the projected marriage between the Archduke Charles and Renée of France, which at no distant period would have cemented France, Spain, Austria, and the Netherlands into one colossal Power; and he used every exertion to prevent its accomplishment. The dissatisfaction of Henry VIII. with the same project, which involved a breach of the contract between Charles and Henry's sister Mary, afforded Leo the means of

frustrating it. The scheme of an alliance between France and England appears to have originated at Rome between the Pope and the English ambassador Bambridge, Cardinal-Archbishop of York;[1] and it was forwarded in England by Wolsey, now rapidly rising in his master's favour, and already Bishop of Lincoln and Tournay. Communications were opened between the French and English Courts through the Duke of Longueville, who had remained prisoner in England since the Battle of the Spurs. Wolsey, who facilitated the negotiations by persuading Henry to relax his pretensions, except in the case of his own see of Tournay, was rewarded with the Archbishopric of York on the death of Bambridge, who had been poisoned by a servant. The Duke of Longueville proposed a marriage between Louis XII., already engaged to Eleanor, and Mary of England; and Henry VIII., burning to revenge himself on his father-in-law, by whom he had been so often duped, listened eagerly to the proposal. Louis XII. on his side readily entered into a scheme which, while it relieved him from a formidable attack, secured him a youthful and charming bride. He consented to abandon Tournay; and on the 7th August, 1514, three treaties[2] were signed at London. The first of these was an alliance, offensive and defensive, between England and France; the second stipulated a marriage between Louis XII. and the Lady Mary, who was to have a dowry of 400,000 crowns; and by the third Louis engaged to pay Henry 100,000 gold crowns annually for a term of ten years, in satisfaction of the arrears of the debt of Charles VIII. to Henry VII. The previous negotiations between Louis, Ferdinand, and Maximilian were thus upset, and Renée subsequently married Ercole II., Duke of Ferrara. Longueville espoused Mary at Greenwich by proxy for his master, August 13th; and on the ninth of October, Louis solemnized his nuptials in person at Abbeville, whence the new Queen of France was conducted with great pomp to the palace of the Tournelles at Paris.

Louis being thus freed from a dangerous enemy, his scheme for the recovery of the Milanese began to revive, and he talked of another expedition into Italy in the following spring. But this he was not destined to accomplish. Although only fifty-three years of age his feeble health had long compelled him to observe a strict regimen, which was completely disturbed by the round of pleasure and dissipation into which his marriage with a youthful, lively, and handsome bride had plunged him. The

[1] See Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. ii. p. 312 (ed. 1827).
[2] Rymer, t. xiii. pp. 413, 423, 430.

King's dinner, usually served at eight in the morning, was deferred till noon, and instead of retiring to rest at six in the evening, he was frequently kept up till past midnight. The levity of Mary's conduct found a severe censor in the Countess Claude. All her suite were sent back to England,[1] except a few confidential attendants, among whom was Anne Boleyn, the future wife of Henry VIII.; nor does the English King appear to have resented the proceeding. Louis's altered way of life soon undermined his constitution, and he was seized with a dysentery, which carried him off, January 1st, 1515, after a reign of seventeen years. He died regretted by the French people, and on the whole he deserved their love, for his rule had been mild and paternal, and no King since St. Louis had shown so much sympathy for his poorer subjects. Yet his foreign policy was not only injudicious but also frequently culpable. He betrayed most of his allies, and he gave many proofs of cruelty in his Italian wars, and especially in his treatment of Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan. Louis XII. was the first King of France for some centuries who caused his head to be engraved upon the silver coin, whence his *gros d'argent*, or piece of 10 sols, obtained the name of *teston* (tester).[2]

The death of Louis thwarted some ambitious projects of Pope Leo X., who had hoped, with the assistance of that Sovereign, to establish his brother Julian in the Kingdom of Naples, as well as to add Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Reggio, and perhaps all the Ferrarese, to the Florentine dominion of his nephew Lorenzo, thus uniting nearly all Italy under the sway of the House of Medici.[3] When the sinking health of Louis frustrated all expectation of help from that quarter, Leo turned his thoughts towards the realizing of some part of his schemes by the aid of Ferdinand of Aragon and the Emperor. With this view he sent Pietro Bembo to Venice in December, 1514, to detach, if possible, that Republic from the French alliance and reconcile her with the Emperor; but the Venetians rejected the proposed conditions, and remained faithful to France. At the same time Leo concluded a separate treaty with the Swiss, whose Confederacy had this year received its thirteenth Canton (at which number it remained until its dissolution in 1798) by the accession of Appenzell.

Such was the state of Italian affairs when the Count of Angoulême succeeded to the French throne with the title of Francis I.

[1] Ellis's *Orig. Letters*, vol. i. p. 115 (1st series).

[2] From *teste*, head.

[3] See Paruta, *Storia Veneta*, lib. ii. p. 135 (ed. 1718).

Born at Cognac, September 12th, 1494, Francis was now in his twenty-first year, but in appearance and manner seemed four or five years older. Handsome, of tall and graceful figure, he excelled in all martial exercises, while a natural elegance of manner recommended him to the fair sex. From his tutor, Arthur Gouffier de Boissy, a nobleman who had imbibed in Italy a love then rare for literature and art, Francis had derived a certain respect for learning, which he manifested by patronizing its professors, although his own reading was mostly confined to romances of chivalry. Indeed, all his qualities were showy and superficial: his ruling characteristics were sensuality and a levity amounting to caprice; yet, being brave, talkative, libertine, the French nation saw and loved in him her own image, and fancied that she was about to have a Sovereign of distinguished greatness.

After the death of Louis XII. Mary declared that there was no prospect of her giving birth to an heir of the French Crown, and Francis entered upon an inheritance which, according to the scandalous chronicles of the time, he had himself put to hazard by his attempts on the Queen's virtue. Mary shortly after married the handsome and accomplished Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, her professed admirer, who had accompanied her to France, though not named among the embassy. Francis affected great indignation at this match, though in his heart perhaps not displeased at it, since it prevented the English princess from contracting a marriage which might have been disadvantageous to France: he even interceded with Henry in favour of the indiscreet lovers, and the English King forgave without much difficulty the temerity of his favourite Brandon.

With the accession of Francis I. began in fact the reign of his mother, Louise of Savoy, to whom, in his pursuit of pleasure, he readily abandoned the cares of government. One of his first acts was to create Louise Duchess of Angoulême and Anjou, and to invest her with some of the prerogatives of royalty. Although but forty years of age, she was already in the twentieth year of her widowhood; and as during the reign of Anne of Brittany she had been kept at a distance from Court, she now resolved to compensate herself for the privations which she had endured. Her warm temper and propensity to gallantry are acknowledged by the gravest writers of the times,[1] and she saw without

[1] Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, liv. vi. ch. 11 (t. i. p. 559 sq. ed. 1723); Belcarius, liv. xvii. p. 509.

displeasure the same disposition in her son, whose dissipations might serve to give her a firmer hold of power. Anne of Brittany was the first Queen of France who surrounded herself with an establishment of Maids of Honour; but under her auspices the Court had been a school even of an austere and repulsive virtue. Louise, in whose eyes the manners of the previous reign were an odious restraint, retained, but perverted, the institution; the Court became a scene of licence and debauchery; and it is from this time that we must date the influence of women in the political affairs of France—a characteristic almost peculiar to that nation. Antony Duprat, First President of the Parliament of Paris, foreseeing probably the future greatness of Louise, had attached himself to her in her retirement, and after the accession of Francis his fidelity was rewarded with the Chancellorship. Talented but arbitrary, the grand idea of Duprat's life was to render the royal authority absolute. About the same time the office of Constable, vacant since the death of John of Bourbon in 1488, was bestowed on Charles of Bourbon, who was reputed to enjoy a place in the affections of Louise.

The middle and lower classes of the French people looked back with regret to the economical government of Louis XII.; but the accession of Francis I. was hailed with joy by the higher orders, who hoped to profit by his very faults and vices. The reign of a Prince, young, gay, fond of pleasure, ambitious of military glory, promised amusement and dissipation at home, enterprise and promotion abroad. The Italian claims of Louis XII., derived from his grandmother, Valentina Visconti, descended in due order upon her great-grandson, Francis I., who, after the death of his father-in-law, assumed the title of Duke of Milan, and determined to carry out Louis's projected enterprise upon that duchy. The army was put on a new footing; every *lance garnie* was increased from six to eight men, and a large number of lanceknights were engaged under command of Charles of Egmont, Duke of Gelderland, and the La Marcks. The engagement of Pedro Navarro, the celebrated Spanish captain and engineer, was an acquisition almost equal to an army. After the battle of Ravenna, the Viceroy Cardona had ruined Navarro's reputation with Ferdinand by imputing to him the loss of a field from which he had himself disgracefully fled; Ferdinand refused to pay Navarro's ransom, who had remained prisoner in France, and who, by birth a Basque, was easily induced to throw up his allegiance to the King of Aragon, his

country's conqueror. In the Cevennes and the Pyrenees he now raised a large body of men, whom he organized after the model of the redoubtable Spanish infantry.

With a view to his Italian expedition, and the safety of his own dominions during his absence, Francis concluded treaties with various Powers. The Archduke Charles of Austria, now fifteen years of age, had just assumed the government of the Netherlands in place of his aunt Margaret. Charles, aware of the hostile feelings which his maternal grandfather Ferdinand entertained towards him, readily entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Francis (March, 1515), which was to be strengthened by a projected marriage between him and Renée, sister of the French King's consort. Charles engaged not to lend his grandfather Ferdinand any aid against France unless he terminated within six months his differences with the French Court respecting Navarre, by restoring John D'Albret to the throne of that country.[1] Francis also renewed, April 5th, the treaty of Louis XII. with Henry VIII., stipulating, however, that Milan and Genoa should not be reckoned among the allies of England; and he was careful to assume in the instrument the titles of Duke of Milan and Lord of Genoa.[2] He also endeavoured to effect with the Spanish King a renewal of the treaty of Orthez; but Ferdinand refused his consent unless Italy were now included in it, and Francis of course rejected a condition which would have defeated his darling project. Ferdinand now despatched ambassadors into Switzerland, who, in conjunction with those of the Emperor and the Duke of Milan, and aided by the Cardinal of Sion and the anti-Gallican party among the Swiss, effected a renewal of the coalition between the Confederate Cantons and those Powers. In vain Francis endeavoured to propitiate the Swiss, who insisted on the fulfilment of the whole treaty of Dijon; and in order to divert the French attack on Milan they even promised to invade Burgundy and Dauphiné, whilst Ferdinand entered Guienne. The Venetians remained faithful to the French alliance; but the negotiations with the Pope did not lead to any satisfactory result, although Leo was now connected with the royal family of France. In February, 1515, a marriage between Julian de' Medici and Filiberta of Savoy, half-sister of Francis's mother, had been celebrated at

[1] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 199. It is characteristic of the pedantry of the age, that in the preamble to the treaty the two Princes quote Aristotle in support of their views.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 204.

Rome with great pomp and splendid fêtes, which were repeated at Turin. Yet all that could be obtained from Leo was a promise of neutrality; in spite of which he joined in July the Swiss coalition, which guaranteed Milan to Maximilian Sforza. The French King was more fortunate in his negotiations with Octavian Fregoso, Doge of Genoa, who engaged to abdicate as soon as the French army should have passed the Alps; stipulating, however, for the Genoese the restoration of their privileges, and for himself the Dogeship of Genoa, the Order of St. Michael, a company of *gens d'armes*, and a large pension.

The French army had assembled at Lyon by the middle of July, whence Francis issued an ordinance constituting his mother Regent of the Kingdom during his absence. The French cavalry consisted of 2,500 lances, and 1,500 Albanian light horse, besides the King's household and numerous volunteers; the infantry amounted to 40,000 men, of which more than half were lance-knights; the artillery numbered seventy-two large guns and 300 smaller ones, and there was a body of 2,500 pioneers. The Swiss had occupied the passes of Mont Cenis and Mont Genèvre, then deemed the only practicable routes across the Alps; a body of 10,000 more was at Susa, and the rest of their army was cantoned at Coni, Saluzzo, and Pinerolo. At Saluzzo they had been joined by Prosper Colonna with a chosen body of Papal cavalry. The main body of the Roman and Florentine army, under Julian de' Medici, were by order of the Pope advancing very slowly by Modena and Parma, watching the turn of events.

The immense amphitheatre of gigantic mountains which separates Italy from the rest of Europe, although so long fondly regarded by the Italians as marking the boundary between barbarism and civilization, has never proved an effectual barrier against the lust of conquest. The passage of the Alps by immense hosts has, from the earliest periods down to modern times, presented some of the most remarkable episodes in the history of war; and of all that are recorded, perhaps none is more extraordinary than that now effected by the captains of Francis. As it was impossible to force a passage over Mont Cenis and Genèvre, and as the Cornice Road between the Maritime Alps and the sea, besides a great loss of time, would have ultimately presented the same difficulties, Trivulzio, Lautrec, and Navarro, guided by chamois hunters and the shepherds of the Alps, explored a new route from Embrun by the valley of Barcelonette to Argentière and the sources of the Stura. A path hardly to be traversed

by a pedestrian was, by the daring ingenuity of Navarro, made practicable for artillery. Enormous masses of rock were blown up with gunpowder; bridges were thrown across unfathomable abysses; heavy guns were hoisted immense heights, and swung with ropes from peak to peak. On the fifth day, the army with its artillery stood on the plains of Saluzzo, before the enemy were aware that it had begun to scale the mountains. The French had with them only a few days' provisions, so that if the Swiss had known their route, and blockaded the passage, which was easy enough to do, the whole French army must have been inevitably starved.[1] Meanwhile a small division, composed chiefly of cavalry, under the renowned captains La Palisse, Bayard, Humbercourt, and D'Aubigny, had penetrated more to the north by Briançon, Sestrières, and Rocca Sparviera, in the direction of Villafranca, over paths never before trodden by horses. So unexpected was their appearance that Prosper Colonna, who was dining in full security at Villafranca, was captured, together with 700 of his men, without striking a blow. The Swiss retired in consternation on Novara and Milan; the main French army advanced by Turin and Vercelli, while a corps of 8,000 detached to the south, recovered without bloodshed Genoa and all the country south of the Po.

The Swiss now found the whole burden of the war thrown upon them; for the Spanish Viceroy Cardona was kept in check near Verona by Alviano and the Venetians, while the Papal and Florentine army did not stir. The Swiss having retired to Gallerate, began to listen to the counsels of three of their leaders, who were in the interest of France; and in spite of all the attempts of the Cardinal of Sion to prevent it, they entered into a treaty with Francis. The French King engaged to pay the 400,000 crowns stipulated by the treaty of Dijon, and 300,000 more for the places which the Swiss had seized in Italy; to bestow on Maximilian Sforza the Duchy of Nemours in place of that of Milan, together with a pension, a company of *gens d'armes*, and the hand of a French princess; while the Swiss were to take service under the French Crown, on the terms which had been rejected by Louis XII. The Cantons of Solothurn, Freiburg and Bern, and the Republic of Upper Wallis, assented to this arrangement, but the rest determined to fight for Sforza.

[1] The commissariat department was in those days ill understood. Thus it was reckoned the chief safeguard of France against the Spaniards, that they could not victual their army sufficiently to pass the Pyrenees. Macchiavelli, *Ritratti di Francia*, Op. t. iv. p. 139.

Francis borrowed from his nobles and captains all the ready money and plate they could spare, in order to seal the treaty by paying a first instalment. Meanwhile, however, another Swiss army of more than 20,000 men, under Rosch, Burgomaster of Zürich, arrived from Bellinzona, and gave a decided superiority to the Swiss arms. The new comers were indignant at a treaty which deprived them of their hopes of plunder, and they easily persuaded the greater part of their countrymen to enter into their views. In all haste they marched upon Buffalora to seize the French money which had been forwarded to Lautrec at that place, and he had the greatest difficulty in saving it from their grasp. After this disappointment, the Swiss occupied Milan. Francis with his army was at the village of Marignano, or Malegnano, only about ten miles off; Alviano and the Venetians had advanced by forced marches to Lodi, and thus held Cardona and Lorenzo de' Medici in check, who had effected a junction at Piacenza. Every thing promised a campaign on a grand scale; but the impetuous ardour of the Swiss, who had now been rejoined by the Cardinal of Sion, brought matters to a speedy issue. On the 13th of September, after a violent and almost frantic address from the Cardinal, the redoubtable horns of Uri and Unterwalden resounded through the streets of Milan; and though the day was far spent, the Swiss marched out by the Porta Romana to give battle. As their columns advanced along the high road, flanked on each side by a ditch, the French artillery made large gaps in their ranks, which were instantly filled up. When the alarm was given, Francis was about to sit down to table, and he immediately rushed out to place himself at the head of his guard. The Swiss penetrated to the French artillery and captured several batteries. The battle raged till near midnight, when the moon having gone down and left all in darkness, the French and Swiss battalions bivouacked intermingled. Francis slept on a gun-carriage. At day-break, he rallied his scattered divisions by trumpet signals, when about 20,000 lance-knights and all his *gendarmerie* gathered round him. The Swiss renewed the attack with vigour, and the fortune of the day still hung trembling in the balance, when about nine o'clock Alviano appeared on the field with a small body of Venetians. At the cry of "St. Mark!" the Swiss, fancying that the whole Venetian army was upon them, began to retire, but in such admirable order that the French were fain to leave them unmolested. The slaughter had been great on both sides. The veteran Trivulzio,

who had been present at eighteen general engagements, observed that what he had hitherto seen had been mere child's play, but that this was a battle of giants. The Chevalier Bayard had displayed his accustomed valour. After the victory, Francis insisted on receiving the order of knighthood from his hand, than which no worthier could have bestowed it. The battle of Marignano subsequently formed the main stock of Francis I.'s military renown; yet, with the exception of personal valour, we should look in vain for the foundation of it. So far from directing any of the movements, it is plain, from his boastful letter to his mother, that he had no conception of what was going on around him. He had not advanced beyond the tactics of Agincourt; he thought that the *knights* had done it all, not the infantry and artillery.[1]

The Cardinal of Sion in vain attempted to persuade the Swiss to defend Milan; the day after the battle they began their homeward march, leaving only 1,500 of their number to hold the citadel for Sforza. The Cardinal fled into Austria. The citadel was taken October 4th, through the effects of a mine directed by Navarro. Sforza now abdicated the duchy in favour of Francis I., and retired into France, where a pension of 30,000 crowns was assigned to him; and he is said to have rejoiced at being delivered from the insolence of the Swiss, the exactions of the Emperor, and the impositions of the Spaniards. He died forgotten at Paris in 1530.

Francis seemed now in a position to prosecute with success his other claims in Italy; but he had as little idea of making use of his victory as he had of the manner in which it had been gained. The Italian republicans were the natural allies of France, and with the aid of Venice and Florence, Naples might easily have been conquered. But Francis's chivalrous notions led him to despise the Florentines and Venetians as a mob of *roturiers* enriched by commerce; Louise had a poor ambition of allying herself with the Medici, the oppressors of Florentine liberty; and Duprat, who, it is said, entertained the notion of receiving the tonsure and obtaining a Cardinal's hat, was also disposed to court Leo X. Francis blindly followed the guidance of his mother and her counsellor; and thus the policy of Louis XII.

[1] Francis's letter, which is very incorrect, is in Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.* t. iv. p. 390. Michelet characterizes it as the letter of a "garçon de 20 ans, qui ne se contient pas dans sa joie et croit avoir tout fait."—*Renaissance*, p. 283. For this campaign see Guicciardini, lib. xii.; Belcarius, lib. xv. p. 439 sqq.; the *Mémoires* of Martin du Bellai, and those of Fleurange and the Loyal Serviteur.

and D'Amboise was revived, and Italy was sacrificed to the Medici, as it had been before to the Borgias. The victory of Marignano had struck Leo with consternation; the safety of the Papal army was compromised, and he immediately sought to rescue it by opening negotiations. By flattery, dissimulation, and the arts of intrigue, backed by the favour of the queen-mother, Leo contrived to impose upon Francis, in the midst of his glory, conditions which might have appeared hard even after a defeat. In October, only a month after the battle of Marignano, a defensive alliance was concluded at Viterbo between the Pope and the French King. Francis guaranteed all the dominions which Leo now held or might hereafter recover, made over to him Bologna, and engaged to support Julian and Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence, and to grant them titles and pensions in France. Leo, in return, merely undertook to support Francis in the Duchy of Milan, which he already held by conquest, to recall the Papal troops serving against Venice, to restore Parma and Piacenza to Milan, and Modena and Reggio to the Duke of Ferrara. Cardona, who would have had to sustain the first attack of the victorious French, obtained leave to be included in the treaty, and to retire to Naples with his army through the States of the Church.

The alliance was ratified in December, at a personal interview between Leo and Francis at Bologna. The negotiations were preceded by fêtes and rejoicings and by splendid Church ceremonials, in which Francis demeaned himself as the humble son and servant of the Pontiff, kissing his foot and hand, and supporting his train; while Leo forbore to show Francis the least token of respect, lest the Vicar of Christ should seem to pay homage to a temporal Sovereign. But if Leo thus insisted in public on his spiritual privileges, he won the King in their more familiar intercourse by his urbanity and seductive manners. He persuaded Francis to connive at his seizing the Duchy of Urbino for his nephew Lorenzo, to whom it was made over after the death of his brother Julian de' Medici, in March, 1516. Julian, out of gratitude for former services during his exile, had protected the reigning Duke.

Leo's arbitrary proceedings about this time engendered a conspiracy in the College of Cardinals itself. Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci, in revenge for the expulsion of his brother Borghese from Siena, incited three or four of his brother Cardinals to join him in a plot to assassinate the Pope. The conspiracy was fortunately discovered, and Leo at first seemed inclined to pardon

the guilty parties; but suddenly changing his mind, to the consternation of the Sacred College, deprived Cardinals Petrucci, Bandinello de' Sauli, and Raphael Riario, of their dignities and preferments, and handed them over to the secular arm. Petrucci was beheaded in prison the following night; the rest purchased their lives and the restoration of their dignities with a large sum of money. Leo incurred such odium by these proceedings, that he found it necessary to surround himself with guards even during the celebration of Mass; and in order to neutralize the adverse party in Consistory, he created in a single day no fewer than thirty-one Cardinals. By this measure he also replenished the Roman treasury, as many of the hats were sold.[1]

Besides the affair of the Duchy of Urbino, Leo while at Bologna also persuaded Francis to postpone his expedition to Naples till the death of Ferdinand of Aragon; an event which, from the state of that Sovereign's health, could not be far distant. Nor did he forget the interests of the Papacy. Duprat was induced to enter into a CONCORDAT, by which some of the most important articles of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 were revoked and the rights of the Gallican Church bartered away. The royal demand for periodical Councils was abandoned, and annates, or first fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, were restored to the Pope, who, on the other hand, invested the French King with the right, before belonging to Chapters and Convents, of nominating to archbishoprics, bishoprics, and abbeys; as well as, with few exceptions, the power of deciding, without appeal to Rome, all ecclesiastical suits. Thus, as Mézerai observes, a whimsical change was made between the Papal and Royal functions; the Pope abandoning his spiritual privileges to a temporal Prince in return for certain worldly advantages. The negotiations were long protracted, and the Concordat,[2] which was highly unpopular in France, was not signed till August 18th, 1516. It continued in force till destroyed by the civil constitution of the clergy in 1790. The abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction was proclaimed in the Council of Lateran; which servile synod, consisting almost entirely of Italian prelates, who did little more than register the Pope's decisions, was soon afterwards dissolved (March 16th, 1517).

Francis showed a better policy in conciliating the Swiss than in his negotiations with the Pope. He offered them the same

[1] Guicciardini, lib. xiii.
[2] In Labbæus, *Concilia*, t. xiv. p. 358; and in Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 229.

terms as he had proposed before his victory; engaged to ratify the treaty of Dijon, and promised pensions to the heads of the Cantons, while all he asked in return was permission to levy troops in Switzerland. A treaty of peace and alliance was signed at Geneva with eight of the Cantons, November 7th, 1515, which in the following year was acceded to by the rest. The alliance, however, was not to extend to any attack on the Pope, the Emperor, the Austrian dominions, Savoy, Würtemberg, the House of Medici, Florence, or M. de Vergier, Marshal of Burgundy. The Swiss retained Bellinzona and the county of Arona.

Having thus placed his affairs in Italy on what he deemed a favourable footing, Francis, after disbanding the greater part of his army, and appointing the Duke of Bourbon Governor of the Milanese, returned to France early in February, 1516. His success had filled the Catholic King, who trembled for the safety of his Neapolitan dominions, with rage, jealousy, and alarm; and under the influence of these feelings he had immediately endeavoured to form a league with his son-in-law, Henry VIII., and with the Emperor Maximilian against Francis. Maximilian was enticed with a large sum of money, with which he was to prepare an expedition against the Milanese; and Henry, though he had had such signal proofs of Ferdinand's duplicity, was persuaded by Wolsey to join the alliance. Henry, who was probably jealous of the brilliant success of the French King, had some grounds of complaint against Francis for supporting the Duke of Albany as Regent of Scotland, in opposition to Henry's sister Margaret, the Queen Dowager; and Wolsey, with an eye to his own interest, fomented the passions which rankled in his Sovereign's breast. Wolsey owed mainly to the French monarch the Cardinal's hat which had been recently bestowed upon him (September 10th, 1515), with the title of St. Cecilia beyond Tiber; but the grateful return expected for it, in the surrender of the bishopric of Tournay, might be evaded by a breach with France; and there was also another prospect of advantage which determined Wolsey in the same policy. Leo X. had taken secret part in the negotiations just mentioned, with the view of instating Francesco Maria Sforza, younger brother of the abdicated Duke Maximilian, in the Duchy of Milan, instead of the French King; on the accomplishment of which, Francesco Maria had engaged to bestow on Wolsey a pension of 10,000 ducats.[1] The

[1] Rymer, t. xiii. p. 525.

Cardinal seems to have had no difficult game with his master; for so great was Henry's credulity that the Emperor is said to have extracted considerable sums from him on pretence of investing him with the Duchy of Milan, and even resigning to him the Imperial Crown.[1]

But in the midst of Ferdinand's schemes, an event occurred which had been foreseen by everybody but himself. On the 23rd of January, 1516, he died in a small house belonging to the Hieronymite monks, of Guadalupe, at the village of Madrigalejo, near Trujillo, through which he was passing on his way to Seville. His leading characteristics were avarice, perfidy, and ingratitude. His cold and cautious temper enabled him to become an adept in dissimulation; and it is said that, by whatever feelings he was agitated, his countenance never betrayed the emotions of his mind. His treacheries were generally perpetrated under the hypocritical pretence of religion: and amongst them the worst is perhaps that by which he deceived his kinsman, Frederick of Naples.[2] Ferdinand was, however, in some respects a great Prince, and must at least be admitted to have been the most successful one of his age. To his policy, aided by some fortunate events, must be ascribed the origin of the overshadowing greatness of the Spanish monarchy; though the measures which he took to establish them broke at the same time all spirit of enterprise in the people and prepared their eventual decline. Ferdinand's enterprises had been on so extensive a scale, in comparison with his scanty revenues, that in spite of all his economy, or rather niggardliness, he scarce left enough to defray his funeral expenses. By his marriage with Germaine of Foix, he had had a son, who, however, lived only a few hours. Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, had expired a little before his master, at the age of sixty-two (December 2nd, 1515).

The death of Ferdinand led Francis to resume his design of conquering Naples; in which, as Leo X. had advised him to postpone the enterprise till after that event, he fully expected the assistance of the Pontiff. But, while he was meditating this ex-

[1] Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* (in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 25 sq.)

[2] Mr. Prescott, in a parallel which he draws between Ferdinand and Louis XII. in this affair, endeavours to prove the French King as bad as the Spanish; forgetting that Louis was acting as an open enemy in the prosecution of what he considered a just claim; while Ferdinand got possession of Frederick's fortresses under professions of a perfidious friendship. See *Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. iii. p. 366. Mr. Prescott's view of Ferdinand's character, drawn from Spanish sources, is altogether too favourable. Voltaire, with his usual felicity, observes of that monarch: "On l'appelait *en Espagne*, le sage, le prudent; *en Italie*, le pieux; *en France et à Londres*, le perfide."—*Essai sur les Mœurs*, ch. 114.

pedition, an unexpected descent of the Emperor Maximilian caused him to tremble for the safety of the Milanese.

While the French were overrunning Upper Italy, Maximilian had been intent in Germany upon one of those matrimonial speculations by which the fortunes of the House of Austria were proverbially so much better advanced than by its arms.[1] It will be recollected that by the treaty of Presburg in 1491, Maximilian obtained the eventual succession to the throne of Hungary (*supra*, p. 205). In September, 1502, King Wladislaus married Anne of Foix, great-niece of Louis XI.; by whom, in the following year, he had a daughter, Anne, and in 1506 a son, who received the name of Louis, in honour of Louis XII., the near kinsman of the Queen. The birth of this child made Maximilian anxious about the results of his compact with the Hungarian King, although he procured it to be ratified afresh by the Diet; and he began to entertain the project of securing the succession for his house by a double marriage between two of his grandchildren and Louis and Anne, the son and daughter of Wladislaus. The scheme was opposed by Sigismund I., King of Poland, younger brother of Wladislaus; and in order to overcome his opposition, Maximilian allied himself with the Teutonic Knights, with Basil Ivanovitch, Great Duke of Muscovy, and with Christian II., King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, to whom he gave in marriage his granddaughter Isabella. Sigismund, alarmed at this formidable combination, withdrew his opposition; in 1514 the long-protracted negotiations were brought to a happy ending; and in July of the following year Wladislaus and Sigismund repaired to Vienna, when the youthful Louis was betrothed to Maximilian's granddaughter Mary. At the same time a marriage was agreed upon between Anne, the daughter of Wladislaus, and one of Maximilian's grandsons, which eventually took place in 1521 by the union of Ferdinand and Anne.

Having completed these arrangements, Maximilian at length turned his attention to the affairs of Italy; and before the end of 1515 he raised, with the money received from Ferdinand of Aragon and Henry VIII., a large army of Swiss, German, and Spanish troops, with which he entered Italy in March, 1516. At this unexpected apparition, Lautrec, abandoning successively the lines of the Mincio, the Oglio, and the Adda, sought safety behind the walls

[1] According to the well-known distich attributed, though perhaps without sufficient grounds, to King Matthias Corvinus:—

"Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube;
Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus."

of Milan; where the alarm was so great that the Duke of Bourbon, despairing of the defence of the suburbs, ordered them to be burnt; an act long remembered with indignation by the inhabitants. Leo X. now again began to trim. He neglected to succour the French, as stipulated by the treaty of Bologna; nay, he even despatched Cardinal da Bibbiena as Legate to the Emperor, and instructed his general, Marcantonio Colonna, to join the Imperial army. The success of Maximilian seemed certain. As he approached Milan, 13,000 Swiss in Bourbon's army refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen; the Constable was forced to dismiss them, and Maximilian was so elated that he assumed all the airs of a conqueror, and threatened to destroy Milan. But his good fortune vanished as suddenly as it began. His exchequer was exhausted, the pay of his Swiss in arrear, and one morning their colonel, Staffler, entered the Emperor's chamber while he was in bed, and insolently demanded the money. In vain Maximilian resorted to threats, promises, entreaties; Staffler told him bluntly that, if the money was not forthcoming, he and his men would pass over to Bourbon's service. The Emperor was thunderstruck. His danger at once stared him in the face, and rising in a hurry, he hastened to the quarters of his German troops; but not deeming himself secure there, he started for Trent, pretending that he was to receive there 80,000 crowns, and hoping by this pretext to conceal what was in reality a flight. The Germans, after waiting in vain for his return, made a precipitate retreat; while the Swiss disbanded, and made up for the loss of their pay by sacking Lodi and other towns. Such was the ridiculous end of this apparently formidable enterprise. Maximilian became the laughing-stock of Europe, and never again appeared at the head of an army. No sooner did the tide turn than the Pope began again to veer, and affected a zeal to fulfil the treaty of Bologna; while Francis, then intent upon the Concordat, winked at his conduct, and did not suffer it to interrupt the negotiations.

The demise of the Catholic King brought a new actor on the political scene, and altered for a while the policy of Europe. Ferdinand's grandson and successor, the Archduke Charles, son of Philip the Fair and Joanna of Spain, had just completed his sixteenth year, having been born at Ghent, February, 24th 1500. Maximilian, his paternal grandfather, had intrusted Charles's early education to Adrian Boyens, Dean of St. Peter's in Louvain, who, though the son of a tapestry weaver of Utrecht, had

risen to his higher station by his learning and abilities. Charles, however, seems to have profited little by Adrian's teaching. Although docile and submissive, he displayed in his youth but little quickness of apprehension, and is said never to have acquired a mastery of the Latin tongue. His qualities were such as ripen slowly. Even his bodily development was tardy; and it was observed that he did not begin to get a beard and put on the appearance of a man till his twenty-first year.[1] In M. de Chièvres, of the Croy family, a practical man of the world, Charles found a more congenial tutor than in the learned and pious Adrian. Chièvres, who set but small value on book learning, encouraged his pupil's love for the chase; but at the same time instructed him in history and the art of government, and endeavoured to fit him for an active part in life. Charles showed more facility in acquiring the modern than the ancient languages; and besides Flemish, his native tongue, is said to have understood German, French, Italian, and Spanish. It may be suspected, however, that his acquaintance with most of these was but superficial. He commonly wrote in French, but of a very barbarous kind. In his aunt Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, Charles found another admirable instructress in the art of governing. His education was completed by his early succession to power, and the practical application of the lessons he received. Chièvres made him read all the state papers and correspondence, and report upon them to the Council; and he thus glided, by imperceptible degrees, from the precepts of political conduct to the actual cares of government.[2]

Ferdinand had regarded his grandson Charles with aversion, as a rival who would one day deprive him of Castile; and he had even made a will by which he bequeathed the government of Castile and Aragon, during Charles's absence, to Ferdinand, the younger brother of that Prince; an arrangement by which Ferdinand, who had been educated in Spain, and was present on the spot, might have been enabled to seize the Crown, had he been so inclined. Ximenes, however, persuaded the Aragonese monarch to revoke this will, and to make another only a few hours before his death, by which Aragon and the Two Sicilies were settled on his daughter Joanna and her heirs; while the administration of Castile was intrusted to Ximenes during Charles's

[1] Peter Martyr, *Epist.* 734.

[2] The more private life and character of Charles have been described by M. Pichot, *Charles Quint, Chronique de sa Vie intérieure et de sa Vie politique.*

absence, and that of Aragon to Alfonso, Archbishop of Saragossa, King Ferdinand's natural son. Charles, on his side, was not unaware of his grandfather's enmity towards him. Hence he regarded Ferdinand as a foe who would exclude him from his lawful inheritance; and a few months before that Sovereign's death, he had despatched his former tutor, Adrian Boyens, into Spain, ostensibly as an ambassador, but with powers to assume the office of Regent immediately on Ferdinand's demise. A misunderstanding consequently arose between Ximenes and Adrian, which, however, was arranged by the former allowing Adrian to share the regency with him, though the real authority was engrossed by Ximenes. That Cardinal, indeed, though now near eighty years of age, was the only person capable of exercising it with vigour and effect; and the conjuncture required all his energy and ability. The Castilian grandees heard with indignation that Charles had assumed the title of King as soon as the news of Ferdinand's death arrived in Brussels; for although his mother Joanna was still confined in the Castle of Tordesillas, her mental incapacity, however obvious, had never been declared by any public act. But Ximenes, in spite of the murmurs and cabals of the nobles, caused Charles to be proclaimed at Madrid, which, under his administration, had become the seat of government, and the other towns, whose privileges Ximenes had favoured by way of counterpoise to the power of the grandees, followed the example. In Aragon, where Archbishop Alfonso ruled with a weaker hand, Charles was indeed acknowledged as the lawful heir, but did not obtain the regal title till after his arrival in Spain. Ximenes also displayed his vigorous policy in the measures he adopted for retaining Navarre in obedience. The death of Ferdinand encouraged John d'Albret to attempt the recovery of his Kingdom; but he was defeated by the Spanish general Vilalva, and compelled to a precipitate retreat (March 25th, 1516). As the Navarrese had shown their affection for the House of Albret, Ximenes, with great harshness and cruelty, caused their castles, towns, and villages, to the number of near 2,000, to be dismantled and burnt; Pamplona alone, and a few places on the Ebro, were preserved as fortresses, and the rest of the country was reduced almost to a desert. John d'Albret died in the following June.

Yet the power of Charles, however extensive, seemed to rest on insecure foundations. Discontent still lurked among the Castilian nobles; the Spanish possessions in Africa had been

endangered by a victory of the celebrated pirate Haroudji Barbarossa; Navarre and the Netherlands were both exposed to the attacks of the French, and the hostility of that nation would render Charles's contemplated journey to Spain both difficult and hazardous. All these were motives for courting the alliance of Francis I.; nor did this Sovereign repulse the overtures made to him. Francis found that he could not rely on Leo, nor consequently on Tuscany, in his projected expedition to Naples; and as he had not yet succeeded in effecting a treaty with the whole of the Swiss Cantons, his Milanese possessions were still exposed to danger from that quarter. Such being the situation of the two Kings, a treaty was effected between them at Noyon, August 13th, 1516, which, according to the practice of those times, was strengthened by a marriage contract. Although by a preceding treaty Charles was already engaged to Renée, second daughter of Louis XII., he now contracted to espouse Louise, the infant daughter of Francis, when she should attain the age of twelve years, receiving as her dowry the French claims upon Naples; in consideration of which Charles was to pay 100,000 gold crowns annually till the marriage took place, and half that sum so long as there was no issue by it. Francis reserved the right of aiding the Venetians against the Emperor; and, what was of more importance to Charles, of succouring the Queen of Navarre and her children, if Charles failed to do her justice within eight months.[1] At this period the two youthful Kings appeared to be on the best possible terms; they vied with each other in marks of friendship and esteem; they exchanged the collars of their Orders: Charles, who was five years and a half younger than the French King, addressed him as "my good father," and Francis returned the endearing appellation of "my good son."

By the treaty of Noyon the Netherlands were also protected against the terrible incursions of Charles, Duke of Gelderland, and the piracies of his worthy associate, De Groote Pier, or Big Peter, which inflicted great damage on the Netherland maritime commerce. Henry of Nassau, Stadholder of Holland, had long maintained an arduous struggle against these enemies; but after the treaty of Noyon Francis mediated a truce of six months, and the Duke of Gelderland restored a portion of Friesland that he had overrun, on receiving a payment of 100,000 gold crowns. Henry of Nassau had won the favour of Francis during the

[1] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 224.

negotiations at Noyon, and he was now allowed to espouse Claude, sister of Philibert of Chalon, Prince of Orange, and heiress of that sovereign House; who, as possessing large territories in Burgundy, could not marry without the consent of Francis, her feudal lord.[1]

The treaty of Noyon was soon followed by the peace of Brussels, between the Emperor on one side, and the French King and the Venetians on the other (December 4th, 1516). Maximilian had now begun to perceive the hopeless nature of his contest with the Republic of Venice; the offer of 200,000 ducats was an irresistible attraction to his poverty, and he resigned all his conquests with the exception of a few places in Friuli, and on the borders of Tyrol. An end was thus put to the wars which had arisen out of the League of Cambray, and for a few years Europe enjoyed an unwonted tranquillity. Venice had recovered almost all the places which had been ravished from her, and to all appearance came out of the contest without material damage. But her decline had already begun. The places restored to her, exhausted of their wealth and population, required large sums to be laid out upon them; to meet the expenses of the war, the public revenues had been mortgaged for a long period; the dignities of the State had been sold to the highest bidders, and a crowd of public servants had thus intruded themselves who had no other recommendation than their money. At the same time the commerce of the Republic was rapidly falling off through the maritime discoveries of the Portuguese, while another blow had been struck at it by the short-sighted and grasping policy of the Spanish ministers. A Venetian fleet had coasted every year the shores of the Mediterranean, and after touching at Syracuse and other Sicilian ports, proceeded to Tripoli, Tunis, Oran, and other places in Africa, where the manufactures of Europe were exchanged for the gold dust of the Moors; with which the Venetians proceeded to the ports of Spain, and purchased cargoes of silk, wool, and corn. The ministers of Charles raised the duty on these exports, as well as on all articles brought by the Venetians, to twenty per cent., or double the former rate, expecting by this method to increase their revenue in proportion; but its only effect was to annihilate the trade, and to deal a severe blow to the commerce and agriculture of Spain.

More than eighteen months elapsed after the death of Ferdinand

[1] The little Principality of Orange, however, though then wholly surrounded either by French or Papal territory, was held of the Empire.

before Charles determined on taking possession of his Spanish dominions. At the instance of Adrian he had, indeed, despatched a second and a third minister into that country, to share the government of Ximenes, who, however, continued to assert his superiority, and frustrated all their attempts to overthrow him. Yet, even under his vigilant administration, abuses crept in. The most considerable offices in Church and State were sold by the Netherland counsellors, and large remittances of Spanish gold found their way to the Low Countries. The Netherlanders regarded Spain as their Indies, and plundered it, much as the Spaniards themselves plundered the New World. Charles's delay in proceeding to Spain was occasioned by the selfish policy of Chièvres and his other ministers, who were unwilling to see the seat of government transferred to a foreign country; and the youthful monarch naturally listened with deference to the advice of his former tutor. Cardinal Ximenes, on the other hand, was urgent in his entreaties that Charles should appear among his Spanish subjects; and at last, on the 17th of September, 1517, he landed at Villaviciosa, in the Asturias, accompanied by a large train of Netherland nobles. Charles, with his sister Eleanor, hastened to pay a visit to their unfortunate mother at Tordesillas, when Joanna's joy at the unexpected sight of her children is said for a moment to have overcome her dreadful malady. A different treatment was reserved for the great Cardinal and minister. Ximenes hastened to meet his master, but the exertion proved too much for his strength; he was seized with fever, which compelled him to stop at the Franciscan monastery of Aguilera, near the town of Aranda. His characteristic boldness did not forsake him with his health. In common with the whole Spanish nation, he viewed with regret the influence acquired over the young King by his Netherland courtiers; and he addressed a letter to that monarch from his sick bed, in which he entreated Charles to dismiss them, and to grant him an interview at Aranda. But the Spanish grandees united with the Netherlanders to thwart the vigorous minister, whom they all alike detested. By their advice Ximenes was treated with studied neglect, and Charles was persuaded to send him a letter, which, though couched in cold and formal expressions of regard, was in fact a virtual dismissal. The aged prelate was thanked for all his past services, and a personal interview appointed for receiving the benefit of his counsels; "after which he would be allowed to retire to his benefice, and seek

from heaven that reward which heaven alone could adequately bestow."[1]

It may be too much to say with some historians that this letter was the immediate cause of the Cardinal's death, yet it probably had an injurious effect on a constitution already enfeebled by age and sickness. He expired soon afterwards (November 8th, 1517), in the eighty-first year of his age. The despotic government of Ximenes, supported by military force and by the terrors of the Inquisition, had been completely successful in upholding the royal prerogative; he avoided assembling the Cortes, and his regency must be regarded as having initiated that repressive and hard-hearted despotism which characterized the rule of the Austrian House in Spain. During the eleven years that he had presided over the tribunal of the inquisition, Ximenes is said to have condemned to the stake 2,536 persons, and 51,167 to smaller punishments.[2]

Charles, the first of that name in Spain, soon afterwards made his public entry into Valladolid. The Cortes of Castile discovered great unwillingness to acknowledge him as King; they refused to grant him that title except in conjunction with his mother Joanna, and on condition that her name should take precedence of his in all public acts; and they stipulated that if at any time she should recover her reason, her claim to the throne should entirely supersede that of her son. On the other hand, they displayed great liberality in voting Charles the hitherto unheard of sum of 600,000 ducats. The Aragonese proved still more intractable than the Castilians. After long delays, and with much difficulty, they at length, indeed, acknowledged the title of Charles on the same conditions as the Castilians, but they voted him only a third as much money. They had profited by the example of the Castilians, and by seeing their liberality abused by the rapacity of the Netherland courtiers. Such was the avarice of those foreigners that they are said to have remitted to the Low Countries, in the short space of ten months, the enormous sum of more than a million ducats, acquired by their venality and extortion. The Spaniards were still more disgusted by seeing all the highest posts of honour assigned to Netherlanders. William de Croy, a nephew of Chièvres, already Bishop of Cambray, was appointed, though not of canonical age, to the Archbishopric of Toledo, the primacy of Castile, vacant by the death of Ximenes; while the

[1] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.* vol. iii. p. 393.
[2] Llorente, *Hist. Crit. de la Inquisicion*, cap. 10, art. 5. and cap. 46. Cf. M'Crie, *Ref. in Spain*, p. 111.

chancellorship, which had been filled by the same eminent man, was given to Sauvage, another Netherlander, and other appointments of a like nature followed. The pride of the Castilians was stung by these acts. The leading cities, though unsupported by the nobility, formed a league to defend their rights, and laid before the King a remonstrance in which they complained of the favour shown to foreigners, the increase of taxes, and the export of the coin. Charles neglected their complaints; but through this league was laid the foundation of the Junta, or union of the cities of Castile, which well nigh succeeded in overthrowing the monarchy. Thus by an impolitic conduct forced upon him by his ministers, and which nothing but his youth and inexperience can excuse, did Charles alienate for a time the hearts of his new subjects, and deprive himself of that weight which their cordial affection and assistance would have given him in the affairs of Europe.

In the general tranquillity enjoyed by Europe at this period, public attention was chiefly directed to the movements of the Turks, whose history we must here briefly resume.

The peace concluded between Venice and Bajazet II. in 1502 (*supra*, p. 257), remained undisturbed during that Sultan's life. The Venetians, occupied with the wars which ensued upon the League of Cambray, submitted, in one or two instances somewhat ignominiously, to Bajazet's dictation, and as Wladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, had also been careful to maintain his truce with the Porte, the Sultan, being thus delivered from all anxiety on the side of Europe, directed his arms towards the East, and succeeded in subduing Caramania. But the reign of Bajazet was disturbed by the revolt of his youngest son Selim, the darling of the Janissaries; and in 1512 Selim compelled his father to renounce in his favour the throne which Bajazet had destined for his favourite son Achmet. The dethroned Sultan determined to retire to Demitoca, his birthplace; but on the third day of his journey thither he died of poison, administered to him by a Jewish physician at Selim's instigation.[1] Achmet, who endeavoured to assert his claim by arms, was defeated, captured, and strangled; and Selim, that he might have no rival near the throne, also put to death his younger brother Korkud, and caused five of his nephews to be strangled before his eyes at Prusa. The years from 1514 to 1516 were employed by Selim I. in conquering northern Mesopotamia and a considerable part of Persia. He next reduced Syria, and turned his arms against Egypt, where the

[1] Zinkeisen, B. ii. S. 565.

Mamaluke dynasty had been established since the middle of the thirteenth century.[1] Tumanbey, Sultan of the Mamalukes, was subdued in the spring of 1517, and put to death at Cairo, by Selim's command. The Sultan spent the summer in Egypt in regulating the affairs of his new conquest; and after passing the winter in Damascus, he returned, in August, 1518, after an absence of two years, to Adrianople, when he began to direct his attention to the affairs of Europe.

The rapidity and magnitude of these conquests naturally drew the attention and excited the alarm of the European potentates. Venice and Hungary, the States more immediately exposed to the fury of Turkish arms, had deemed it prudent to conciliate the friendship of the Porte; and both Wladislaus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the Republic of Venice had, at Selim's accession, renewed the peace which they had entered into with his father. The Venetians, ever alive to the interests of their commerce, congratulated Selim after his conquest of Egypt, a country so important to their trade with the Indies. They endeavoured to obtain from its new ruler the confirmation of their ancient privileges, and transferred to him the tribute of 8,000 ducats, which they had before paid to the Sultan of Egypt, for the possession of Cyprus. On these terms the peace was confirmed, September 17th, 1517, and was not disturbed during Selim's lifetime.

Hungary also escaped any serious attack, though subject to constant border warfare. King Wladislaus had died March 13th, 1516. Large in person, phlegmatic and melancholy in temperament, in mind so simple and candid that he would believe no ill of anybody, in temper so compassionate and humane that he could with difficulty be persuaded to sign a death-warrant, assiduous in his devotions, but incapable of any active exertion, Wladislaus was one of those characters that might adorn private life, but are totally unfitted for the throne. Under his feeble sway, the nobles acted as they pleased; the revenues of the Kingdom, which under King Matthias had amounted to 800,000 ducats, gradually sunk to a quarter of that sum; and such was the poverty in which he left the royal household, that there was not money enough to defray the expenses of the kitchen. Thus, during the long minority

[1] The word *Mamaluke* signifies in Arabic *slave*. The Mamalukes were originally slaves trained up to war by the Ayoubite dynasty in Egypt, which they at length overthrew in 1250. There were two dynasties of Mamaluke Sovereigns, that of the *Baharites*, Turks, or Tartars of Kipzak, and that of the *Borgites*, which overthrew the former in 1382. See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lix.

of Louis II., who was only ten years of age at the time of his father's death, the way was prepared for those calamities which we shall presently have to relate. The Diet of Tolna observed in their resolutions, 1518, that arms and laws are necessary to a State, but that neither arms nor laws were to be found in Hungary.[1] Indeed the country at this time seems to have been almost in a state of barbarism. In 1514 a dangerous peasant war, similar to those of Germany, had broken out, headed by a Szekler named Dosa, which, after the spilling of much blood, was put down; and Dosa being captured, a council of war, held by Zapolya, decreed that a striking example should be made of him and his followers. Forty of the latter were kept a fortnight without food, when only nine remained alive; these were let loose upon Dosa, who was seated upon a red-hot iron throne, while an iron crown and sceptre in the same state were thrust upon him, and his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers. The famished wretches were now compelled to eat his flesh, or were sabred if they refused; while Dosa exclaimed, "Eat, ye hounds that I have myself brought up!" Nothing can absolve Zapolya from this devilish act of cannibalism.[2] At a subsequent Diet, the peasantry were reduced to a state of slavery, and became *adscripti glebæ*, or serfs attached to the soil, were compelled to pay heavy taxes to their masters, and were forbidden the use of arms, under penalty of losing the right hand. The consequences of these cruel laws were not removed till the reign of Maria Theresa in 1764.[3] John Zapolya, Count of Zips, the perpetrator of the horrible deed just related, was son of the Palatine Stephen Zapolya, and had been appointed Voyvode[4] of Transylvania in 1510, at the age of twenty-three. The House of Zapolya, which took its name from a village near Pozega in Slavonia, had risen to great eminence under King Matthias Corvinus. It was chiefly through its influence that Wladislaus had been seated on the throne, and hence it not only enjoyed a great share of power, but even cherished pretensions to the succession. After the death of Wladislaus, John Zapolya attempted to obtain the office of *Gubernator* from the nobles assembled on the field of Rákos, the place where in open air the Diets were held; but the attempt was frustrated, and he himself was obliged to fly for his life. It was now resolved that the young King Louis should conduct the affairs of

[1] Katona, t. xix. p. 89.

[2] Engel, *Gesch. des ungarisch. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 170 ff.

[3] Engel. *ibid.* S. 173 and 301.

[4] *Voivoda* or *Voyevodo*, literally, *leader in war*, from *voi*, war; a title equivalent to the German *Herzog*, or duke. Sir J. Wilkinson's *Dalmatia*, vol. i. p. 26.

the Kingdom, with the assistance of the whole Hungarian Council; an arrangement attended with the most disastrous results, as the oligarchs of all parties who thus stepped into power sought only to enrich themselves at the expense of the State, and kept the young King as poor and as powerless as they could. Thus Hungary, by its misgovernment and dissensions, subsequently became an easy prey to the Turks.

The peasant war in Hungary just recorded had been fomented by an injudicious step on the part of Pope Leo X. That Pontiff had, like his predecessors, professed a zeal against the Infidels; and though he could provide Wladislaus with no funds for a Turkish war, he authorized the preaching of a crusade in Hungary. A disorderly mob of 80,000 peasants was thus collected; who being without discipline and provisions, at the instigation of the lower clergy attacked the estates of the nobles. In spite of his ill-success, Leo resumed the subject with Francis I. during the conferences at Bologna; and the French King appears, from a letter which he addressed to the King of Navarre, to have entered zealously into the Pope's views.[1] Nothing, however, was done, and the matter seems to have remained in abeyance till the treaty at Cambray, March 11th, 1517, between the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain. During these negotiations the conquest and partition of Greece, and the recovery of the Holy Land, were discussed by the three contracting Powers; which scheme was to be kept secret from the rest of Europe, and especially from the Pope. Maximilian, however, revealed the proceedings of the Congress to Leo and to Henry VIII. Leo, who was alarmed at the rapid conquests of Selim, or pretended to be so in order the better to promote his mercenary designs, decreed a war against the Infidels in the last session of the Lateran Council, and obtained the grant of a tithe on all ecclesiastical property in Europe, for the purpose of defraying the expenses;[2] and he published a bull enjoining all Christian Princes to observe a five years' truce. But though the Pope put on every appearance of earnestness, nothing resulted from these measures but a profitable compact between himself and the French King. Leo granted to Francis all the proceeds of the tithe in his dominions, and all the contributions of his subjects towards the crusade, while Francis in return cancelled the Pope's written engagement to restore Modena and Reggio to

[1] See the *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, edited by M. Charrière, t. i. Introd. p. cxxviii. sqq. (in the *Doc. Inédits*).

[2] See *Négociations, &c.* t. i. p. 21 sqq.; Martin, t. vii. p. 488.

the Duke of Ferrara.[1] Nevertheless, Leo published the crusade after a solemn procession, in which he himself walked barefoot, and celebrated a High Mass in the church of St^a. Maria sopra Minerva. The scheme met with no better success in other countries. Maximilian, indeed, embraced it with his usual ardour for new enterprises, and Leo flattered his vanity by appointing him generalissimo of the Christian army, by sending him a consecrated hat and sword, and declaring the Eastern Kingdom an Imperial fief; whereupon Maximilian, who already in imagination beheld himself enthroned at Constantinople, caused a medal to be struck on which he was designated as Emperor of the East and West. He could not, however, inspire the German States with his own enthusiasm. They answered his appeal with remonstrances against Papal exactions, and applauded a treatise of Ulrich von Hutten, in which the Pope was denounced as a far more dangerous enemy to Christendom than the Turk.[2] When the grant by the Lateran Council of an ecclesiastical tithe was published in England, an oath was tendered to the Papal collector that he would make no remittances to Rome ;[3] and in Spain, the clergy availing themselves of the discontent and tumults which prevailed, positively refused to obey the Pope's mandate. In this want of zeal among the Christian nations, it was fortunate that Selim's attention was engrossed by his Eastern provinces, and the revolts of his unruly Janissaries. His last enterprise was directed against Rhodes; but he was not destined to accomplish it. Flying from Constantinople to avoid the plague, he was seized with that malady at Tchorlu, and died September 21st, 1520 .The fame of this great conqueror is sullied by acts of the most impious cruelty. He is even said to have contemplated the murder of his son and successor Solyman, for fear of experiencing at his hands the fate which he had himself inflicted on his father.

In pursuance of his pacific policy at this period, and also with the desire of recovering Tournai, Francis courted the alliance of Henry VIII. With this view he withdrew the Duke of Albany from Scotland, and despatched the Admiral Bonnivet into England with letters to Wolsey, in which the French King seemed to pour out his whole soul, styling the Cardinal his lord, his father, and his friend. Each letter was accompanied with a present, besides which a large pension was settled on the English minister. Wolsey was not insensible to addresses which gratified at once

[1] Guicciardini. *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xiii. [2] Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. iii. App. clxxviii.
[3] Rymer, t. xiii. p. 586.

his avarice and his vanity. He persuaded his master to restore Tournai, but on payment of 600,000 crowns in twelve years; and on these terms a treaty was executed at London in October, 1518.[1] It included a marriage contract between the Dauphin Francis and Mary, the daughter of the King of England, both recently born infants; which, however, was in time voided by the Dauphin's death. It was at this period, also, that a marriage whose results were destined to be so disastrous to France, was contracted between the Pope's nephew Lorenzo de' Medici, now Duke of Urbino, as well as head of the Florentine Republic, and Madeleine de la Tour, daughter of John Count of Auvergne and Boulogne, of the Royal blood of France through her mother Jeanne of Bourbon. In April, 1518, the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp at Paris, and on the return of the wedded pair to Florence the fêtes were renewed during a whole week. But their happiness was destined to be of short duration. Lorenzo died within a year, it is said of a malady contracted at Paris by his licentious amours on the very eve of his marriage. He was the last legitimate descendant of Cosmo the Great. His consort had expired only a few days before in giving birth to a daughter, afterwards the celebrated Catherine de' Medici. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici now became for a while the ruler of Florence; but the greater part of the Duchy of Urbino was incorporated with the States of the Church.

The Emperor Maximilian had died a few months before. Although only fifty-nine years of age, he had long anticipated his dissolution, and during the last four years of his life is said never to have travelled without his coffin and shroud. In these circumstances he was naturally anxious to secure the Imperial Crown for his grandson Charles; and in 1518 he obtained the consent of the majority of the Electors to the election of that Prince as King of the Romans. The Electors of Tréves and Saxony alone opposed the project, on the ground, that as Maximilian had never received the Imperial Crown, he was himself still King of the Romans, and that consequently Charles could not assume a dignity that was not vacant. To obviate this objection, Maximilian pressed Leo to send the Golden Crown to Vienna; but this plan was defeated by the intrigues of the French Court. Francis, who intended to become a candidate for the Imperial Crown, intreated the Pope not to commit himself by such an act; and while these negotiations were pending, Maxi-

[1] Rymer, t. xiii. p. 642.

milian died at Wels in Upper Austria, January 12th, 1519, either from having fatigued himself too much in hunting or from the effects of over-indulgence at table.

In his more private capacity, Maximilian had many good and amiable qualities. Of middle size and well-knit frame, he excelled in bodily exercises and feats of arms, and on more than one occasion he slew his adversary with his own hand. His eyes were blue, his nose aquiline, his mouth small, the expression of his countenance animated and manly, his manners frank and dignified. His chivalrous qualities endeared him to the German knighthood, his affability to the citizens, in whose festivities he frequently partook; while a certain tinge of romance rendered him irresistible with the fair sex. He was versed in several languages, a patron of literature, and himself an author; but the memoirs which he has left of himself, as the *Weiss-Kunig* (White King) in prose, and in the *Theuerdank*, in rhyme, are written in so far-fetched and enigmatical a style as to be of little value as materials for history.[1] Although no captain, he was well acquainted with the details of military service, and was the founder of the lance-knights. In short, he was a brave soldier and a good-tempered man; but here his praise must end. As a politician he was vacillating and irresolute; so full of levity and restlessness that he would quit the most important enterprise for a hunting-party; so governed by the caprices of imagination, that he would form a thousand schemes which he as readily abandoned.[2] By his reckless expenditure and extravagant projects, he was often brought to ridiculous straits; and it was a common saying that he never signed a treaty without expecting a pecuniary consideration.[3] His chief aim was the aggrandizement of his family; and though he achieved little or nothing by his arms, he founded, through his own marriage and those of his son and grandsons, the future greatness of the House of Austria.

Three candidates for the Imperial Crown appeared in the field: the Kings of Spain, France, and England. Francis I. was now at the height of his reputation. His enterprises had hitherto been crowned with success—the popular test of ability, and the world accordingly gave him credit for a political wisdom which

[1] On this subject see Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschicht-schreiber*, S. 141.

[2] "Sta sempre in continue agitazioni d'animo e di corpo, ma spesso disfà la sera quello conclude la mattina."—Machiavelli, *Discorso sopra le cose di Alamagna e sopra l'Imperatore*, Op. t. iv. p. 175.

[3] From his poverty the Italians gave him the nickname of *Massimiliano poco danari*, or "Maximilian small-cash."

he was far from possessing. He appears to have gained three or four of the Electors by a lavish distribution of money, which his agent Bonnivet was obliged to carry through Germany on the backs of horses; for the Fuggers, the rich merchants and bankers of Augsburg, were in the interest of Charles, and refused to give the French any accommodation. But the bought votes of these venal Electors, some of whom sold themselves more than once to different parties, could not be depended on. The infamy of Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop Elector of Mentz, in these transactions, was particularly notorious.

The chances of Henry VIII. were throughout but slender. Henry's hopes, like those of Francis, were chiefly founded on the corruptibility of the Electors, and on the expectation that both his rivals, from the very magnitude of their power, might be deemed ineligible. Of the three candidates, the claims of Charles seemed the best founded and the most deserving of success. Including Frederick of Austria, the rival of Louis of Bavaria, the House of Austria had already furnished six emperors, of whom the last three had reigned eighty years, as if by an hereditary succession. Charles's Austrian possessions made him a German Prince, and from their situation, constituted him the natural protector of Germany against the Turks. The previous canvass of Maximilian had been of some service to his cause, and all these advantages he seconded, like his competitors, by the free use of bribery. On the other hand, it was objected that, though Charles was a German Prince, he had never resided in High Germany, and did not speak its language; that he had as yet given no proof of capacity, and that the magnitude of his dominions was not only calculated to fill the Germans with apprehension that he would be able to devote little time to the affairs of the Empire, but also to inspire them with fears for their liberties. Indeed, at one time Charles's prospect of success appeared so doubtful that his aunt Margaret, whom he had reinstated in the government of the Netherlands, proposed to him that he should substitute his brother Ferdinand as a candidate; counsels which he at once rejected, though he promised to share the hereditary Austrian dominions with his brother, and at some future time to procure his election as King of the Roman.

Leo X., the weight of whose authority was sought both by Charles and Francis, though he seemed to favour each, desired the success of neither. He secretly advised the Electors to choose a King from among their own body; and as this seemed an easy

solution of the difficulty, they unanimously offered the Crown to Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. But Frederick magnanimously refused it, and succeeded in uniting the suffrages of the Electors in favour of Charles; principally on the ground that he was the Sovereign best qualified to meet the great danger impending from the Turk. The election of Charles as King of the Romans and Emperor Elect seems also to have been assisted by Franz von Sickingen and Casimir of Brandenburg, who, as the day of election drew near, in order to frighten the Electors from choosing a foreigner, occupied the roads leading to Frankfort with 20,000 men.

The new Emperor, now in his twentieth year, assumed the title of Charles V. His well-set frame, of middle size, his blue eyes, aquiline nose, and light complexion, recalled the lineaments of his grandfather Maximilian, but altered somewhat for the worse by the mixture of Spanish blood. His health was feeble, his countenance wore an air of sadness and dejection, his under lip hung down, and he spoke but little and with hesitation. He had as yet shown no symptoms of those talents and that force of character which he afterwards displayed; insomuch that the Spaniards, among whom he lived, deemed him to have inherited the intellectual weakness of his mother, which, however, was far from being the case. He was proclaimed as "Emperor Elect," the title taken in 1508 by his grandfather Maximilian, which he subsequently altered to that of "Emperor of the Romans," after his Imperial coronation at Bologna in 1530.[1] Before the election of Charles at the instance of Frederick the Wise, a more rigorous capitulation than usual was extorted from him, the enormous extent of his power rendering the Electors jealous of their liberties.[2] The Elector Palatine was deputed by the College to carry these articles into Spain for Charles's signature, and to invite him into Germany. Between the death of Maximilian and the election of Charles, the Palatine and the ecclesiastical Electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Treves had formed the Electoral Union of the Rhine for their common defence, and the preservation of the rights of the Electoral College.

The Pope and the Kings of France and England were all

[1] Muratori, *Ann.* t. x. p. 125; Henke, ap. Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. iii. p. 387, note. For Charles's election, see Goldasti, *Polit. Imper.* and the *Acta Electionis Caroli V^ti.* in Freher, *Germ. Rer. SS.* vol. iii. Cf. Ranke, *Zur Kritik*, under *Sleidan; Négociations entre la France et la Maison d'Autriche*, t. ii., published by M. Leglay in the *Documens Inédits;* an important source for the first thirty years of the sixteenth century.

[2] See Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 298 sqq.

equally dissatisfied with the result of the election. Leo, however, put a good face upon the matter, and sought to retain some portion of his pretensions by gracefully conceding what he had no longer the power to hinder. He hastened to recognize Charles as Emperor Elect, and to dispense with a constitution of Pope Clement IV., which forbade the Kingdom of the Sicilies to be united with the Imperial Crown; hoping that Charles in return would not withhold from him the homage prescribed by long-established custom. But the new Emperor manifested no inclination to gratify the pretensions of the Pontiff; and his example on this occasion had the effect of abrogating the usage.[1]

Charles's Spanish subjects loudly expressed their dissatisfaction at his acceptance of the German Crown, which was tendered to him at Barcelona by the Rhenish Palsgrave and a solemn embassy, November 30th, 1519. They complained that his new dignity would not only require his frequent absence from Spain, but would also drain it of men and money in the political quarrels of Germany and Italy. Nor was their discontent confined to murmurs. Several Castilian cities drew up a remonstrance against Charles quitting Spain, and serious disturbances broke out in Valencia, where the nobles had joined the burgesses in organizing a *Hermandad*, or armed brotherhood. The citizens of Valladolid, the usual place for holding the Castilian Cortes, were conspicuously refractory; and Charles therefore summoned that assembly to meet at Compostella in Gallicia, as he was in want of a fresh donative, in order to appear in Germany with adequate splendour. At this affront the citizens of Valladolid rose in arms, and would have massacred the Netherlanders had not Charles and his courtiers contrived to escape in a violent storm. Toledo sent deputies to Compostella only to protest against the legality of the assembly; Salamanca refused the oath of fidelity; Madrid, Cordova, and other places protested against the donative. Fortunately for Charles, the Castilian grandees were alarmed at this new spirit of independence among the commons, which, though now directed against the Sovereign, might one day be turned against themselves; and by their aid, together with the arts and bribes of the Court, a majority of the Cortes was induced to vote a supply. They forced Charles, however, to exclude the Netherlanders from office, who indemnified themselves by selling the places which they could no longer hold, and the Spanish ducats continued to gravitate towards the Low Countries.

[1] Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 116.

The impatience of Charles to receive his new crown induced him to leave his Spanish dominions even in this state of open discontent, which was still further increased by the unpopular appointment of Cardinal Adrian to the Regency of Castile. Charles embarked at Coruña, May 22nd, 1520; and on the 26th he landed in England, having taken that country in his way on pretext of paying a visit to his aunt Catharine, but in reality for the purpose of diverting Henry VIII. from forming any alliance with France. Henry was then meditating the recovery of that Kingdom, which he considered as his ancient patrimony; a scheme in which nobody could be of more use to him than the Emperor.[1] Charles gained Henry's minister, Wolsey, by large donations, and by dazzling him with the prospect of the tiara; and he now added a pension of 7,000 ducats to one of 3,000 livres which he had settled on Wolsey on his accession to the Spanish thrones. He could not, however, prevent an interview which had been already arranged between the French and English Kings for the 7th of June, and after a four days' stay in England he set sail for the Netherlands (May 30th).

Both the Emperor and the French King foresaw that a speedy breach between them was inevitable, and they were consequently both disposed to court the friendship of Henry VIII. Not only was the vanity of Francis deeply wounded by the ill-success of his competition for the Empire, but he also viewed with alarm the enormous increase of Charles's power; and he entertained great hopes of forming an alliance with the English King, who had the same cause as himself for animosity against the Emperor. The circumstances and the splendour of the meeting between the two Kings at the camp of the cloth of gold, are so familiar from the descriptions in our English historians that we need not here dwell upon them.[2] Instead of proceeding to Brussels, the wary Emperor had lingered at Gravelines, with the view of effacing by another meeting with Henry any impression that might be made upon him by his visit to Francis. After taking leave of Francis, the English King proceeded to Gravelines, and conducted Charles and his aunt Margaret back to Calais, where they passed some days together. Here Charles, who had further assured himself

[1] See the Letters of Pace and Wolsey, in *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 36, 46.

[2] By them it is commonly called the *field* of the cloth of gold, which is not very intelligible, and perhaps arose from substituting *champ* for *camp*. Martin du Bellay calls it "Le camp de drap d'or." The barbaric pomp and splendour of the interview appears to have been due to the bad taste of Henry. See Wingfield's Letter to Wolsey, April 18th, 1520, in Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, vol. i. p. 167 (1st ser.).

of the support of Wolsey by renewed promises of securing him the tiara, as well as by putting him in immediate possession of the episcopal revenues of Badajoz and Placencia in Spain, dexterously proposed that Henry should be the arbiter in any dispute that might arise between Francis and himself; and the English King readily fell in with a proposal which flattered his own favourite pretension of being the arbiter of Europe. It is said that an injudicious throw which the French King gave Henry in a wrestling match, diverted towards himself any ill feeling which the English Sovereign might have harboured against the Emperor, and greatly facilitated the designs of Charles and Wolsey. On such trivial circumstances may the fate of Kingdoms sometimes depend!

The Emperor's attention was next engrossed by his German coronation. He was consecrated at Aix-la-Chapelle, October 23rd, 1520, by the Archbishop of Cologne, and received the Roman Crown from the hands of the three spiritual Electors. In January, 1521, he held his first Diet at Worms. Here several princes and prelates were put under the ban of the Empire for breaches of the *Landfriede*, or public peace; but the only case necessary to be noticed in this general history was that of the Duke of Würtemberg. Originally a county, Würtemberg had been erected into a duchy by the Emperor Maximilian in 1495, in favour of Count Eberhard the Great, or the Bearded; to whose kinsman, Ulrich, it had now descended. This Prince, whose chief characteristics were his sensuality and his enormous fatness, had excited a rebellion of the peasants by the irksome taxes which he had imposed in order to supply his extravagance; and in 1514 a war broke out which obtained the name of "The war of poor Conrad." Ulrich found it necessary to quell this dangerous insurrection by conciliating the aristocracy; and the treaty of Tübingen in July, 1514, continued to be the fundamental law of Würtemberg down to 1819. Its provisions show the despotic power of some of the Princes in that age; as, for instance, that forbidding any body to be *hereafter* punished without legal trial and verdict! Ulrich, however, evaded the treaty, and his government became more cruel and tyrannical than ever. During the interregnum which ensued on the death of Maximilian, he seized Reutlingen, a town belonging to the Suabian League, between which and his foresters a deadly feud had long existed. The League's forces assembled under Duke William I. of Bavaria and George Frunsberg, and expelled Ulrich from his dominions, which were taken

possession of by the League as security for the expenses of the war (1519). In the following year the League, for a sum of 240,000 *gulden* handed over Würtemberg together with Ulrich's children, Christopher and Anne, to Ferdinand, who was then governing the Archduchy of Austria for his brother Charles, the Emperor Elect. Ulrich in vain appealed for protection to the Swiss, among whom he had taken refuge; and he wandered about in exile from Court to Court. Ferdinand, on taking possession of Würtemberg, confirmed the treaty of Tübingen, but exercised many oppressions in order to raise the sum he had agreed to pay. Charles, after his arrival in Germany, treated Würtemberg as his own property. He put Ulrich under the ban of the Empire, and heedless of the remonstrances raised on all sides, gave his dominions to Ferdinand, who some years later (1530) received the title of Duke of Würtemberg and Teck.

Several other important affairs were transacted at the Diet of Worms. The Imperial Chamber was reformed, the abuses of the lower courts were abolished, and a Council of Regency, consisting of a Lieutenant-General of the Empire and twenty-two Assessors, was appointed to discharge the Emperor's functions during his absence from Germany. As the right of primogeniture did not yet exist in Austria, Charles, according to his promise, ceded the greater part of the Austrian territories to his brother Ferdinand; who subsequently (in 1540) obtained the complete and hereditary possession of the whole of them. The Diet voted an army of 24,000 men to accompany Charles to Rome to receive the Imperial Crown; but on the express stipulation that these troops should be used for no other purpose than an escort, and to swell the pomp of his coronation.

The Diet of Worms, however, derives its chief importance from circumstances then considered as merely secondary; the affairs, namely, of a new heresy, and the appearance at Worms of Martin Luther. The Reformation had been going on some years in Germany; but as it had not till now become a political matter, we have hitherto abstained from adverting to it, in order to relate its progress in a connected form. And before entering on this subject, we will cast a brief retrospect on the state of the Church, and on the origin and development of that new learning which was to work so mighty a revolution in ecclesiastical affairs, and collaterally in the intercourse and policy of nations.

CHAPTER X.

AS the rise and progress of Papal power have been traced by Mr. Hallam in his work on the Middle Ages, and as the preceding narrative has shown to what a pitch the pretensions of the Church were carried, both in spiritual and temporal matters, we need here only remind the reader of a few particulars. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, in the Pontificate of Boniface VIII., the last seal had been set to the claims of the Roman See. In a bull launched against the Emperor Albert I., Boniface styles himself "The Vicar of Jesus Christ, sitting on a lofty throne, to whom all power is given both in Heaven and on earth."[1] In the constitution known as *Unam Sanctam* he declared that the Church had two swords, a spiritual and a temporal one; the first to be wielded by the Church itself, the second for the Church by Kings and their soldiers, but only at its bidding and during its pleasure. And he laid down as a necessary article of faith, that every human being is subject to the Roman Pontiff.[2] In accordance with these principles, he showed himself at the first Jubilee in 1300 dressed in the Imperial robes, whilst two swords, typical of those referred to, were carried before him.[3] Early in the same century, the spiritual army of the Church had been reinforced by the establishment of the Mendicant Orders, the Jesuits of the Mediæval Church, of which the principal were the Dominicans, or Friar preachers, and the Franciscans, or Friars Minor, founded severally by St. Dominic of Castile, and St. Francis of Assisi, in the Pontificate of Honorius III. (1216-27). The Franciscans were for the most part harmless fanatics, the Dominicans, on the contrary, the founders of the Inquisition, too often ferocious bigots.

In this age were also established the more recondite doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. The grand mystery of transubstantiation, by which the priest is supposed to work a constant miracle, was first formally and explicitly defined by the Fourth

[1] Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* ann. 1301 (t. iv. p. 302).

[2] *Extravag.*, lib. i. t. viii. c. i.

[3] Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, xxi. 3.

Lateran General Council (1215). The practice of auricular confession carried the influence of the clergy into the innermost household, and the priest assumed the power of absolution and the command of the keys. The influence of the Pope was also wonderfully augmented by the dispensing power, which enabled him to release the greatest Sovereigns from an inconvenient oath or a disagreeable or impolitic marriage.[1] The Roman See, however, naturally lost much of its influence, as well in Italy as in the rest of Europe, by the removal of the Papal Court to Avignon, in 1305, where it remained more than seventy years. This was the period of the attacks on the Church by Italian writers, as well as by many in England in the reign of Edward III., and of the rise in that country of the Wicliffites, or Lollards.

The schism which ensued soon after the restoration of the Papal residence to Rome by Gregory XI. in 1376, was also most prejudicial to the Papacy. After the death of Grégory, through dissensions among the Cardinals, the tiara was claimed by a Pope and an Antipope. The Council of Pisa, assembled to decide this dispute, in 1409, only more embroiled the fray. It deposed both the rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and elected Alexander V. in their place; but as the deposed Popes found many adherents, the only result was three infallible heads of the Church instead of two, all at variance with one another. It became necessary, therefore, to appeal to another Council, which was assembled at Constance in 1414.

This assembly found something more to decide than the claims of these wrangling Pontiffs, whose quarrels had excited the aversion of all thinking men, clerical as well as lay, and had given birth to two separate projects of reform: one within the Church, the other without. A very considerable portion of the transmontane clergy who assembled at Constance were desirous of effecting a moderate reform; and as they agreed to vote by nations, and not *per capita*, or individually, which would have given a preponderance to the Italian clergy, they were enabled to carry some of their resolutions.[2] They appointed a Reform Committee, whose resolutions might have eventually counteracted the more glaring

[1] The Roman Pontiff never assumed the power of divorcing if matrimony had been lawfully contracted. Papal divorces always went on the ground of the nullity of a marriage *ab initio*, from some canonical impediment. We shall have a case in point in the matter of King Henry VIII.'s divorce.

[2] In this assembly, England obtained an independent national vote, much to the annoyance of the French, who maintained that England should be classed with Germany, like Denmark and Sweden. See L'Enfant, *Hist. du Conc. de Constance*, ap. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 244.

abuses of the Papacy; and they made the famous declaration, that the authority of a General Council is superior to that of the Pope. It may well be doubted, however, whether the power of the Roman See could have been ever effectually broken without a reform of doctrine; and of this some of the ecclesiastics who were strenuous against the Papal abuses were the most violent opponents.

The more thorough movement from without, begun by Wiclif, though arrested, was not suppressed. Many causes had hindered the success of that reformation. The times were not yet ripe for it: Wiclif himself was scarcely of the true temper for a great reformer; and his attempt was damaged, first by the weakness of Richard II. and then by the revolution which overthrew that King. Although Richard curbed the Papal power by passing an act of *præmunire*, he at the same time enacted statutes against the Lollards, forbade the teaching of their doctrines at Oxford, and suppressed their conventicles in London. Thus he alienated at once the reformers and Romanists, and fell an easy prey to Henry of Lancaster, whose invasion was invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury in person.[1] The reign of the Church was now firmly settled in England, and under Henry IV. heresy was made a capital offence. But through the connection of Bohemia and England by the marriage of Richard with Anne of Bohemia, sister of King Wenceslaus, the doctrines of Wiclif had spread to that country, and had taken root there before the preaching of Huss. Conrad Waldhäuser and Militz had preached those doctrines towards the end of the fourteenth century; though Matthias of Janow, a canon of Prague Cathedral, who died in 1394, must be more especially regarded as the forerunner of Huss. The new doctrines received further impulse in Bohemia through Jerome of Prague, who had studied at Oxford. Some of the English Wicliffites also took refuge in that country; and we find among them one Peter Payne, who had been obliged to fly from Oxford on account of his principles, and was subsequently one of the Taborite deputies who attended the Council of Basle in 1433. Huss carried his tenets almost as far as Luther did afterwards. He appealed to the Scriptures as the only standard of faith, denounced indulgences, and held in 1412 a public disputation against them.[2] His friend Jerome of Prague and others burnt, like Luther afterwards, the Papal bulls under the gallows, a

[1] Turner, *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 125.

[2] Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen*, B. iii. S. 275.

description of which scene is still extant in the manuscript of a contemporary student.[1] In fact, Luther's Reformation was only a reproduction, under more favourable circumstances, though not an imitation, of those of Wiclif and Huss. The Hussite doctrines never penetrated over the frontier of Bohemia; they were, in fact, a sort of national re-action against German domination in that land. The Germans regarded the Bohemian Hussites with aversion, and a devastating war was for fifteen years carried on between them. At this time Bohemia was superior to Germany in literary culture. The University of Prague, the earliest in the Empire, was founded in 1350 by the Emperor Charles IV., and in 1408 is said to have contained 30,000 students and 200 professors. Of the students about 4,000 were Germans, who sided with the Pope; and when their privileges were curtailed in 1409 by King Wenceslaus, they quitted Prague and migrated to the newly founded University of Leipsic (1409).

The reforming party in the Council of Constance was principally led by French ecclesiastics, among whom three names are conspicuous above the rest; those of John Gerson, Nicholas of Clémanges, Rector of the University of Paris, and Peter d'Ailly, Cardinal-Bishop of Cambray. Clémanges had written before 1413 his lashing little work *De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu*, which Michelet likens to Luther's *Captivity of Babylon*.[2] The object of these reformers, however, was merely to establish an ecclesiastical oligarchy in place of the absolute power of the Pope. They could never pardon Huss his attacks upon the hierarchy. They were his bitterest enemies; and it was for these attacks, rather than for their imputed heresies, that Huss and Jerome of Prague died. This judicial murder produced a reproachful letter to the Council signed by no fewer than 452 Bohemian nobles; to which the Fathers answered by summoning the subscribers before them, and on their non-appearance denouncing them as heretics. It is proof to how great an extent the Hussite doctrines had spread in Bohemia that the name of *Bohemian* became synonymous with *heretic*. The internal dissensions of the Hussites themselves alone prevented the establishment of a Reformation in that country. The tenets of the moderate party, called *Calixtines* or *Utraquists*, and subsequently the *Prague Party*, had been publicly adopted by the University of Prague; but, as commonly happens in all great revolutions, whether political or religious, their cause was injured by various extreme sects of desperate and dreaming

[1] Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen*, B. iii. p. 278. [2] *Hist. de France*, t. vi. p. 204.

fanatics, who produced the disorders which proved fatal to the cause.

The heaviest complaints made against Rome at the General Council of Constance were those of the English and the Germans. The latter, however, suffered most from Papal extortion; and they handed in a long list of grievances, which is important as displaying the state of the German Church at that time, and shows that Germany was ripe for a reformation.[1] The Council, as the mouthpiece of the Holy Ghost, deposed Pope John XXIII. (May 29th, 1415), and elected in his stead Cardinal Otho di Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V. The small General Council which met at Basle in 1431, had likewise some important results. Eugenius IV., who now occupied the Papal chair, attempted, but without success, to divert it to some Italian city. The opposition to the Pope at this Basilean Council, was led by two remarkable men, both of whom, however, subsequently changed their opinions: Nicholas of Cusa, or Cusanus, a celebrated scholastic theologian, well known for his services to Greek classical learning and to German literature, and by Æneas Sylvius, whom we have already had occasion to mention. This synod re-asserted the decree of Constance, that the authority of a General Council is superior to that of the Pope. When Eugenius, on pretence of negotiating with the Greeks, decreed the transference to Ferrara of the Council of Basle, the latter declared the Pope's bull for that purpose null and void, suspended the Pope himself (January 24th, 1438), declared the Council of Ferrara a mere conventiculum, and cited the members to appear at Basle.[2] In June, 1439, the latter Council condemned and deposed the Pope, and afterwards elected as his successor Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy (November 17th). Amadeus, though no ecclesiastic, had the odour of sanctity. He was Dean of the Knights of St. Maurice of Ripaille, a "hermitage" which he had founded near Thonon, on the southern shore of Lake Leman, and to which he had retired after his wife's death in 1434. In this retreat, he repeated the canonical office seven times a day; but it is said that, instead of roots and spring water, the hermits of Ripaille enjoyed the best wine and the best viands that could be procured, whence the popular proverb *faire ripaille*, to denote a life of ease

[1] The paper is published in Von der Hardt's *Acts of the Council of Constance.*

[2] The Council of Ferrara, however, transferred to Florence on account of the plague, actually effected a sort of fleeting doctrinal union with the Emperor Palæologus (1439). Cardinal Bessarion was a prominent figure in this transaction. See Gibbon, vol. viii. p. 99.

and dissipation.[1] Amadeus accepted the tiara, and under the title of Felix V. lived nine years in Papal splendour at Basle, Lausanne, and Geneva, and nominated during his pontificate twenty-three Cardinals. He was as good as the average of Popes; indeed, a great deal better than many of his successors. He was not, however, recognized by any except a few feudal potentates, including the Swiss League; and when the Basle Council was dissolved in 1449, Felix renounced the tiara with more resignation than had been displayed by his priestly rivals. The Council was overthrown through the treachery of Æneas Sylvius, who made peace between Pope Eugenius and the Emperor Sigismund. Its object, like that of Constance, had been to establish in the Church a sort of republican hierarchy.

These disputes were not without advantage to the French and German Churches, and especially to the former. A *Pragmatic Sanction* was drawn up by the National Council, which met at Bourges in 1438. The chief objects of this instrument were, to subject the Popes to periodical General Councils; to suppress annates and other payments, which drew so much French money to Rome; to establish the rights and liberties of the Gallican Church, and to secure to Chapters and Convents the free election of bishops and abbots. The right of the Prince to address his recommendations to the Chapter or Convent was recognized, a *veto* only being reserved to the Pope, in case of unworthiness or abuse. Appeals to Rome were forbidden, except after passing through the intermediate courts. Priests living in open concubinage, who were very numerous, were subjected to the loss of a quarter of their incomes. Without, however, any regard to the substance of the Pragmatic Sanction, the mere promulgation by a royal Ordinance of the decrees of the Council of Bourges was an important fact, as establishing the right of the civil power to control ecclesiastical decisions. The Pragmatic Sanction, however, was abrogated in the reign of Francis I., as we have already related (*supra*, p. 350).

The Germans presented to the Council of Basle, as they had to that of Constance, a long list of grievances. The Papal power and its consequent abuses had made greater progress in Germany than in any other country, having been supported by the Electors and other Princes as a counterbalance to that of the Emperor. In spite of the Councils of Constance and Basle, the authority of the Pope stood very high in Germany down to the time of the

[1] See Monstrelet, liv. ii. c. 168.

Reformation; it gained great strength after Æneas Sylvius, the crafty and able minister of Frederick III., became Pope Pius II. The Diets were now called Papal and Imperial; the Papal Legates appeared in them as in Sigismund's days, and sometimes opened them.[1] The attempt to make a stand against Rome during the Council of Basle, had proved of little avail. In 1439 a Diet assembled at Mentz, and adopted the reformatory resolutions of the Basilean Council, twenty-six in number; making only those alterations which the peculiar situation of Germany required. They did not, however, make any practical application of the resolutions, and thus derived no benefit from them. The only result was the theoretical recognition of the superiority of a Council over the Pope. Subsequently, a sort of agreement was established between Germany and the Pope by the Roman Concordat of 1447, and by the Concordat of Vienna in the following year. Towards the close of the century, however, opposition to the Papacy re-appeared, occasioned principally by the great sums remitted to Rome, which were estimated at 300,000 *gulden* per annum, without reckoning costs of suits at Rome, rents of prebends, &c.[2] And we have seen that Maximilian, early in the next century, denounced in the most violent language the abuses of the Papal rule (*supra*, p. 292).

During the Council of Basle, England and Burgundy sided with the Pope. The former country as we have said, had already emancipated herself from the more flagrant abuses of the Roman tyranny. Castile, in the earlier ages of that Kingdom, was nearly independent of the Papal See, till Alfonso X. (1252-1284), by publishing a code of law which incorporated great part of the Decretals, established the full jurisdiction of Rome.[3] The benefices of Castile soon became filled with Italians, whilst Aragon and Navarre offered in this respect a favourable contrast. The Castilian Cortes, however, made a stand against Rome in the reign of Henry IV. (1473), and Isabella subsequently maintained a more independent attitude. By a concordat of 1482, Sixtus IV. conceded to the Spanish Sovereigns the right of nominating to the higher ecclesiastical dignities, though the Holy See still collated to the inferior ones, which were frequently bestowed on improper persons. Isabella sometimes obtained indulgences conferring the right of presentation for a limited period.[4] In Italy,

[1] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 252.
[2] Ranke, *loc. cit.*
[3] Marina, ap. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 254.
[4] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.* vol. iii. p. 414. Cf. pt. i. ch. vi.

Venice asserted her independence of the Papal power, and frequently opposed to it either the authority of the Patriarch of Aquileia or that of a General Council; while in Florence, the Medici commonly obeyed the Pope only so far as they chose.[1]

The attempt to reform the Church *within* the Church had proved a failure; nothing could be effectual but a reformation *from without,* accompanied with a purification of her doctrines. The Councils of Constance and Basle were little more than a struggle for wealth and power between the Pope and hierarchy. With regard to their spiritual prerogatives the Popes came out victorious from the contest. In January, 1460, Pius II. published a bull condemning all appeals to a General Council;[2] and half a century later (1512), the noted Dominican friar, Thomas of Gaëta, declared the Church a born slave, that could do nothing even against the worst Pope but pray for him.[3] He little dreamt that a great part of the Church was on the eve of emancipation.

The members partook of the corruption of the head. The vices and profligacy of the clergy had long been notorious, and were denounced even by those who regarded with indulgence the abuses of the Papacy. Constance, at the time of the Council, was filled with hundreds of players and jugglers; the handsomest courtesans of Italy there vied with one another in pride and extravagance. Nor were these amusements intended only for the knights, barons, and tradespeople who flocked thither in great numbers, but also for the assembled Fathers.[4] In a sermon delivered before the Council of Siena—an adjournment of that of Pavia in 1423—the preacher, after a severe denunciation of clerical vices, added: "The bishops are more voluptuous than Epicureans, and settle over the bottle the authority of Pope and Council."[5] Yet this preacher was no reformer. He denounces the heathen philosophy as the source of all heresies, imputes the Bohemian revolt to Plato and Aristotle, and traces to the same source the fatalists who then abounded in Italy. The same charges are repeated in the sermons of Savonarola; who, besides denouncing the ambition, pride, simony, luxury, and unchastity of the priests and prelates, reproaches them also for their preference of profane over sacred learning, and for their addiction to fatalism, as shown by their

[1] See Ant. Gallus in Muratori, *SS.* t. xxiii. p. 282.

[2] Raynaldus, t. x. p. 222.

[3] *De Auctoritate Papæ et Concilii*, in Raynaldus, 1512, t. xi. p. 612.

[4] Ullman, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, S. 206.

[5] L'Enfant, *Hist. de la Guerre des Hussites, &c.*, ap. Martin, t. vi. p. 327.

blind submission to astrologers.[1] That these charges were not mere idle and invidious declarations may be established by documentary proofs. In England, the priests petitioned Parliament in 1449 to be pardoned for all rapes committed before June *next*, as well as to be excused from all forfeitures for taking excessive salaries, provided they paid the king a noble (6*s.* 8*d.*) for every priest in the Kingdom. The petition was granted, and the statute made accordingly.[2] In 1455, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued an order denouncing the vices of his clergy, their gluttony, drunkenness, fornication, ignorance, pursuit of worldly lucre, &c. It appears from a decree of the eleventh session of the Fifth Council of the Lateran, that some ecclesiastics derived an income from the stews;[3] and Innocent VIII. found it necessary to renew by a bull, published in April, 1488, the constitution of Pius II., forbidding priests to keep butcheries, taverns, gaming-houses, and brothels, and to be the go-betweens of courtesans.[4] It would be easy, were it necessary, to multiply this sort of evidence.

In Italy the vices of the clergy had produced a wide-spread atheism. Among the laity, the higher classes were almost universally sceptics, fatalists, and Epicureans, though the most consummate infidels were to be found among the clergy themselves. Scepticism was so rife that the Fifth Lateran Council thought it necessary to define, in its eighth session, that the soul of man is not only immortal, but also distinct in each individual, and not a portion of one and the same soul.[5] Erasmus knew of his own knowledge that at Rome the most horrible blasphemies were uttered by the clergy, and sometimes in the very act of saying Mass; and he relates, among other things, an attempt made to prove to him, out of Pliny, that there is no difference between the souls of beasts and men.[6] Such of the Italian ecclesiastics as prided themselves on the purity of their Latin style, were fearful of corrupting it by a study of the Bible. They altered the language of Scripture to that of Livy or Cicero; Jehovah became

[1] "Il loro culto è di stare tutta notte colle meretrici, e tutto il dì a cicalare nei cori; e l' altare, è fatto bottega del clero." —*Predica*, ap. Villari. *Storia del Savonarola*, vol. ii. p. 4. "Parlano contro la superbia e l' ambizione, e sonvi immersi fino agli occhi." . . . . "Dannosi a intendere con Virgilio, Orazio e Cicerone regger le anime." . . . . "Non v' è prelato ne gran maestro che non abbia familiarità con qualche astrologo, che gli predica l' ora ch' egli ha a cavalcare o fare altra faccenda." *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 166, 169.

[2] *Rolls of Parl.* vol. v. p. 123, and Statutes, vol. i. p. 352; ap. Turner, *Hist. of England*, vol. v.

[3] Labbé, *Concilia*, t. xiv. p. 302.

[4] Raynald. *An.* 1488, § 21. t. xi. p. 159 sq.

[5] Labbé, *Concilia*, t. xiv. p. 187.

[6] Burigny, *Vie d'Erasme*, t. i. p. 148.

Jupiter Optimus Maximus; Christ, Apollo or Æsculapius; the Virgin Mary, Diana.[1] Cardinal John de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., was, if he had any religion at all, rather a pagan than a Christian, and he seems to have inoculated the Romans with his own opinions; for on the breaking out of a pestilence at Rome during the pontificate of his successor Adrian VI., a bullock was sacrificed on the ancient forum, with heathen rites, conducted by a Greek named Demetrius, to the great satisfaction of the people.[2] This very laxity of belief had, however, produced a sort of liberality. The Jews, who had been driven from other countries, were tolerated at Rome;[3] and while Ferdinand the Catholic was burning heretics by thousands, no *auto de fè* was beheld in Italy. The College of Cardinals could assist at and enjoy the representation of Macchiavelli's comedy of *Mandragola*, a bitter satire upon the clergy. With all its vices and corruption, the Roman Court, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, was the meeting-place of all the distinguished men of Europe, and must be regarded as the centre of European civilization, as well as in a great degree of European politics. The Popes viewed without apprehension the diffusion of opinions which they shared themselves; for in Italy, learning and philosophy had produced only atheism and indifference, and it was not indifference and atheism that the Church had reason to fear. She was ignorant that, beyond the Alps, a race of men had sprung up whose acquirements were directed to trace to the fountain-head the origin and progress of their faith, and to examine the foundations on which was erected the vast superstructure of Papal power and usurpation. To the efforts of these men we must now advert.

From the fifth century to the fifteenth, education and the development of European intellect had been essentially guided by the clergy. In the houses of most religious orders heathen authors were forbidden; it was only the Benedictines, which order was fortunately the most numerous, that read and copied secular books, and to them principally we owe what we possess of Roman literature. It must be remembered, however, that if the monks copied, they also destroyed; and before the use of paper was known, would often rub out a Livy or a Tacitus, in order to fill the parchment with their own absurdities. These

[1] See a specimen in Erasmus's *Ciceronianus*, Op. t. i. p. 995, Leyden, 1703.

[2] Paul. Jovius, *Histor.* lib. xxi.

[3] Osorio, *Hist. of Emanuel the Great*, vol. i. p. 27 (Gibbs's transl.).

were the ages of the Scholastic philosophy[1] and of a subtle and elaborate logic founded on the sayings of the Fathers, collected by Peter Lombard in his *Liber Sententiarum*, which formed the great arsenal of theological weapons. It rested, therefore on *authority*. Nobody would have thought of questioning its postulates; and hence the Scholastic philosophy was calculated to enslave the intellect, to bind it down to forms, and to prevent all original research. The result of the Scholastic system was an intellectual condition approaching to fatuity. "It cannot be denied," observes Ranke, "that however ingenious, varied, and profound are the productions of the Middle Ages, they are founded on a fantastic view of the world little answering to the realities of things. Had the Church subsisted in full and conscious power, she would have perpetuated this state of the human intellect."[2] Fooldom stands out the prominent object of observation and ridicule in the literature which preceded the Reformation. The number of attacks on folly and fools is surprising. The *Ship of Fools* of Sebastian Brandt was imitated in England by Walter Mapes and Nigel Wireker. The *Speculum Stultorum* of the latter was printed more than half a dozen times before the end of the fifteenth Century.[3] Among writers of the same kind were Hammerlein, Michel Menot, Geiler von Kaisenberg, Hans Rosenblüt, and others, especially Erasmus, the greatest of all. His Μωρίας Ἐγκώμιον, or *Praise of Folly* was adorned with wood-cuts by Hans Holbein; among which was one representing the Pope with his triple crown. Thus ridicule became one of the instruments of the Reformation. Ancient paganism had fallen before it through the attacks of Lucian, the Voltaire of antiquity, and it helped to destroy the paganism of modern Rome.

The revival of classical learning promoted, no doubt, the advent of the Reformation, though one of its first effects was to produce a race of pedants who caught the form rather than the spirit of antiquity. The results of the art of printing were also slow. At first it helped both parties, the friends and the enemies of light; the mystic and scholastic writers were multiplied *ad infinitum*, and for one Tacitus the libraries were inundated with copies of Duns Scotus and St. Thomas Aquinas, the great doctors of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. But

[1] An account of that philosophy will be found in Hallam.

[2] *Popes*, vol. i. p. 61 (Mrs. Austin's transl.). Some grand exceptions stand out amidst the general darkness, as Friar Roger Bacon, Friar Albertus Magnus, and a few others.

[3] Henke ap. Roscoe, *Leo X.* vol. iii. p. 147.

towards the end of the fifteenth century the press began to tell on the other side, for common sense, though tardily, will at last prevail. Among the earliest who attacked the abuses of Rome was Nicholas Krebs, called also Cusanus (born 1401), who demonstrated the spuriousness of the decretals of Isidore of Seville. In his *Conjectura de novissimis temporibus* Cusanus foretold the Reformation, and by his tergiversation at the Council of Basle did what in him lay to falsify his own prediction. Laurentius Valla, who flourished about the same time, in his declamation against the donation of Constantine, attacked in a tone as violent as Luther's the corruption of the clergy and the temporal power of the Pope. But by far the greatest of all the classical philologists who took up their pens against the abuses of the Church was Erasmus. His edition of the Greek Testament, the first that appeared from the press (1516), served to usher in the Reformation. In the *Paraclesis*, or Exhortation, prefixed to it, he expresses a hope that the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles may be read in their native tongues by Scotch and Irish, Turks and Saracens; but though he could express this noble wish in his study and rail at monkish abuses, he was not disposed to attempt a reformation of them at the expense of his life or even of his personal comfort. He was the man of speculation, not of action; and his selfish and somewhat sensual nature excludes him from that class of men whose intrepidity has rendered them the benefactors of their kind. Other labourers in the field were the restorers of Hebrew learning and of the study of the Old Testament. The Old Covenant was destined again to produce the New, or at all events to restore its purity and banish the idolatry of Rome. For many ages God the Father had not even had an altar. He was regarded as Jewish; and one of the characteristics of the Middle Ages was hatred of the unbaptized, whether Mahometan or Jew. The importance, however, attached by the early Reformers to the Hebrew Scriptures contributed to give the Reformation an occasional air of gloomy fanaticism. John of Wesel was one of the earliest restorers of Hebrew learning, whose treatise against Indulgences, published in 1450, handles the subject in a more exhaustive and uncompromising manner than even the theses of Luther.[1] Pico della Mirandola, whose learning has perhaps been overrated, was also a Hebrew student. His tract, entitled *Adversus eos qui aliquot ejus propositiones theologicas carpebant*, addressed to his friend,

[1] See Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reform.* S. 283 f.

Lorenzo de' Medici, contains many principles of the subsequent reformers. Reuchlin, the pupil of Wesel and friend of Pico, was another distinguished Hebraist. Reuchlin maintained in his book *De Verbo mirifico,* that the Jews alone had known the Word of God. His literary quarrel with the monks of Cologne, in which he succeeded in rescuing piles of Hebrew literature from the flames to which they had been condemned by the Dominicans, is one of the most striking events that harbingered the Reformation (1509). Ulrich von Hutten lent the aid of his humour. His bantering *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum,* written to ridicule the monks—which, in consequence, perhaps, of their bad Latin and palpable absurdities, were at first supposed by the monks themselves to proceed from their friends—served to cover them with ineffaceable ridicule.[1]

In this state of things Martin Luther arose. He was the son of a poor miner, and was born at Eisleben in Upper Saxony, November 10th, 1483. In his fourteenth year his parents put him to school at Magdeburg ; and so extreme was his poverty, that while imbibing the rudiments of that learning which enabled him to shake the Papal throne and deprive it of half its subjects, he was obliged to eke out a scanty subsistence by singing and begging from door to door. He subsequently attended another school at Eisenach, and in 1501 entered the University of Erfurt. Here his progress in learning was rapid, but at the same time marked by a vigorous originality of mind. He began to regard with contempt the scholastic philosophy which formed the staple education of the time ; while the study of the Bible made a deep impression on him. In 1503 he took his degree of Master in Philosophy. Symptoms of that morbid melancholy which often darkened the course of his future life had already begun to show themselves ; which being increased by a severe illness and the sudden death by lightning of a friend named Alexis, whom he tenderly loved, he resolved to renounce the world, and in 1505 entered a convent of Augustinian or Austin friars at Erfurt. Here in 1507 he was ordained priest. Staupitz, Provincial of the order in those parts, perceived and encouraged his merit ; and he was appointed successively Professor of Philosophy and of Theology in the University of Wittenberg, then recently founded by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. Here he lectured on

[1] For an account of Reuchlin's controversy, see Von der Hardt, *Hist. Lit. Ref.* pars ii. ; and Meiner's *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Männer.* The *Epistolæ obsc. Virorum* were published by Aldus in 1515.

the writings of Aristotle, but was often bold enough to controvert the doctrines of that philosopher.

A short visit to Rome, in 1510, on business connected with his order afforded Luther a glimpse of the state of religion and the manners of its ecclesiastical professors in the capital of Christendom; and he used to say in after life that he would not have missed the sight for a thousand florins. Rome was then beginning to clothe herself in all the magnificence of modern art: the vast basilica of St. Peter was rising from its foundations; Raphael and Michael Angelo were adorning her churches and palaces with their masterpieces; yet neither her treasures of modern art, nor the monuments of her former grandeur, seem to have excited any emotions of surprise or delight in the mind of Luther, who had no relish for anything but the religious questions in which he was absorbed. He treasured up the impressions of wonder and disgust with which he beheld the lives of the clergy; at seeing the warlike Pontiff Julius II. parading the streets on his white charger, and the priests performing with careless indifference and ill-concealed atheism the most sacred functions of their calling.[1] Thus forewarned against the abuses of the Church by ocular inspection, as well as by his own study and the opinions of those learned and enlightened men who had begun to assail them, Luther needed only an adequate occasion to call him forth as a reformer; and this was afforded by the unblushing effrontery of the Romish clergy in the traffic of indulgences.

Indulgences were at first merely a remission of punishments ordered to repentant sinners by the Church, and in this view their origin is lost in antiquity. If a penitent showed symptoms of reformation his canonical penance might be mitigated, or its term shortened; or it might be commuted altogether to works of charity and exercises of piety. In this latter form the crusades gave a great impulse to indulgences; Pope Urban II., in the Council of Clermont (1096), having promised a plenary indulgence to all who took part in the first crusade. Indulgences were afterwards extended to those who took arms against European heretics; and afterwards, by Boniface VIII., in 1300, to those who

[1] For example, in consecrating the elements at Mass, some of them would mutter, very truly indeed, but with a disgraceful levity, *Panis es, panis manebis; vinum es, vinum manebis*, Melch. Adam, in *Vita Lutheri*, p. 104 (ed. 1653). The same charge of atheism, and disbelief in transubstantiation, had been thundered against the clergy from the pulpit by Savonarola only a few years before: "Dicono che Dio non ha provvidenza del mondo, che tutto è a caso, e non credono che nel sacramento sia Cristo."—*Predica*, ap. Villari, *Storia del Savonarola*, vol. ii. p. 4.

celebrated the Jubilee at Rome.[1] The chief sources of the abuse of indulgences were the doctrine of Purgatory, established in the tenth century, and the invention by Halesius in the thirteenth century of *the spiritual treasure of the Church*, consisting of the infinitely superabundant merits of the Redeemer, and in a lower degree the superabundant merits of all the Saints, which the Church, and especially the Pope, its head, could apply by way of *satisfaction* to those who had fallen away from Divine grace, but were now repentant and absolved.

The doctrine of indulgences was erected into an article of faith by a bull of Pope Clement VI., in 1343.[2] In the earlier times, the privilege of granting these pardons was exercised with an endurable moderation. They could be partially dispensed by bishops as well as by the Pope; nor was a money payment always exacted for them, but some act of piety or charity, as the giving of alms, or a pilgrimage to Rome or to some holy place. But in process of time, when the income of the Roman See began to decline, the Popes became more and more alive to the pecuniary profit that might be derived from the sale of indulgences, which, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, they had completely monopolized.[3] No pains were taken to conceal the fact that the sale of indulgences was regarded as one of the ordinary sources of Papal revenue; nay, the traffic was considered so legitimate, that the grant of an indulgence was sometimes solicited from the Pope by temporal Princes when they wanted to raise money. Thus, Elector Frederick III. of Saxony obtained an indulgence grant from the Pope in order to erect a bridge over the Elbe at Torgau with the proceeds.[4] In 1508 Pope Julius II. opened a sale of indulgences in Hungary, but was moderate enough to take only one third of the produce for the building of St. Peter's, leaving the remainder to defray the expenses of the Venetian war.[5] The trade became at length so profitable as to excite the envy of the civil magistrate, and induce him to claim a share of the profits. In 1500 the Imperial government would allow the Papal Legate to issue indulgences in Germany only on condition of receiving a third of the produce. The Pope's agents openly disposed of the privilege by

[1] Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, S. 260 ff.

[2] For the doctrine of Indulgences see the decretal of Pope Leo X. in the Appendix to Roscoe's *Leo X.*, No. clix.

[3] Each form of Indulgence had a price proportioned to its object and extent. See the Instruction of the Archb. of Mentz to the Sub-commissaries of Indulgence, ap. Merle d'Aubigné, liv. iii. ch. 1; Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 310.

[4] Löscher, *Reformations Acta*, B. i. S. 98.

[5] Engel, *Gesch. des ungarisch. Reiches*, B. iii. S. 143.

auction, and sometimes threw dice for it in taverns over their drink. The scandalous way in which the traffic was conducted had already occasioned many complaints in France, Portugal and Spain, in which last country it had been opposed by Cardinal Ximenes himself, in 1513.[1] Germany was the chief place for this "fair of souls," where the produce was farmed by the Fuggers, the rich merchants and bankers of Augsburg, just as if it had been a tax on leather or an excise upon wine. In vain had the practice been held up to ridicule before the time of Luther by the wits of Nuremberg, then the literary centre of Germany; the German money still flowed abundantly towards Rome, where it was called *Peccata Germanorum*, or the "sins of the Germans."

The extravagant expenditure of Leo X., who was reproached after his death with having spent the revenues of three Popes—namely, that of his predecessor Julius II., his own, and his successor's—led him to raise money in every possible way, without any regard to the dignity of the Holy See. In the Concordat with Francis I. he had sacrificed the spiritual claims of the Church for the sake of worldly profit; he had endeavoured to wring large sums from Europe under pretence of a crusade; and he now pushed the lucrative and commodious trade of indulgences with more vigour than ever. Commissaries were appointed to collect the revenue arising from it, the chief of whom, Arcimboldi, a Milanese doctor of laws, and Apostolic prothonotary and referendary, had a commission extending over the greater part of Germany, including Denmark and Sweden. It was in the first of these countries, however, that he was most successful. A Lübeck chronicle of the year 1516 complains bitterly of Arcimboldi's ill-gotten gains, part of which he had laid out in silver kettles and frying-pans—a piece of luxury unheard of even among Princes. He was accompanied by a man of business, named Anthony de Wele, who collected the cash; but this factotum was strangled one night in a brothel at Lübeck, and his body thrown down a privy.[2]

It was, however, the proceedings under another commission, granted by the Pope to Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, and Primate of Germany, which brought the Pope's agents into collision with Luther. Albert was a young prelate fond of pomp and pleasure, and with great taste for building; habits which had plunged him into debt, and had compelled

[1] Gomez, *Vita Ximenis*, in Schott, *Hispania illustrata*, t. i. p. 1065.

[2] Rathmann, *Gesch. v. Magdeburg*, B. iii. S. 302.

him to borrow from the Fuggers 30,000 florins to pay the fees for his pallium; a sum which it seemed impossible to raise in his already well-drained dominions. To this needy Elector one John Tetzel offered his services, a Dominican friar, and native of Leipsic, who had been already engaged in the traffic under Arcimboldi. Tetzel and his myrmidons were men notoriously infamous; they did not scruple to help themselves from what passed through their hands; and the Apostolic controller at Mentz refused to have anything to do with them. But Albert's need was pressing; Tetzel's merits as a clever and unscrupulous agent were great; he promised a goodly harvest, and a contrivance was adopted to prevent him from reaping more than his due share of it. The keys of the chests containing the contributions of the faithful were deposited in the hands of the Fuggers, in whose presence or that of their clerks the chests were to be opened; when, after deducting all expenses of collection, a portion of the proceeds was to be placed to the credit of the Pope and the balance to that of the collectors.

Albert's episcopal principalities of Magdeburg and Halberstadt were first selected as the scene of Tetzel's operations; where the pulpits were tuned, and the clergy instructed to recommend the benefits which he offered. Tetzel went about in a coach with three horses provided for him by the Fuggers. When he entered a town the Papal bull under which he acted was carried before him on a splendid cushion; then followed a procession of priests and friars, magistrates and burgesses, teachers and scholars; and the rear was brought up by a motley crowd, singing hymns and carrying banners and wax tapers. In this way Tetzel proceeded to church. After service he opened his market, painted the torments of Purgatory in the darkest colours, expatiated on the virtue of indulgences, and inculcated that as soon as the price of one rang in the box, the liberated soul ascended at once to heaven.[1] For those who were more anxious about their own state than that of their departed friends he had wares of another kind; pardons available for all possible or even impossible[2] sins, whether already perpetrated or to be committed hereafter: which he absolved without any reference to the irksome conditions of repentance and amendment prescribed by the Church.[3]

[1] —— "qui statim, ut jactus nummus in cistam tinnierit, evolare dicunt animam."—Luther, *Thesis* 27.

[2] "Etiam, ut aiunt, si per impossibile quis matrem Dei violasset, quin possit solvi."—Luther's *Briefe*, B. i. S. 68, De Wette.

[3] Some of these letters of indulgence have been preserved, and Von der Hardt has printed one in his *Hist. Lit. Ref.* pt. iv. p. 4. He has also given a cut of the case which contained it. There was attached to it by a silken cord a seal in

In the course of his trade Tetzel came to Jüterbock, a town near Wittenberg, and his proceedings were thus brought under the immediate notice of Luther. Nothing could be more calculated to excite the Augustinian monk's indignation than that justification, the precious reward of a lively faith, should be procured for money! With characteristic vehemence he denounced these indulgences from the pulpit, and positively refused absolution to those who bought them. In order to alarm him, Tetzel, who was a member of the Dominican Inquisition, caused fires to be frequently lighted in the market-place, as a hint of the fate which might overtake the opponents of the Pope and his indulgences. So far, however, from frightening Luther, this proceeding served only to animate his courage; and, on the 31st of October, 1517, he posted on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg those memorable theses, which, though even Luther himself had then no conception of it, were in fact the beginning of the Reformation. On the following day he sent these theses, ninety-five in number, to the Elector Albert with a letter.[1]

It was fortunate for Luther's cause that he lived under such a Prince as the then Elector of Saxony. Frederick was, indeed, a devout Catholic; he had made a pilgrimage to Palestine, and had enriched All Saints' Church at Wittenberg with relics for which he had given large sums of money. His attention, however, was now entirely engrossed by his new University, and he was unwilling to offer up to men like Tetzel so great an ornament of it as Dr. Martin Luther, since whose appointment at Wittenberg the number of students had so wonderfully increased as to throw the Universities of Erfurt and Leipsic quite into the shade. He was at variance too with the Elector Albert, and unwilling that he should extort the price of his pallium from Upper Saxony; and he therefore suffered Luther to take his own way. Frederick was quite able to protect him. He was completely master in his own dominions, and as one of the seven Electors was almost as much respected throughout Germany as the Emperor himself, who, besides his limited power, was deterred by his political views from noticing the quarrel. Luther had thus full liberty to prepare the

red wax presenting the bust of St. Peter, holding a key in the right hand and a book in the left; below is the triple crown with two crossed keys, and the legend: "S. Fabrice S. Petri de Urbe," that is, the seal of the building of St. Peter's at Rome. Cf. Löscher, B. i. S. 378.

[1] These theses will be found in Von der Hardt, *Hist. Lit. Ref.* pt. iv. p. 16, in Löscher, B. i. S. 438, ff., and in the Appendix to Ranke's *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (B. v. S. 170 ff.), printed verbatim from the original in the royal library at Berlin.

great movement which was to ensue, by those vigorous sermons and treatises which showed him so well qualified to become its leader.

The contempt entertained by Pope Leo X. for the whole affair was also favourable to Luther; for Frederick might not at first have been inclined to defend him against the Court of Rome. Towards the end of 1517 Tetzel caused counter theses to be drawn up by Wimpina, a celebrated theologian of that period, which he published at the University of Frankfort-on-Oder. Silvester Prierias, a Dominican and major-duomo of the Apostolic Palace, also published a reply, but so coarsely and unskilfully drawn up,[1] that it did full as much harm to the cause of Rome as the attack of Luther. The Pope was indeed unfortunate in his advocates. Hoogstraaten, another Dominican, who had made himself ridiculous in his controversy with Reuchlin, also took part in the dispute, and earnestly pressed the Pope to commit Luther's writings to the flames. But Leo, who was entirely given up to classical, it might almost be said to pagan, tastes and predilections, and regarded with aversion all theological disputes, turned a deaf ear to the suggestion of the officious friar; nay, he even affected to praise Brother Martin Luther as a man of a fine genius, and to regard the whole affair as a mere quarrel of envious monks.[2] This last view was common enough in that age, and has since been frequently repeated, but without any adequate foundation. It was said that the Augustinians were offended at being deprived by the Dominicans of the profitable traffic in indulgences, and that they found a selfish champion in Luther; a charge, however, which is refuted, not only by Luther's general character, but also by the fact that he was earnestly besought by the prior and sub-prior of his convent to desist from his attacks upon indulgences, as calculated to bring upon the Augustinian order the suspicion of heresy.[3]

Luther, however, found a more formidable opponent in Dr. John Eck of Ingolstadt, a theologian of great learning and talent, with whom he had formerly been acquainted. In a book entitled *Obelisks* (*Obelisci*),[4] Eck pointed out the similarity between Luther's doctrines and those of the Bohemian heretics; and as the very

[1] Among other things Prierias said in his dedication, that he was very anxious to try whether this Martin had a nose of iron and a head of brass. Seckendorf, *Comm.* lib. i. § 16. The coarseness was not all on Luther's side.

[2] "Frate Martino haveva un bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invidie fratesche."—Bandello, ap. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. i. S. 30.

[3] Marheineke, *Gesch. der Deutschen, Ref.* B. i. S. 66.

[4] That is, *Notes*, on Luther's Theses.

name of Hussite was detested in Germany, this caused many to keep aloof who would otherwise have been disposed to join Luther. Luther's answer to this treatise, entitled *Asterisks*, contained such stinging remarks on Eck's learning and talents, that he never rested till he had engaged the Pope in the matter. Luther was encouraged by George Spalatinus, a man of great influence, who was at once private secretary and Court preacher of the Elector Frederick: but above all he was supported by his principle that the Scriptures contain the sole rule of faith, and that their authority is far above that of all doctors of the Church, Papal bulls, or even decrees of Councils. At the same time Luther's enthusiasm was tempered with an admirable discretion, and it was to the uncommon union of these qualities that he owed his subsequent success. Thus when, in March, 1518, several copies of Tetzel's theses were brought to Wittenberg and publicly burnt by the students, Luther strongly expressed his disapprobation of that violent proceeding.

The Court of Rome at length became more sensible of the importance of Luther's attacks, and in August, 1518, he was commanded either to recant, or to appear and answer for his opinions at Rome, where Girolamo Ghenucci, Bishop of Ascoli, had been appointed his judge. Luther had not as yet dreamt of throwing off his allegiance to the Roman See. In the preceding May he had addressed a letter to the Pope himself, stating his views in a firm but modest and respectful tone, and declaring that he could not retract them. The Elector Frederick, at the instance of the University of Wittenberg, which trembled for the life of its bold professor, prohibited Luther's journey to Rome, and suggested that the question should be decided in Germany by impartial judges. About the same time Maximilian, who was then presiding over the Diet at Augsburg, addressed a letter to the Roman Pontiff, requesting him to take effectual steps to extinguish the dangerous and pestilent doctrines then rife in Germany. Accordingly Leo bade his Legate at the Augsburg Diet forthwith to summon Luther to appear before him. On this occasion the Apostolic Legate in Germany was Cardinal Thomas di Vio, better known by the name of Cajetanus, derived from his native city of Gaeta; a prelate of such liberal opinions as even to have incurred a suspicion of heresy. His instructions were that, if Luther recanted, he was to be pardoned; if he persisted in his opinions, he was to be imprisoned till further orders; and if these proceedings did not produce the desired effect, then he

and his followers were to be excommunicated, and all places that sheltered him laid under an interdict. Thus, in consonance with the Papal assumption of infallibility, the whole question was prejudged, and Luther's writings were regarded as containing their own condemnation.

Luther set out for Augsburg on foot provided with several letters of recommendation from the Elector, and at Augsburg he got a safe conduct from the Emperor Maximilian. The latter, though averse to Luther's heresies, seems to have regarded him as a person who might be useful in his quarrels with the Pope, and had recommended him to Frederick as one of whom there might some time or other be need.[1] Luther appeared before Cajetanus, October 12th, at whose feet he fell; but it was soon apparent that no agreement could be expected. The Cardinal and Luther started from opposite premisses. Deep in the traditionary lore of the Church, Cajetanus drew all his arguments from the schoolmen, which the Wittenberg professor answered by appealing to the Scriptures; and thus the more they discussed the matter the wider and more irreconcilable became their divergence. Luther's offer to appeal to the Universities of Basle, Freiburg, Louvain, and Paris, was regarded as an additional insult to the infallible Church. Cajetanus, who had at first behaved with great moderation and politeness, grew warm, demanded an unconditional retraction, forbade Luther again to appear before him till he was prepared to make it, and threatened him with the censures of the Church. The fate of Huss stared Luther in the face, and he determined to fly. His patron Staupitz procured him a horse, and on the 20th of October, Langemantel, a magistrate of Augsburg, caused a postern in the walls to be opened for him before day had well dawned. Enveloped in his monk's frock, so inconvenient for an equestrian, Luther rode that day between thirty and forty miles without drawing bridle, and then, weary and almost fainting, sunk to sleep on a heap of straw. On the following day he resumed his journey, and reached Wittenberg in safety on the 31st of October, the anniversary of the publication of his theses.

Cajetanus now wrote to the Elector Frederick complaining of Luther's refractory departure from Augsburg, and requiring either that he should be sent to Rome or at least be banished from Saxony. Frederick was long undecided as to the course he should pursue, and so uncertain were Luther's prospects that he made preparations for his departure, and even took leave of his

[1] Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 86 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

community in a farewell sermon. He resolved to proceed to France, erroneously thinking, because the University of Paris had frequently opposed the Pope, that he should find safety in that country. At length, just on the eve of his departure, he received an intimation from Frederick that he might remain at Wittenberg. Before the close of the year he gained an accession of strength by the arrival of Melanchthon, a pupil of Reuchlin, who had obtained the appointment of Professor of Greek at Wittenberg.

Frederick offered a fresh disputation at Wittenberg; but Leo X. adopted a course more consonant with the pretensions of an infallible Church by issuing a bull dated November 9th, 1518, which, without adverting to Luther or his opinions, explained and enforced the doctrine of indulgences. It failed, however, to produce the desired effect; for though Luther often protested his readiness to bow to the decision of the Holy See, and had even left behind him at Augsburg an appeal to the Pope when he should be better informed, he rejected the bull and appealed to a General Council. Leo now tried the effects of seduction. Carl von Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, canon of Mentz, Treves, and Meissen, and one of the Papal chamberlains, through whose influence Leo's consent had been obtained to the hearing of Luther's cause at Augsburg instead of Rome, was despatched to the Elector Frederick with the present of the golden rose, and with instructions to put an end, as best he might, to the Lutheran schism. On his way through Germany, Miltitz soon perceived that three-fourths of the people were in Luther's favour; nor was his reception at the Wittenberg Court of a nature to afford much encouragement. Frederick did not seem particularly enchanted with the golden rose, although Leo had recommended it to him as usual in a letter describing how he had himself blessed it, anointed it with holy chrism, and sprinkled it with odoriferous musk; and pointing out that it was a gift of deep mystery bestowed only once a year on some distinguished Prince who had deserved well of the Holy See.[1] Such were the toys devised by the Roman Court to cajole the political leaders of Europe. Frederick, however, declined the ceremony of receiving the rose at a public interview, and desired that it might be transmitted to him through an officer of his Court; nay, he is even said to have treated the mysterious gift with a ridicule bordering on profanity. In fact, respect for ecclesiastical authority had sunk much lower in

[1] Seckendorf, *Comment.* § 47.

Germany than was dreamt of at Rome, and Miltitz found with astonishment that Tetzel could not quit Leipsic with safety.[1] The Papal envoy saw the necessity for conciliation. Having obtained an interview with Luther at Altenburg, Miltitz persuaded him to promise that he would be silent, provided a like restraint were placed upon his adversaries. On this occasion all theological disputes were avoided, for which, indeed, Miltitz would probably not have been qualified. Luther was even induced to address a letter to the Pope, in which, in humble terms, he expressed his regret that his motives should have been misinterpreted, and solemnly declared that he did not mean to dispute the power and authority of the Pope and the Church of Rome, which he considered superior to everything except Jesus Christ alone.[2] In the same letter, however, he plainly intimated that his writings and tenets had already spread so widely, and penetrated so deeply in Germany, that it would no longer be possible to revoke them.

On leaving Altenburg, Miltitz proceeded to pay a visit to Tetzel at Leipsic, and found him in the Pauline Convent, which he durst not quit for fear of the people. Here Miltitz upbraided him severely for his conduct in the sale of indulgences, which he said had caused all the evil consequences which followed, and so alarmed Tetzel with threats of calling him to an account, that his death, which took place soon after, was ascribed to fear and vexation. Miltitz then returned to Rome, flattering himself that he had settled this weighty business by his skilful conduct. But though he had achieved a temporary success, he was far from being a discreet negotiator. He frequently got fuddled with wine, when he would blab out secrets respecting the Pope and the Roman Curia which were very damaging, and were subsequently made use of at the Diet of Worms.

The Emperor Maximilian was now dead, and the Elector Frederick had assumed the vicariat of that part of Germany which was governed by Saxon law; a circumstance necessarily favourable to the Reformation, especially as the Pope, wishing to conciliate Frederick for the ensuing election, forbore to fulminate any sentence of excommunication against Luther. Charles's obligations to Frederick for the Imperial Crown also induced him to treat the Lutherans with forbearance for some time after his accession. Another motive disposed him the same way. We have seen that Ferdinand the Catholic had rendered the Spanish

[1] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 860 ff. [2] Luther's *Briefe*, Th. ii. S. 233, De Wette.

Inquisition an engine of government, detested by his subjects and regarded with a jealous eye by Rome. In the disturbances which took place in Spain after Charles's accession, the Cortes of Aragon had prevailed upon Leo X. to issue briefs, by which the constitution of that tribunal was greatly altered, and its proceedings brought nearer to the forms of common law; and Charles, annoyed by this circumstance, sent an ambassador to Rome in the spring of 1520 to procure a revocation of the briefs. The affair of Luther was at that time creating much anxiety and debate in the Roman Consistory; and in a letter of May 12th, 1520, we find the ambassador advising his master to go into Germany and show some favour "to a certain Martin Luther," who by his discourses gave much trouble to the Roman Court; and this method of annoying and opposing the Pope was accordingly adopted by the Emperor.[1]

The truce effected by Miltitz lasted only a few months. It was broken by a public disputation to which Dr. Eck challenged Bodenstein, a Leipsic professor, better known by the name of Carlstadt, which was held in that town at the very time of the Imperial election. It was permitted by Duke George of Saxony, who regularly attended, a zealous opponent of the Lutherans, in whose dominions Leipsic lay. This disputation, in which Luther took part, began in the Pleissenburg, June 27th, 1519, and lasted nineteen days. It had the usual fate of all such discussions, and served only still further to embroil the question. The animosity displayed on both sides was so great, that watchmen armed with partisans were stationed in the inns to prevent fights between the students attached to different sides; each party claimed the victory, and the students of Leipsic and Wittenberg came to blows about the conclusion, though the greater part of them had fallen asleep during the argument. In the opinion of the majority, however, Eck carried off the palm. He was precisely suited for such an arena; a big burly man with a stentorian voice, a prodigious memory, vast learning, great readiness, and an inexhaustible flow of words. Melanchthon admits the admiration which he excited,[2] and on the whole, the discussion rather damaged Luther for a time. The Elector Frederick was somewhat shaken by a letter addressed to him by Eck, till he was reassured by another from Erasmus in favour of Luther.[3] Erasmus,

[1] Llorente, *Hist. de la Inquisicion*, cap. xi. art. iv. § 16.

[2] See his Letter to Œcolampadius in Jortin's *Erasmus*, App. No. xviii.

[3] See a passage in this letter, which is not inserted among those of Erasmus, in Seckendorf's *Comm. de Lutheran.* § 51.

who confesses that he had not read Luther's books, was induced to take his part from disgust at the cry raised against himself by the monk party.

The Leipsic disputation was preceded and followed by a host of controversies. The whole mind of Germany was in motion, and it was no longer with Luther alone that Rome had to contend. All the celebrated names in art and literature sided with the Reformation; Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, Melanchthon, Lucas Cranach, Albert Dürer, and others. Hans Sachs, the *Meistersänger* of Nuremberg, composed in Luther's honour the pretty song called "The Wittenberg Nightingale."[1] Silvester von Schaumburg and Franz von Sickingen invited Luther to their castles in case he were driven from Saxony; and Schaumburg declared that a hundred more Franconian knights were ready to protect him. Luther, however, always protested his aversion to the use of physical force, and fortunately there was no occasion to resort to it, as the Elector Frederick became daily more convinced that his doctrines were founded in Scripture. In a letter which he addressed to the Papal Curia, April 1st, 1520, Frederick in vain endeavoured to open its eyes to the new state of things in Germany, and pointed out that any attempt to put down Luther by mere force, and without refuting his doctrines, could end in nothing but disturbance and detriment to the authority of the Church.[2]

Meanwhile Luther had made great strides in his opinions since the publication of his theses. From a mere objector against indulgences he had begun to impugn many of the essential doctrines of the Romish Church; and so far from any longer recognizing the paramount authority of the Pope, or even of a General Council, he was now disposed to submit to no rule but the Bible. The more timid spirits were alarmed at his boldness, and even Frederick himself exhorted him to moderation. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that Luther sometimes damaged his cause by the intemperance of his language; an instance of which is afforded by the remarkable letter which he addressed to Leo X., April 6th, 1520, as a dedication to his treatise *De Libertate Christiana*, which is filled with the coarsest abuse of the Roman Court, while the Pope himself is treated with a sarcastic irony.[3] Allowance, however, must be made for the

[1] Hans Sachs, *Gedichte*, Th. ii. S. 139. (ed. 1810).

[2] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 1666.

[3] Roscoe has shown the true date of this letter to be April 6th, and that it consequently preceded the Papal bull of excommunication. *Life of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 17, note (ed. 1827).

manners of the times. Luther, as a modern writer[1] has observed, was certainly well grounded in all the slang of Eisleben; but his rude and ponderous battle-axe cut the knot on which the more polished but feebler sword of Erasmus or Melanchthon would have failed to make an impression.

The letter just alluded to was, perhaps, the immediate cause of the famous bull, "Exurge Domine," which Leo fulminated against Luther, June 15th, 1520. The bull, which is conceived in mild terms, formally condemned forty-one propositions extracted from Luther's works, allowed him sixty days to recant, invited him to Rome, if he pleased to come, under a safe conduct, and required him to cease from preaching and writing, and to burn his published treatises. If he did not conform within the above period he was condemned as a notorious and irreclaimable heretic; all Christian Princes and Powers were required to seize him and his adherents, and to send them to Rome; and all places that gave them shelter were threatened with an interdict.[2]

The bull was forwarded to Archbishop Albert of Mentz; but in North Germany great difficulty was found in publishing it. The Germans were disgusted that Eck, who had been very officious in procuring the bull, should be appointed as Papal Legate to superintend the execution of it; a man who, besides being the personal enemy of Luther, was not of sufficient rank and consequence for such a post; and at Leipsic Eck found it necessary to take refuge in the same convent that had before protected Tetzel. The Emperor seized the opportunity to push his negotiations respecting the Spanish Inquisition, and plainly told the Papal Nuncio that he should be willing to gratify the Pope in the matter of the bull, provided that His Holiness in return would desist from supporting his enemies. Leo accepted these conditions. The Grand Inquisitor in Spain was instructed no longer to support the demands of the Aragonese Cortes; and at length, in January, 1521, the Pope agreed to cancel the briefs which he had issued respecting the Inquisition.[3] Thus Charles's view of the great religious question which was agitating Germany was made subservient to the interests of his government in Spain; whilst the Pope, on his side, was ready to sacrifice the Spaniards in order to crush an enemy in Germany.

The bull was a poor, wordy composition, dark in its philo-

[1] Schlosser, *Weltgesch.* B. xi. S. 337.

[2] The bull is printed in extenso by Roscoe, *ibid.* App. No. clxxxiii. Cf. Raynald. *Ann. Eccl.* anno 1520, t. xii. p. 289.

[3] Pallavicini, *Ist. del Conc. di Trento*, lib. i. c. 24; Llorente, *Hist. Crit. de la Inquisicion*, cap. xi. art. iv.

sophy, obsolete in its theology, with magniloquent but unmeaning apostrophes to Christ, Peter, Paul, and all the Saints. Hutten published it with notes and an appendix, in which he turned it into ridicule. Its effect upon Luther was to make him write more daringly. Almost simultaneously with the bull had appeared his *Appeal to the Emperor and German Nobles* (June 23rd, 1520), in which he rejected the notion that the priesthood is a distinct and privileged order in the State, and advocated the marriage of priests. In the course of the summer he published his treatise on the Mass, and another on the Babylonish captivity of the Church. In these works he denied the sacrifice of the Mass, censured the withholding of the cup, and reduced the seven sacraments of the Church to three—Baptism, Penance, and the Lord's Supper. Miltitz, who had not given up all hopes of mediation, had another interview with Luther at Lichtenberg, in the middle of October, and succeeded in persuading him to write to the Pope. In this letter Luther, while protesting that he did not mean to say anything against the Pope's person or the Catholic Church, gave vent to many coarse and unwelcome truths; and a little after he published his tract *Against the Bull of the Antichrist*, in which he met the Pope with his own weapons, handing him over to Satan with his bull and all his decretals, in case he persisted in his wrath.

During this crisis of his history Luther's fate entirely depended on the Elector Frederick. In the autumn the Papal Legates, Aleander and Caraccioli, met that Prince at Cologne, where he was awaiting the Emperor's return from Aix-la-Chapelle, and, in conformity with a Papal brief with which they were provided, entreated him either to punish Luther or to send him prisoner to Rome. On this occasion Frederick consulted Erasmus, who happened to be likewise at Cologne. Erasmus remained in his former favourable opinion of Luther; he censured indeed his violent language, but admitted that he had laid his finger on many abuses. "Luther," he observed, "has erred in two things: in touching the crown of the Pontiff and the stomachs of the monks."[1] Frederick, in his answer to the Legates, adopted the advice of Erasmus, which coincided entirely with his own opinion; he proposed that before Luther's books were burnt he should first be judged by a council of learned and trustworthy men, and his doctrines condemned by authority of Scripture. Luther continued to enjoy at Wittenberg all his former freedom, and

[1] Sleidan, *Comm.* lib. ii. p. 48 sq.

proceeded to make still bolder attacks on the Pope's authority. On the 17th of November he published a formal appeal against the bull to a General Council, which, besides that it was couched in terms of the most virulent abuse against the Pope, was an act that had been declared heretical by Pius II. and Julius II. On December 10th, Luther consummated his rebellion by taking that final step which rendered it impossible for him to recede. On the bank of the Elbe, outside the Elster Gate of Wittenberg, under an oak which has now disappeared through age, but whose place the piety of a later generation has supplied with another, Luther, in presence of a large body of professors and students, solemnly committed with his own hands to the flames the bull by which he had been condemned, together with the body of canon law, and the writings of Eck and Emser, his opponents; at the same time exclaiming, "As thou hast vext the holy one of the Lord, so may the eternal fire vex and consume thee."[1]

On January 3rd, 1521, Luther and his followers were solemnly excommunicated by Leo, and an image of him, together with his writings, was committed to the flames; but the only feeling excited in Luther by this act was one of satisfaction at being delivered from obedience to the Pope. At the Diet of Worms, which was held soon after, the Emperor having ordered that Luther's books should be delivered up to the magistrates to be burnt, the States represented to him the uselessness and impolicy of such a step, pointing out that the doctrines of Luther had already sunk deep into the hearts of the people; and they recommended that he should be summoned to Worms and interrogated whether he would recant without any disputation. But they also demanded that the abuses of the See of Rome, by which the German nation was oppressed, should be reformed; and, as on some previous occasions, they handed in a list of 101 grievances, in which the tricks and maladministration of the Roman Court in general, and of Leo X. in particular, were denounced in the bitterest terms; so that the tone of the paper resembled Hutten's books or Luther's *Appeal to the German Nobles*. Even Duke George of Saxony, a zealous champion of the Romish Church, submitted twelve particular complaints. Thus, on the eve of Luther's trial, all Germany recognized the need of a reformation, though their demands referred to matters of practice rather than of doctrine.

[1] Marheineke, B. i. S. 195. Luther's enmity to the Canon Law arose from its extravagant propositions respecting the extent of the Papal power. The jurists, however, continued to cling to it obstinately, and thus impeded the progress of the Reformation.

In compliance with the advice of the States, the Emperor issued a mandate, dated March 6th, 1521, summoning Luther to appear at Worms within twenty-one days. It was accompanied with a safe conduct,[1] and similar instruments were likewise granted by the Princes through whose dominions Luther was to travel. A herald called "Germany" was appointed to escort him; and the Elector of Saxony instructed the Bailiff and Council of Wittenberg to provide him with a guard where necessary, and to take care that nothing disagreeable befell him on the way. Thus Luther, only a few years previously an obscure friar at Erfurt, had become, by the boldness of his opinions, an object of solicitude to all Europe. So great was the dread he had now begun to inspire at Rome, that the Pope, as if doubtful of the efficacy of his previous fulmination, included him in the bull *In Cœna Domini*, ordinarily read out every Maundy Thursday, in which heretics of all sorts, as the Arnoldites, Wiclifites, and others, were comprehended.

Luther's journey was a kind of triumphal procession. He was accompanied by Justice Jonas, afterwards Provost of Wittenberg, by Nicholaus von Amsdorf, Peter von Schwaven, a Danish nobleman, and Jerome Schurf, a jurist of Wittenberg. The coach in which he travelled was given him by the town of Wittenberg. At Weimar, Duke John furnished him with money to defray his travelling expenses. At Erfurt, the scene of his former cloister life, forty of the principal inhabitants on horseback, and a much larger number on foot, met him at a distance of nine or ten miles, and escorted him into the town. In spite, however, of his enthusiastic reception many trembled for his life; and at Oppenheim he received an admonition from his friend Spalatin not to proceed to Worms lest he should meet the fate of Huss. Luther replied in his emphatic way, "Huss has been burnt, yet the truth has not been consumed with him: go I will, be there as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the house-tops."[2] He arrived at Worms on the 16th of April. It was noon, and the inhabitants were at dinner; but when the watchman on the tower of the Cathedral gave the signal with his trumpet, everybody rushed out to see the famous friar. He sat in an open carriage in the habit of an Augustinian; before him rode the herald in his tabard, displaying the Imperial eagle; and in this way he was

[1] Both the Citation and the Safe Conduct are still extant; the former in the Rath's-Bibliothek at Leipsic; the latter in the library of Ober-Marschall von Wallenrodt at Königsberg.

[2] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2174; *Briefe*, B. ii. S. 159.

escorted to his lodgings by a large body of nobles and a crowd of citizens.

In the afternoon of the following day he was conducted into the presence of the Diet by Count Pappenheim, hereditary Imperial marshal, who walked before him, accompanied by the herald. As he was about to enter, the celebrated captain, George Frunsberg, tapped him on the shoulder, exclaiming: "Little monk, little monk! thou art doing a more daring thing than I or any other captain e'er ventured on in the hottest encounter. But if thou art confident in thy cause, go on, in God's name, and be of good cheer, for He will not forsake thee."

Luther at first seemed overawed by the splendour and majesty of the assembly before which he appeared, and to cool observers, especially foreigners, his bearing did not answer the expectations formed of him. In a low and scarcely audible voice he acknowledged himself the author of the books whose titles were read to him, and on being asked whether he would retract them, he requested time for consideration. Many thought he would recant. The impression which he made on the Emperor was far from favourable, and he remarked that he should never be converted by such a man. But Luther's hesitation and embarrassment were a mere temporary weakness. On the morrow he had recovered all his wonted confidence and courage; and though he admitted in his interrogation that he had written with unbecoming virulence, he refused to retract any of his opinions, unless refuted by the evidence of Scripture: adding, "I cannot make an unconditional surrender of my faith, either to the Pope or to General Councils, nor can I act against my conscience. Here stand I, I cannot do otherwise. God help me, Amen."[1]

The Emperor delivered his written judgment, April 19th. Its purport was, that as the haughty doctrine of Luther struck a blow at all constituted authority, the Emperor, agreeably to his illustrious descent and his German feelings, would use all his endeavours to uproot the heresy. He expressed his regret at having so long delayed this work. At present Luther might depart in virtue of his safe conduct, but in all other respects he would be treated as a heretic. It was now the duty of the States to come to a Christian resolution on the subject.[2]

Luther has himself given a detailed account of the proceedings at this Diet. A letter to Lucas Cranach is characteristic: "I

[1] Pallavicini, lib. i. c. 26; Luther, *Letter to Charles V.*, De Wette, Th. i. S. 590.

[2] Raynaldus, an. 1521, t. xii. p. 321; Seckendorf, § 97; Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. i. S. 485.

thought," says Luther, "that the Cæsarian Majesty would have summoned half a hundred doctors, and so have confuted the monk; but all that passed was: 'Are these books thine?' 'Yes.' 'Wilt thou retract them?' 'No.' 'Then begone!' Oh, we blind Germans! how foolish are we to allow the Romanists to make such miserable fools and apes of us."[1]

The Emperor's decision was variously received. The zealous Papists praised it; among the majority of the people it excited great sympathy for Luther, and the deep impression his doctrines had made was unmistakably manifested. Unseemly placards were posted in the streets, such as, "Woe to the land whose King is a child!" while the threats of Hutten, Sickingen, and other friends of Luther, alarmed the opponents of the Reformation. "The Germans are everywhere so addicted to Luther," says Tunstall in a letter to Wolsey from Worms, "that rather than he shall be oppressed by the Pope's authority, a hundred thousand of the people will sacrifice their lives."[2] Attempts were privately made by some of the Electors to bring Luther to more moderate sentiments. To the Archbishop of Treves, who had asked him to point out some way in which the matter might be accommodated, he answered in the words of Gamaliel: "If it is the work of men, it will perish; but if it comes from God, you cannot overthrow it. I will rather yield up my body and life, than abandon God's true and manifest word."[3]

There were some, as the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, who proposed to violate Luther's safe-conduct; but this step was rejected by the Emperor and by the majority of the Princes. In fact, Louis V., Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, were on the point of declaring themselves in favour of the Reformation. Sickingen also was close at hand with a large force. Charles V., towards the close of his life, during his retirement at Yuste, is said to have expressed regret at having observed Luther's safe-conduct;[4] but if he did so he must have forgotten the circumstances attending the Diet. The anecdote is at variance with another, which represents Charles to have replied to a demand for Luther's arrest by saying: "No! I will not blush like my predecessor Sigismund;" which Emperor is said to have exhibited that token of shame when violating the safe-conduct he had granted to Huss.[5] On the 26th of May, Luther was outlawed

[1] Luther's *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2320.
[2] Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 230 (ed. 1726).
[3] Luther, *Werke*, B. xv. S. 2317.
[4] Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, ap. Prescott, *Hist. of Philip II.* vol. i. p. 288.
[5] Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen*, B. iii. S. 364.

by an edict antedated on the 8th, in order that it might appear to have been sanctioned by the whole Diet, though passed in the Emperor's private apartments, after several of the Electors and other Princes had departed. This famous decree, known as the Edict of Worms, was drawn up by Aleander, the Papal Legate, and being filled with abuse of Luther, had more the form of a Papal bull than an Imperial edict.[1] It declared Luther a heretic, and ordained that whoever sheltered him, printed or published his books, or bought or read them, should incur the same penalty of outlawry. So great was Aleander's anxiety to get this document completed, that he brought it to the Emperor for signature on a Sunday, when he was in church with all his court.

Luther had quitted Worms on the 26th of April, and arrived safely at Eisenach, preaching once or twice by the way, though expressly forbidden to do so. He was everywhere well received, even at the convents in which he rested. Near Altenstein he was suddenly surrounded by horsemen in disguise, who took him out of his carriage, and placing him on horseback led him through a wood for some hours, till at length, near midnight, they brought him to the Wartburg, a castle within a mile of Eisenach, and formerly a residence of the Landgraves of Thuringia. This friendly capture had been arranged with Luther by the Elector Frederick, who was apprehensive that when the ban of the Empire should be published he might have some difficulty in sheltering the proscribed monk in his dominions. It was generally believed that Luther had been murdered, and for a long while nobody but Frederick knew what was become of him.

At the same time with the Lutheran Reformation, but quite independently of it, another was proceeding in some of the Swiss Cantons, conducted by Huldreich, or Ulrich, Zwingli. Of a poor but ancient family, Zwingli was born, January 1st, 1484, at Wildenhausen, in the County of Toggenburg, then belonging to the Abbot of St. Gallen, one of those elevated regions where fruit and vegetables refuse to grow, and where green meadows are surrounded by towering Alpine peaks. His father, who had been Ammann of the district, destined Ulrich, one of several sons, for the Church; and with this view he completed his education at Vienna and Basle. In 1506 he was appointed to the parochial cure of Glarus, which he had held ten years. Like Luther, Zwingli early formed the determination of taking the Scriptures for his only rule of faith, and, in order to read them in the original, learnt

[1] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 335 sqq.

Greek without a master, copying with his own hand the whole of St. Paul's epistles in that language.[1] This period of his life was, however, diversified by participation in the warlike expeditions of the Swiss Confederates; he was present with his community at the battle of Marignano, and subsequently bound himself to the Pope's service by accepting a pension. He now opposed all military service under the French flag, and being thus brought into collision with the higher classes, he found himself compelled temporarily to abandon his cure. At this period Theobald, Baron of Geroldseck, offered him an asylum at Einsiedeln, the celebrated Benedictine monastery of Canton Schwyz, where the shrine of our Lady of the Hermits still attracts thousands of pilgrims; and in the autumn of 1516 he was installed in the curacy of Pfeffikon.

In 1518 Bernardin Samson, a Milanese Franciscan, began to preach indulgences in Switzerland. This man was even more shameless than Tetzel. It was one of his boasts that, during eighteen years, his commission had brought into the Apostolic treasury as many hundred thousand ducats. Zwingli, like Luther, zealously denounced this traffic, denying the existence of Purgatory, and consequently the utility of Masses for the dead. It was in this year that he accepted the office of preacher at Zürich, the chief city in the Swiss Confederacy which declined the military service of France. Here he was assisted by Bullinger; and as the Bishop of Constance, in whose diocese Zürich lay, was also at that time an opponent of Papal abuses, though he afterwards combated the new doctrines, the Reformation began to spread apace in Switzerland. In 1520 the magistracy of Zürich published its first reformatory edict, that nothing should be preached except what could be proved to be the word of God; but it was not till 1524 that they obtained sufficient strength and confidence to alter the outward forms of worship, to abolish images, processions, relics, and other Popish usages, and to permit the administration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds. In Switzerland, as in the rest of Germany, these reforms were the result of a more enlightened state of public opinion, to which the abode of Erasmus at Basle had not a little contributed; and under these influences the Reformation soon spread to Schaffhausen, Basle, and Bern.

We cannot follow the Swiss Reformation step by step. It will suffice to say that by the year 1521 Zwingli's doctrines had been

[1] This MS. is still extant in the library at Zürich.

established, not only in the four Cantons already mentioned, but had also taken root in Neufchatel, Vaud, Geneva, Solothurn, the Thurgau, Baden, St. Gallen, and other places. Zwingli was even a bolder innovator than Luther. It has been remarked that while Luther wished to retain in the Church all that is not expressly contrary to Scripture, Zwingli aimed at abolishing all that cannot be supported by Scripture. Their views respecting the Eucharist in particular were essentially different. Luther retained the Catholic dogma of the real presence, though in a somewhat modified and indeed not very intelligible form—*Consubstantiation* instead of *transubstantiation;* while Zwingli, like Carlstadt, interpreting the words of institution figuratively, held that no change whatever took place in the elements, but that they were mere symbols, to be taken in remembrance of Christ's death. This difference gave rise to a bitter controversy between the two reformers; and Luther, with his usual violence, denounced Zwingli and his followers with every mark of aversion as *Sacramentaries.* It will appear in the sequel how this difference damaged the cause of the Reformation by preventing the union of the Zwinglian and Lutheran Churches; but we must here content ourselves with merely indicating these subjects of dispute, the detail of which belongs properly to ecclesiastical history.

Another great difference between Zwingli and Luther, which may perhaps be accounted for from the nature of the governments under which they lived, was, that Zwingli extended his views to political as well as religious reform, while Luther disclaimed all interference in affairs of State. Zwingli wished to modify the constitution of the Swiss Confederacy; he did not decline an appeal to arms for such an object; and a premature and inconsiderate resort to them was the cause not only of his own death, but also of a reaction against the Reformation in Switzerland. We shall here mention by anticipation that the five Catholic Cantons, Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucern, and Zug, after their battle and victory at Kappel, in which Zwingli lost his life[1] (October, 1531), maintained the advantage which they had achieved; and after a war of less than two months the articles of a peace signed at Häglingen, November 24th, gave them the upper hand in the Confederacy. Thus a stop was put to the further progress of the Reformation in Switzerland, and even a Catholic reaction was partially effected.[2]

[1] See ch. xiv.

[2] The chief authorities for the Swiss Reformation are, Bullinger's *Reformationsgeschichte*, and Ruchat, *Hist. de la Réf. en Suisse.*

CHAPTER XI.

WE shall now revert to the general affairs of Europe at the point where we left them in chapter the ninth.

While Charles was taking possession of his new dignity, and putting in order the affairs of the Empire, his Spanish dominions were in a state of open insurrection, the first symptoms of which, excited by the unconstitutional act of the Cortes assembled in Gallicia, had manifested themselves, as we have already observed, before his departure in 1520 (*supra*, p. 370). Toledo first rose, under the leadership of Don Juan de Padilla, eldest son of the Commendator of Castile, and of Ferdinand de Avalos, two nobles who now assumed the part of demagogues. The deputies who had voted the donative were either murdered or compelled to fly for their lives. Confederations were formed among the various towns, the chief of those implicated in the revolt being Toledo, Segovia, Zamora, Valladolid, Madrid, Burgos, Avila, Guadalajara, and Cuena. The Dutch Regent Adrian Boyens was led to suppose that he could put down the insurrection by making an example of Segovia, with which view he sent Ronquillo thither early in June; but the Segovians being supported by the Toledans, the royal army was defeated. Antonia de Fonseca, despatched to Ronquillo's assistance, took Medina del Campo by storm, and treated it with such cruelty as excited several other places to revolt which had hitherto remained faithful; while Fonseca's house at Toledo was rased to the ground by the infuriated populace. Adrian, alarmed at these occurrences, disclaimed the acts of Fonseca. In July, deputies from the principal Castilian cities met in Avila; and having formed an association called the Santa Junta, or Holy Congress, declared the authority of Adrian Boyens illegal, on the ground of his being a foreigner, and required him to resign it; while Padilla, by a sudden march, seized Joanna at Tordesillas. The unfortunate Queen, in an interval of reason, authorized Padillo to do all that was necessary for the safety of the Kingdom; but soon relapsed into her former imbecility, and could not be persuaded to sign any more papers.

The Junta nevertheless carried on all their deliberations in her name; and Padilla, marching with a considerable army to Valladolid, seized the seals and public archives, and formally deposed Adrian. Charles now issued from Germany circular letters addressed to the Castilian cities, in which great concessions were made. These, however, were not deemed satisfactory by the Junta; who, conscious of their power, proceeded to draw up a remonstrance containing a long list of grievances. It is remarkable that these complaints much resemble those subsequently urged by the Commons of England against the Stuarts; thus showing that Spain was then prepared to throw off feudal oppression and assert the principles of civil liberty. The most important demands were, that the King should not reside out of Spain, nor marry without consent of the Cortes; that no foreigner should be capable of holding the Regency or any other office in Church or State; that no foreign troops should be brought into the Kingdom; that the Cortes should be held at least once in three years, whether summoned by the King or not; and various conditions were laid down to insure the worthiness and independence of the members, especially that neither they nor any of their family should hold places or pensions from the King; that the judges should have fixed salaries, and not receive any part of the fines or forfeitures of persons condemned by them; that all privileges enjoyed by the nobility which were detrimental to the Commons should be abolished; that indulgences should not be preached or sold in the kingdom till the Cortes had examined and approved the reasons for publishing them, and that the profits should be strictly applied to the war against the Infidels; and that all bishops should reside in their dioceses at least six months in the year.

Charles having refused to receive the remonstrance, the Junta proceeded to levy open war against him and the nobles; for the latter, who had at first sided with the Junta, finding their own privileges threatened as well as those of the King, began now to support the royal authority. The army of the Junta, which numbered about 20,000 men, was chiefly composed of mechanics and persons unacquainted with the use of arms; Padilla was dismissed, and the command given to Don Pedro de Giron, a rash and inexperienced young nobleman, who had joined the malcontents out of private pique against the Emperor. On the other hand, Charles had authorized the Constable and the Admiral of Castile to assist Adrian Boyens, and they were joined by the

Duke of Najera, Viceroy of Navarre. Towards the end of November, Giron marched with about 11,000 men towards Rioseco in order to seize the Regent Adrian, who had retired thither; but he was out-manœuvred by the Count of Haro, the royal general, who, proceeding to Tordesillas, recaptured that place, together with the person of Joanna and the great seal, as well as many leaders of the Junta (December 5th, 1520). That party, however, was not discouraged, and they now re-appointed Padilla their general. But it was Padilla's wife, Doña Maria de Pacheco, a woman of high spirit and noble birth, who was in reality the soul of the league; and by her advice all the costly plate and precious ornaments of the Cathedral of Toledo were seized in order to raise money for supporting the army. It was evident, however, that the affairs of the Junta were declining. Neither Padilla nor the Council of Thirteen could succeed in preserving order; Castile became a wide scene of anarchy and confusion; and those who loved tranquillity or had anything to lose hastened to join the party of the King and the nobility. In the spring of 1521, Padilla attempted to form a junction with the French, who had invaded Navarre and advanced into Castile—a manœuvre which was prevented by the coming up of the royal army; and on the 23rd April, 1521, Padilla being utterly defeated, and captured near Villalar, was beheaded on the following day. The Bishop of Zamora was captured on the same occasion. He was so zealous a revolutionist as to have organized a regiment of clergy, which distinguished itself in the defence of Tordesillas. The defeat just mentioned proved the ruin of the Junta. Valladolid and most of the other confederated towns submitted, but Toledo, animated by the grief and courage of Padilla's widow, still held out; till at length the inhabitants, impatient of the long blockade and despairing of all succour, surrendered the town. Doña Maria retired to the citadel and held it four months longer; but on the 10th of February, 1522, she was compelled to surrender, and escaped in disguise to Portugal; after which tranquillity was re-established in Castile.

A still more violent insurrection had raged in Valencia, headed by the *Hermandad* (*supra*, p. 370), which, though without any leaders of note, contrived to maintain the war during the years 1520 and 1521. Their efforts, however, were ultimately directed, not against the prerogative of the King, but the power of the nobles, whom Charles left to fight their own battles. In Aragon the symptoms of insubordination were checked by the prudent

conduct of the Viceroy, Don Juan de Lanusa. Andalusia remained perfectly tranquil during these tumults. Had the various Spanish realms united together, they might doubtless have enforced their own terms; but their different forms of government prevented them from joining in any common plan of reform; they still formed distinct Kingdoms, and retained all their former national antipathies.

These commotions in Spain afforded the French the opportunity for invading Navarre, before referred to,—one of the methods by which Francis gave vent to his ill humour at the loss of the Empire. His competition with Charles for the Imperial Crown had been conducted apparently with the greatest good humour, and Francis had remarked in a playful tone to Charles's ambassadors, "We are two lovers, who woo the same mistress; whichever she prefers the other must submit, and harbour no resentment." But in the bitterness of defeat all these generous feelings vanished. Francis now began to view the Spanish King in a new light; he no longer regarded Charles as an equal and ally, whose scattered dominions were insecure and in some degree at his mercy, and to whom therefore his friendship was necessary, but as a rival who had gained a marked superiority, and who by his elevation to the Empire had not only acquired claims to some parts of the French dominions, but also perhaps the power of enforcing them. Pretexts for quarrelling were sufficiently abundant. Navarre was a bleeding wound in the side of Spain, which by the treaty of Noyon Francis had at any time a pretence for opening. The House of Austria had never digested the loss of Burgundy, wrested from them by Louis XI. In Italy, where Francis had neither received nor sought investiture of Milan from the Emperor, the old Imperial claims threatened to be a fertile cause of strife. It was plain that before long a war must ensue from the rivalship of two youthful and ambitious sovereigns, whose growing disagreement was visible in all their transactions. The wounded pride of Francis called loudly for revenge,[1] but there were many reasons which dissuaded him from seeking it by an open declaration of hostility. He trembled for the safety of his Italian conquests; he had no funds for carrying on an extensive war, except by the sacrifice of his magnificence and his pleasures; above all, he knew that if he declared war against the

[1] The King's mother remarks, in a journal which she kept, "Pleût à Dieu que l'Empire eût plus longtemps vaequé, ou bien que pour jamais on l'eût laissé entre les mains de Jésus Christ, au quel il appartient, et non à aultre." (Petitot, t. xvi. p. 401). A virtual condemnation of her own son for seeking it!

Emperor and the Pope, they would be immediately joined by the King of England. He therefore resolved to consult his safety and at the same time indulge his ill-temper by adopting towards Charles a petty and underhand system of annoyance, and with this view he had encouraged the Castilian communities in their rebellion, and endeavoured to raise a party against Charles among the Electors of the Empire;[1] his jealousy rendering him blind to the fact that such a course must inevitably kindle the war which it was so much his interest to avoid.

Francis had certainly colourable grounds for an invasion of Navarre, as Charles had neglected that stipulation of the treaty of Noyon by which he was bound to do the deposed King justice within six months. John d'Albret and his consort Catharine were both dead, and the sceptre of Navarre had devolved to their son, Henry II. The French King's mistress, the beautiful Countess of Châteaubriand, of the House of Foix, whose family had reversionary claims to Navarre through their kinship to Henry II., also used her influence with Francis to induce him to invade Navarre; and he resolved to strike a blow which love and hatred combined to counsel. The Navarrese were favourable to the cause of their exiled King, and the citizens of Estella in particular invoked his presence in language which partook of Eastern poetry. "Do but come, Sire," they wrote, "and you will behold rocks, mountains, and trees take up arms for your service."[2] Francis permitted Andrew of Foix, Lord of Lesparre, the third brother of Madame de Châteaubriand, to levy a small army of 5,000 or 6,000 Gascons, with which, and 300 lances belonging to his eldest brother, Marshal Lautrec, he entered Navarre. As Ximenes had rased nearly all the fortresses in that little Kingdom, it was soon overrun; Pamplona alone, animated by the courage of Ignatius Loyola, made a short resistance. This siege indirectly caused the origin of the Society of Jesuits. Loyola, whose leg had been shattered by a cannon-ball, found consolation and amusement during his convalescence in reading the lives of the Saints, and was thus thrown into that state of fanatical exaltation which led him to devote his future life to the service of the Papacy.

Lesparre was stimulated by his easy success to exceed the bounds of his commission, and instead of confining himself to the reduction of Navarre, to pass into Castile, where his attempt to

[1] *Refutatio Apologiæ Dissuasoriæ*, in Goldasti, *Polit. Imp.* p. 870.

[2] *MSS. de Bethune*, ap. Gaillard *Vie de François I.*, t. ii. p. 103.

form a junction with the malcontents under Padilla was defeated in the manner before related. At the invitation, however, of the heroine Doña Maria de Pacheco, he undertook the siege of Logrono, a frontier town of Old Castile, on the further side of the Ebro. All the pride of the Castilians was roused by this insult. Forgetting their complaints against Charles and his Regent Adrian, they flew to arms; Lesparre was obliged to raise the siege, and retreat towards Pamplona; but being overtaken at Esquiros by the Castilian army under the Constable, the Admiral, and the Duke of Najera, was defeated and captured June 30th, 1521. He shortly afterwards died of a wound received in the action. Navarre was now recovered by the Castilians as easily as it had been overrun by the French.

Francis adopted the same policy of petty intervention on his northern border. Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon and Lord of Sedan, long one of Charles's best friends, and who had helped his election to the Empire, having a suit respecting a castle on the French frontier, had taken offence at the Chancellor of Brabant entertaining an appeal from his courts, which he contended were independent; and Louise of Savoy, in an interview with the Duke at Romorantin, fomented his discontent amd approved his projects of vengeance. The Parliament of Paris sent an officer to cite before them, not only the President and Attorney-General of Charles's supreme Netherland court, but even the Emperor himself, or rather as the decree ran, the Count of Artois and Flanders; and the Duke of Bouillon was ridiculous enough to despatch a herald to the Diet at Worms to challenge the Emperor before all his Princes. With the connivance of the French Court, though contrary to an ostensible prohibition, La Marck levied a small army in France, and together with his son Fleurange laid siege to Vireton, a town of Luxembourg. Henry VIII., at the request apparently of the Emperor, now interfered, and Bouillon, by order of Francis, raised the siege, March 22nd, 1521.

Charles, however, was not inclined to let his insolence pass unpunished. The Imperial generals, the Count of Nassau, Sickingen, and Frunsberg, not only entered Bouillon's dominions, where they took and destroyed several places, but even crossed the French frontier and committed several acts of violence; and though, on the approach of a French army, Nassau granted Bouillon a truce of six weeks, yet hostilities still continued between the Imperialists and the French. Nassau, who had

retired into Luxembourg, again entered France, captured Mouzon and laid siege to Mézières, which was valiantly defended by Bayard; but on the approach of the Duke of Alençon with his army, Nassau was again compelled to retire.

An open war seemed to be now impending between Francis and the Emperor, and in this state of things Henry VIII., assuming his favourite character, offered to mediate between them; a proposal which, after some reluctance on the part of Francis, was accepted by both Princes. Charles had no reason to object to such a course; he was assured of Wolsey's support,[1] and he was in intimate alliance with the Pope, whose Legates were to be present at the discussions. After some delay the conference was fixed to be held at Calais on the 8th of August. But before proceeding to that matter, we must take a brief view of the affairs of Italy and the conduct of the Pope.

The thoughts of Leo were perpetually directed towards the temporal aggrandizement of his family. We have already seen how, with the French King's connivance, he succeeded in wresting Urbino from Francesco Maria della Rovere, and bestowing it on his own nephew Lorenzo. Not content with withholding Modena and Reggio from Alfonso d'Este, he next designed to seize upon Ferrara itself. Having failed, in 1519, in an attempt to surprise that place, he tried in the following year to gain his end by treachery, and bribed Rudolf Hell, a German captain in Alfonso's service, to betray one of the gates to his forces. But Hell revealed the whole plot to his master; and Alfonso, though unwilling to take any public step in the matter, let the Pope plainly see that he was aware of his designs. In 1520 Leo treacherously procured the destruction of the Lords of Perugia and Fermo. Perugia was in the hands of Gian Paolo Baglioni, a famous *condottiere*, who had made himself master of his native city. According to contemporary writers Baglioni was a monster steeped in every vice—a fact, however, which can hardly justify Leo's conduct; who, having entrapped him to Rome under promise of security, caused him to be apprehended and tortured; when he is said to have confessed enormities deserving of a thousand deaths. However this may be, he was beheaded in the Castle of St. Angelo, and the Pope escheated his possessions.

[1] In the letter announcing the consent of the two Sovereigns to the conference (July 20th, 1521), Wolsey observes:—"whereof I truste good effecte shall ensue, as well to the pacification of the differences betwene theym both, *as also for the straiter conjunction of your Grace and th' Emperor for ever.*" See *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 15.

Lodovico Freducci of Fermo was attacked on similar pretexts by Giovanni de' Medici with an army of 5,000 men, and slain in attempting to escape. After these examples many of the smaller tyrants in the March of Ancona submitted; some of whom, relying, like Baglioni, on Leo's good faith, were tried for their former conduct and put to death. That most of them deserved their fate can hardly be doubted. The wretched state of morals among Italian princes may be safely inferred from Macchiavelli's *Principe*, as well as from their own histories; but the conduct of the Pontiff in condemning those over whom he had no temporal jurisdiction, in order to appropriate their possessions, can hardly be justified on the plea of their immorality.

Leo seconded these acts of violence by the most treacherous and double-faced negotiations. Early in 1521 he had entered into a treaty with Francis I., by which it was agreed that they should unite to drive the Spaniards out of Naples; on the accomplishment of which the town of Gaeta, with all the northern part of Campania Felix as far as the Garigliano, was to be ceded to the Holy See, the remainder of the Kingdom being assigned to the second son of the French King; who, however, till he should attain his majority, was to be under guardianship of an Apostolic Legate. Francis, either from negligence, fear of England, or suspicion of the Pope's sincerity, seems to have delayed the ratification of this treaty, and to have withheld the promised subsidies. Piqued by this conduct, as well as offended by the proceedings of Lautrec, who had succeeded Bourbon as Governor of the Milanese, and especially by his refusing to acknowledge Rome's authority in the matter of benefices, Leo now secretly entered into an alliance with Charles V., on the basis of a counter-project for driving the French, instead of the Spaniards, from Italy. The chief articles were, that Frances Sforza, second son of Lodovico, should be installed in the Duchy of Milan; that Parma and Piàcenza should be ceded to the Holy See, and that its claims on Ferrara should be supported by the Emperor; that the annual tribute paid by Naples to the Holy See should be augmented; that the Neapolitan Duchy of Cività di Penna should be conferred on Alessandro de' Medici,[1] a child of nine, and a pension of 10,000 crowns on Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, secured on the revenues of the Archbishopric of Toledo, then vacant. The Pope on his side undertook to forward the Emperor's claims

[1] Reputed the illegitimate son of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, but perhaps in reality the offspring of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici.

upon Venice. This treaty, which was concluded while the Diet of Worms was sitting, bears the same date as the outlawry of Luther, or Edict of Worms (May 8th), and it can hardly be doubted that both were intimately connected. By the sixteenth article the Emperor engaged to reduce to obedience the adversaries of the Apostolic throne, that is, Luther and his adherents, and to avenge all the wrongs they had done it.[1]

After the conclusion of this treaty, the Pope and Emperor made attempts to gain partisans in the various Italian cities. Jerome Morone, formerly Chancellor of Milan, one of the numerous citizens whom the harshness of the French rule had compelled to quit their native country, proposed to Leo a scheme for attacking several places in the Milanese by means of malcontent exiles. The Pope adopted the project, and secretly advanced money for its execution; and when it proved abortive he permitted the exiles to take refuge at Reggio. Charles and the Pope also supported the Adorni and Fieschi in a plan which they had formed to wrest Genoa from the Fregosi, who governed it for the French; and the Pope fitted out some galleys[2] for that purpose. But this scheme also was defeated by the vigilance of Octavian Fregoso. At this time, Odet of Foix, Lord of Lautrec, the Governor of the Milanese, was absent in France, and had left the supreme command to his brother, Thomas of Foix, commonly called Marshal de Lescun; who, hearing of the proceedings of the Pope, marched with some troops to Reggio, intending if possible to surprise the town, or at all events to demand an explanation. On his appearance before the place, Guicciardini, the Governor, gave him an audience outside the gates. Whilst they were conferring, Lescun's men attempted to force an entrance into the town; a skirmish ensued; blood was spilt on both sides; the French were repulsed, and Guicciardini detained Lescun to answer for his conduct, but dismissed him on the following day. Lescun subsequently despatched an envoy to the Pope to apologize for his conduct; but Leo, glad of so good an opportunity to throw off the mask, refused to hear the envoy, complained of the French King's hostility, excommunicated Lescun as an impious invader of the territory of St. Peter, and publicly avowed in Consistory the treaty which he had concluded with the Emperor.

Such was the position of affairs between the Pope, the Emperor, and the French King, when the appointed conference was

[1] Dumont, t. iv. pt. iii. Supp. p. 96.
[2] Pace to Wolsey, July 20, 1521, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 12.

held at Calais. It was managed on the part of Charles by the Count of Gattinara, a Piedmontese, for Chièvres had died at Worms in the preceding May; on the part of Francis, by the Chancellor Duprat. Wolsey was master of the situation, the arbiter whom both sides sought to gain. Duprat was assiduous in supplying all his wants, which the Cardinal was not scrupulous in intimating: now providing him with a litter, as Wolsey complained of the fatigue of riding his mule; now sending far and wide for some better French wine than could be procured at Calais.[1] The Cardinal, however, was already sold to the Emperor for the reversion of a more splendid prize than it was in the power of Francis to offer. Before the conference, Henry VIII. and his minister had already made preparations for hostilities against Francis, by providing a body of 6,000 archers, and devising plans for the destruction of the French fleet. Nay, so ardent was Wolsey in the cause, that though, as he says, "a spiritual man," and in general prone enough to assert the superiority of the toga over arms, yet he expressed his readiness to march with his cross at the head of the English troops.[2] He affected, however, the greatest impartiality, and declared that his only solicitude was to ascertain who had first broken the peace. To have effected a satisfactory mediation between the two Sovereigns would have been impossible. Each made claims which he knew the other would not grant—Francis demanding the restitution of Navarre and Naples; Charles requiring that Milan and Genoa should be evacuated, homage for Flanders remitted, and Burgundy restored! Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Wolsey's mediation only resulted in procuring a treaty for the suspension of hostilities between the French and Netherland vessels engaged in the herring fishery![3]

Technically speaking, Francis was certainly committed by Lesparre's invasion of Spain, of which the Emperor had complained before the opening of the conference, at the same time requiring Henry to declare against France as the first aggressor;[4] but, in any event, the result of the conference was predetermined. In fact, the Emperor himself, in a speech which he made to the

[1] *MSS. de Bethune*, ap. Gaillard, t. ii. p. 164 sq.

[2] See Pace's *Letters* to Wolsey, July 28th and August 1st, and Wolsey's to Henry VIII., August 4th. *State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 23, 24, 27.

[3] This trade, however, was of great importance, especially to the Netherlanders, and the fishing season was now at hand. The power of Holland was founded on this trade, and according to a Dutch saying, Amsterdam was built on herring bones.

[4] Wolsey to King Henry VIII., July 1521. *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 17.

people of Ghent, in July, had told them that "he would leave the French King in his shirt, or else Francis should so leave him."[1] While the conference was going on, Wolsey, escorted by 400 horse, went in great state to Bruges to visit the Emperor, who received him as if he had been a sovereign prince. Here, in the name of his master, the Cardinal concluded with Charles a treaty, the chief purport of which was, that in the following year the Emperor should invade France on the south, and Henry on the north, each with an army of 40,000 men. At the same time a marriage was agreed on between the Emperor and Henry's daughter Mary, to be celebrated when the latter should have attained the age of ten. Mary was to have a dowry of £80,000, but from this sum was to be deducted all money owed by the Emperor to England. We have seen that Mary was already betrothed to the Dauphin, and that the Emperor himself had engaged to marry Francis's daughter Charlotte. The treaty was to be kept profoundly secret till such time as Charles should visit England, on his return to Spain, when Henry was to declare war against France. The Pope was not idle during these negotiations. He sanctioned the treaty (August 25th) by a *beneplacitum*, and on the 4th September he issued a bull of excommunication against Francis I., releasing his subjects from their allegiance. A treaty was also arranged at Bruges, between the Emperor, the King of England, and the Pope, which was ratified November 24th, at Calais. The Emperor and the King of England promised to support Leo, whose greatest care, it was affirmed, was for spiritual affairs, against the German and other heretics.[2] It was at this time that Henry VIII. published his book against Luther, which procured him the title of "Defender of the Faith."[3]

The motives of Wolsey in these negotiations are sufficiently plain; those of his master are not so apparent. He was completely led by the Cardinal, and probably entertained some vague idea of the conquest of France, to the sovereignty of which he pretended. Meanwhile the war went on. On the southern French frontier the Admiral Bonnivet and the Count of Guise, who had been despatched with an army to revenge the disaster of Lesparre,

[1] Letter of Fitzwilliam to Henry VIII., August 2nd, 1521. *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 83.

[2] Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 118.

[3] Wolsey's *Letter* to Henry VIII., from Bruges, August 24th. *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 43. Pace's *Letter* to Wolsey expressing the King's satisfaction at the Pope's acceptance of his book, Oct. 27th (1521), *ibid.* p. 78.

not only succeeded in recovering Lower Navarre, or that part of the Kingdom north of the Pyrenees—which the House of Albret did not again lose—but also took Fuenterabia. This news arrived before the conference at Calais was concluded. Charles V., supported by Henry VIII., immediately demanded the restoration of Fuenterabia, which opened to the French the road into Biscay; and on the refusal of Francis, the negotiations ended. In the north, Francis entered the Cambrésis at the head of his army in October, and on the 22nd came up with Nassau between Cambray and Valenciennes; but with a hesitation quite unusual with him, and contrary to the advice of his best and most experienced captains, missed the opportunity of attacking the Imperialists at an advantage. The French, however, succeeded in capturing Hesdin, after which Francis retired to Amiens, and disbanded the greater part of his army. But this success was more than counterbalanced by the loss of Tournai, which surrendered to the Imperialists before the end of December, after a blockade of six months. During this period we find Wolsey, in his assumed character of a peaceful mediator, writing the most treacherous letter to Francis (October 20th), in order to deter him from a battle with the Emperor, the result of which the Cardinal feared; and this in direct contravention of his master's advice to the Emperor, to provoke the French King to fight.[1] Wolsey had followed up this letter by sending an embassy to Francis, then near Valenciennes, to persuade or frighten him into a truce. To this Francis would not consent; but the delay which this embassy occasioned arrested his operations, and probably caused the loss of Tournai.[2] Thus was opened that series of wars between the rival Houses of France and Austria, which, with little intermission, lasted nearly two centuries, and which may be divided into two periods; namely, till the peace of Vervins, in 1598, and to the death of Louis XIV., in 1715.

The war, which was now fairly kindled, soon spread into Italy, where, as we have seen, hostile symptoms had already displayed themselves. The French rule in that country had been anything but wise or popular: the government was conducted with military harshness, and the Italians were made to feel that they were a conquered people. Lautrec, the eldest brother of the frail Madame de Châteaubriand, a good soldier, but a man of cruel and inflexible

[1] Pace's *Letter* to Wolsey, Oct. 15th, and Wolsey's *Letter* to Francis, Oct. 20th, apud Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 287.

[2] Wolsey's *Instructions* to the Earl of Worcester, the lord chamberlain, and others, *ibid.* p. 289.

character, conducted his viceroyalty on a system of terror; his own family, as well as the treasury, was enriched by confiscations and executions, and he is said to have banished half the principal inhabitants of the Milanese. Even the veteran Marshal Trivulzio, a native of Milan, one of the first captains of the age, who had assisted the French in their enterprises in Italy ever since the days of Charles VIII., was treated with contumely by Lautrec, on account of his Guelf principles. At the age of eighty Trivulzio crossed the Alps in winter to lay his complaints at the feet of Francis I., but was denied an audience through the influence of the Countess of Châteaubriand. He died heartbroken soon after in France.

But the French interests in Italy were as much damaged by intrigues at home as by bad policy abroad. The Court was divided into two factions, each led by a woman; for the period had arrived when cabal and gallantry, female influence and the passions or caprices of mistresses, were to play so great a part in the affairs of France, to direct and often to damage her most important enterprises. At the head of one party was the King's mother, Louise of Savoy, whose principal adherents were the Chancellor Duprat, the Admiral Bonnivet, and René, the Bastard of Savoy, Louise's brother, for whom she wished to obtain the command in Italy. On the other side was the King's mistress, Madame de Châteaubriand, with Lautrec and her other brothers: but the love of Francis was now beginning gradually to decline, and with it the credit of the Countess. Lautrec had neglected to pay the King's mother sufficient court: he had even had the audacity to speak too freely of her adventures of gallantry; and Louise in her wrath resolved to punish him, were it even at the expense of the interests and honour of France. When the cloud of war began to lower over Italy, Lautrec, who, as we have said, was in France, received orders to repair to his government; but he declared that he was in want of money to pay the troops, and refused to stir unless he was supplied with 400,000 crowns. The King and Semblançay, the minister of finance, promised on oath that the money should be remitted to him, and Lautrec departed. When, however, it was collected, Louise seized it for her own use,[1] thus gratifying at once her rapacity and her revenge. When in the following year Lautrec, after his defeat in Italy, again returned

[1] She had enormous pensions, and it is probable that she may have only seized what she had strictly a claim to, but to the detriment of the military service (Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 154).

to France, and denied having received the money, Louise's tool, Semblançay, to clear himself, accused her to the King. Semblançay was subsequently sacrificed to her vengeance, and hanged on a false charge in 1527. The want of this money was the main cause which deprived the French of the Milanese.

The Papal and Imperial army, to which Leo's influence added the troops of Florence, took the field in August, 1521. This war is attributed by Guicciardini, on the authority of Leo's cousin, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, to the restless ambition of that Pontiff.[1] The Spanish troops were led by Ferdinand de Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, the Papal army by Frederick Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, with Guicciardini over him as commissary-general; while the command in chief was intrusted to Prosper Colonna. The last, though an able general, was too slow and cautious in his movements; he lost a fortnight in waiting for reinforcements, and then, instead of marching upon Milan, laid siege to Parma, which he entered September 1st. By the advance, however, of Lautrec on one side, and the Duke of Ferrara on the other, he was again obliged to retire on the Lenza, where he wasted another month, suspicious of the Pope's real intentions. Leo had taken advantage of his treaty with Francis early in the year to hire the services of 6,000 Swiss, whom the French permitted to pass through the Milanese, and he now procured additional reinforcements from Switzerland. That Confederacy was not disposed to lose its mercenary traffic in blood by any declaration of neutrality. Although a Diet convened at Lucern at the beginning of August decided on assisting the French, the influence of the Cardinal of Sion prevailed in the Cantons of Lucern, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, in favour of the Imperialists, and hence the number of Swiss in each army was nearly equal, or about 20,000. Having received some of these reinforcements, Colonna crossed the Po, October 1st, and carried the war into the Cremonese, where Lautrec was posted. That commander relied mainly on his Swiss, whom, however, he had disgusted by his hauteur, and still more by failing to pay their wages, which the peculation of Louise had deprived him of the means of furnishing. The heads of the Cantons, moreover, sensible of the infamy that would be incurred if the two bodies of Swiss should be engaged against each other, having sent orders to recall both, the Cardinal of Sion bribed the messengers who were to convey the order to the Imperial camp; and thus it was

[1] *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xiv. *sub init.*

delivered only to the Swiss in the French service, whose discontent not only prompted them immediately to obey it, but even induced many to join the Cardinal and the Imperialists. Lautrec, thus deserted, was obliged to shut himself up in Milan. Morone having sent a message to Colonna, that if a night attack were made on the town, the Ghibelins, or Imperial faction, would open one of the gates, Pescara advanced with the Spanish infantry, on the night of the 19th November, to the Porta Romana, through which he was admitted. Lautrec and his brother Lescun, thus taken by surprise, escaped the same night with the remnant of their army to Como, whence they proceeded to Lonato, in the territory of Brescia. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, whom Leo had despatched to the allied army in the character of Papal Legate, entered Milan with the victorious troops, and at Rome it was commonly believed that the Duchy was destined for him; but for the present Morone was invested with the government, as lieutenant for Francesco Maria Sforza. The rest of the Milanese cities, except the citadel of Milan, the town of Cremona, and a few other places, eager to throw off the French yoke, now submitted to the Imperialists; and thus in a campaign of three months, the French lost nearly all the Milanese without a single pitched battle having been fought.

The schemes of Leo X. were thus entirely successful, and all his darling projects seemed on the point of accomplishment. Soon after the fall of Milan, Parma and Piacenza were occupied by the Allies, which places, conformably to the treaty with the Emperor, were to be made over to the Pope. The news of these successes reached Leo at his favourite villa of Malliana. He was seized the same night with a slight illness, and immediately returned to Rome, where his symptoms grew worse; and on the 1st of December he died so unexpectedly that there was not time to administer the last sacraments.

Leo's constitution had been undermined by his voluptuous life; but the circumstances under which he died led to the suspicion of his having been poisoned. The day before he was taken ill he complained of the wine which had been handed him, and suspicion fell upon his cup-bearer, Bernardo Malaspina, who was arrested while going out of Rome with his dogs on the morning after his master's death. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici caused him to be released; not, however, on the ground of his innocence, but because he would have no inquiry made, "lest some great Prince should be found mixed up in the matter, and he should thus

acquire an implacable enemy." This dark insinuation, which is alleged by some high authorities,[1] is sufficiently vague, and only indicates the Cardinal's anxiety to avoid any step which might damage his prospect of the tiara.

Leo X. had nearly completed his forty-sixth year at the time of his decease, and had filled the Apostolic chair eight years, eight months, and nineteen days. In person he was tall and somewhat corpulent, but his limbs, though well formed, were rather too slender in proportion to his body. His complexion was florid, his head and features were large yet dignified, his eyes big, round, and prominent. In temper he was bland and easy, but indolent and luxurious; little attentive to appearances, so that, to the horror of his master of the ceremonies, he would ride out to enjoy his favourite diversion of hunting, in boots, and without a surplice. He was a passionate lover of music, of which he was not only a connoisseur, but also a good performer himself; and as he was liberal, or rather prodigal, in rewarding the ministers of his pleasures, he would sometimes give 100 ducats to a musician who had sung with him. He delighted in the company of buffoons, was fond of games of chance or skill, and took an almost childish pleasure in splendid fêtes and pompous exhibitions. Although little versed in theology or sacred learning, one of his best traits was the liberal patronage which he afforded to literature and art. Thus his Court exhibited a kind of intellectual sensuality, which while it formed a striking contrast to the gross debauchery of Alexander VI., or the stern economy and martial bearing of Julius II., was just as far removed from those qualities and virtues which might be expected in a Christian Pontiff. Leo's political character, the chief traits of which are treachery and cruelty, may be gathered from the preceding narrative. That such a Pope should not have been popular at Rome can only be accounted for by his extravagant expenditure, which involved him in debt and emptied the Roman treasury. In so low a state, indeed, was his exchequer, that it was necessary to use at his funeral the wax tapers which had already served at the obsequies of a Cardinal.[2] Immediately after his death his character was assailed in the most scurrilous libels; nay, it was even debated in Consistory whether his name should be expunged from

[1] Nardi, *Istor. Fiorent.* lib. vi. t. ii. p. 62 (ed. Flor. 1858). Paris de Grassis, ap. Raynald. *Ann. Eccl.* 1521, § 110, t. xii. p. 358; Guicciardini, lib. xiv. p. 208 (ed. Milan, 1803). Suspicion pointed to the King of France.

[2] *Relatione* di Gradenigo, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. iii. App. p. 263 (Mrs. Austin's transl.).

the records of the Holy See.[1] Leo's prodigality, however, produced a sort of artificial prosperity at Rome, which under his Pontificate was much enlarged and beautified.

Upon Leo's death, Prosper Colonna was obliged to dismiss the greater part of the Swiss and other German contingents in the Papal army for want of funds to pay them; the Florentine troops, who had no direct interest in the war, returned into Tuscany, while Giovanni de' Medici went over to the French with a well-disciplined corps of about 3,000 foot and 200 horse, called, from the colours which they bore, the Black Bands. Several of the Italian Princes seized the opportunity to recover the dominions of which they had been deprived: Alfonso d'Este regained the greater part of his possessions; the expelled Duke of Urbino was received with enthusiasm by his former subjects, and similar revolutions happened at Perugia, Rimini, and other places.

Meanwhile all eyes were directed towards Rome, where the Conclave had assembled (December 27th) for the election of a new Pope. The contest lay between Giulio de' Medici and Soderini, also a Florentine, who was supported by the French interest. Charles V. did not, as it has been asserted, break his promise to Wolsey on this occasion; he recommended that Cardinal to the Sacred College, but perhaps without any very ardent wish for his success.[2] The votes in favour of Wolsey amounted not to twenty, while twenty-six, or those of two-thirds of the thirty-eight Cardinals assembled, were necessary to secure the election.[3] Giulio de' Medici was undoubtedly the candidate best qualified for the vacant throne. He belonged to one of the most powerful families in Italy; had presided in Leo's councils, and was intimately acquainted with his projects as well as with the views of the various European Courts. The Cardinals, however, were averse to the notion of the Papacy being converted into a family succession. The contest, which subjected the Cardinals to the severest privations, and was conducted with the most violent and disgraceful altercations, had long seemed doubtful, when one of the Conclave, some say Giulio de' Medici himself, suddenly and as if by mere chance named Adrian of Utrecht, the Regent of Spain, who was immediately elected (January 9th,

[1] Valerianus, *De Litteratorum Infelicitate*, ap. Roscoe, vol. iv. p. 352.

[2] See the letters cited by Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 214.

[3] See Jonas Clark's (afterwards Bishop of Bath) despatch to Wolsey, Jan. 15th, 1522, MS. ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 216. In the same despatch (*ibid.* p. 218) will be found some curious particulars of the way in which the conclave was conducted.

1522). The Cardinals themselves were, or affected to be, astonished at this decision of the Holy Ghost, the presumed director of the votes of the Conclave; though Don John Manuel, the Imperial ambassador at Rome, had probably more to do with the matter. The election was so distasteful to the Roman populace, who feared that the Papal seat might be removed to Spain or Germany, that at first none of the Cardinals dared leave his house.[1]

Early in the spring, both parties made preparations for resuming the war in Italy. The French affairs were not altogether desperate. Lautrec, as we have seen, still held several places, and René, the Bastard of Savoy, succeeded in raising 10,000 men in Switzerland, where the influence of the Cardinal of Sion had declined in consequence of the trick he had played off. Lautrec, however, was still in want of money; for although Duprat had by the most unprecedented extortions, and by the sale of some of the royal domains, raised funds sufficient to support a brilliant army, the money was either squandered by Francis among his mistresses, or diverted by the avarice of his mother. On the other side, Jerome Adorno and George Frunsberg had with inconceivable rapidity led 5,000 Germans through the Valtellina to Milan, where Colonna and Pescara lay with the Imperial army. The French *gens d'armes* and Venetians under Lautrec, being joined by the Swiss reinforcements, that commander crossed the Adda, March 1st, 1522; and after an abortive attempt to relieve the citadel of Milan, laid siege to Pavia, which, however, the advance of Colonna obliged him to raise. As the Swiss began to grow clamorous for their pay, Lautrec directed his march upon Arona, whither some money had been sent. It was necessary, however, to dislodge Colonna from a position which he had taken up at a villa and park called the Bicocca, between Milan and Monza. As the position seemed almost impregnable, and the Imperial army was daily weakened by desertion, Lautrec wished to defer the attack; but the Swiss would listen to no arguments, and sent in their last demand in three words—*argent, congé, ou bataille* (pay, dismissal, or battle). Thus between two alternatives —for money he had none—Lautrec was obliged to order an assault (April 29th). It failed, as he had anticipated, in spite of the most prudent arrangements. The Swiss being repulsed with great slaughter, refused to renew the attack in support of Lescun, who had assailed the position on the opposite side. After

[1] Clark's *Despatch*, *ibid.* p. 219.

this defeat matters appeared to be irretrievable. The Swiss having retired into their own country, Lautrec returned to France, leaving the defence of the Milanese to his brother. The task, however, was a hopeless one, and Lescun found himself obliged to enter into a capitulation with Colonna, May 26th, by which he agreed to evacuate the whole of the Milanese Duchy, with the exception of the citadels of Milan, Novara, and Cremona; after which, he also retired into France. Genoa fell into the hands of the Imperialists shortly afterwards, almost by accident. Some Spanish and German soldiers having entered by a breach in the walls which they perceived to be undefended, the inhabitants were incited to rebel; Ottaviano Fregoso was deposed and imprisoned, and Antoniotto Adorno, who accompanied the Imperial army, made Doge in his stead.[1] After these reverses, Francis I. abandoned for a while his designs upon Italy, being compelled indeed to defend his own frontier against the combined attacks of Charles V. and Henry VIII.

During the events just narrated the Emperor was still residing in Germany. Adrian's election to the Papacy, which obliged him to vacate the Regency of Spain, as well as the still unsettled state of that country, determined Charles to proceed thither; especially as he wished to visit England on his way, in order to reconcile himself with Wolsey, now smarting under his disappointment. During the six weeks which he spent in England, the Emperor courted the favour of Henry by the most respectful attentions, and succeeded in soothing Wolsey by fresh promises. He engaged to make good to the Cardinal a pension of 12,000 livres, secured to him by the French King on the bishopric of Tournai, of which the contemplated rupture with France would deprive him; nor did he neglect to render himself popular with the English people, whose confidence and goodwill he acquired by making the Earl of Surrey his High Admiral. During the Emperor's stay in England the agreement entered into between himself and Wolsey, the preceding year at Bruges, was formally ratified; and Henry declared war against France, May 29th, 1522.

Although the ostensible pretext for this rupture was the refusal of Francis to accept the terms proposed at the conference of Calais, and to sequester Fuenterabia into the hands of the English, there were other grounds of complaint. Francis, aware of the English preparations, had suspended the payments which he

[1] Varese, *Storia di Genova*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 281.

had engaged to make; he had put an embargo on English ships, and had connived at the return of the Duke of Albany to Scotland in the preceding autumn, with the view that he should excite the Scots to make a diversion, which, however, proved a failure. When Henry remonstrated, the French King protested that he had not instigated Albany's conduct; but Henry refused to believe him, and wrote him an insulting letter, accusing him of breach of faith.

As France was thus left to contend with the greatest and most formidable Powers of Europe, it was fortunate for that country that its eastern frontier at least was secured by neutral States. The Swiss, who had renewed their alliance with France by the treaty of Lucern, May 5th, 1521, being unwilling that the County of Burgundy, or Franche-Comté, which bordered on their own territories, and was at that time an appanage of Charles's aunt Margaret, should become the seat of war, had procured a treaty to be executed between Francis and Margaret (July 8th, 1522), guaranteeing that there should be no hostilities for three years between Franche-Comté and the neighbouring French provinces as far north as Mouzon sur Meuse. This treaty being continually renewed for more than a century, the two Burgundies enjoyed the advantage of peace and commerce during a long period of the struggle between France and the House of Austria, and preserved the French frontier on that side from attack. It was at present further covered by the neutral territories of Lorraine and Bar, as well as of Savoy, whose ruler, Duke Charles III., the uncle of Francis, maintained a good understanding both with his nephew and the Emperor.

The war was begun in June on the part of the English by some descents on the maritime towns of France, in which Cherbourg and Morlaix were taken and plundered. Surrey, with the main body of the English army, then landed at Calais, and after an unsuccessful attempt upon Boulogne joined the Imperialists in the Netherlands, under the Count of Buren, and invaded Picardy. Little, however, was effected, although Francis had not yet assembled any formidable force. The siege of Hesdin, not a very strong place, occupied six weeks; and at the beginning of November, the English, after losing a great many men by dysentery, were compelled by the season to quit France. The French, by long experience, had learned the most effectual method of opposing them—by abstaining from pitched battles, defending their walled places, harassing convoys, and attacking

advanced posts, they succeeded in wearing out the English.[1] On the Spanish frontier the campaign of 1522 was also favourable to the French, the Marshal de la Palisse having forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Fuenterabia.

The Emperor, after his sojourn at the English Court, set sail for Spain, and arrived at the port of Santander July 26th. As he had resolved to spend some years in Spain, and had now taken the reins of government into his own hands, he adopted such measures as were likely to make him popular. With wise humanity he refused to shed any more blood, though strongly advised to do so by his council; and on the 28th of October he published a general amnesty, from which only eighty persons were excepted, and even these he took no measures to apprehend. An officious courtier having offered to point out the retreat of one of them, Charles replied, "The man has now more cause to be afraid of me than I of him, and you would be better employed in telling him where I am than in acquainting me with his hiding-place." By conduct like this did Charles win back the hearts of his subjects. He humoured the pride of the Castilians; he applied himself to conform to the manners and to speak the language of the country; he appointed only natives to posts of trust and dignity, whether in Church or State; and thus, by securing the affections of the Spaniards, he at length acquired a more extensive authority over them than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors.[2] While, however, he rendered himself popular by his manners, he took care to enlarge and secure his power by abridging the liberties of the people. Instead of allowing the burgesses deputed to the Cortes to begin with their grievances and then grant a *servicio*, or supply, he reversed the practice—took the supply first, and then heard the grievances. He summoned these assemblies but seldom, and caused the three estates to meet in different places in order to prevent them from combining together; nor would he allow them to debate except in presence of a president appointed by himself. He introduced the practice of corruption by granting or promising favours to the deputies, so that a seat in the Cortes began in process of time to be looked upon as a profitable thing, and we find a deputy paying 14,000 ducats for one as early as 1534. After the year 1538, when the nobles were

[1] It was to meet the expenses of this war that Francis, by an edict dated Sept. 29th, 1522, created the first *Rentes Perpétuelles*, secured by the Hôtel de Ville at Paris. This was the origin of French *Rentiers*. The interest was *à denier douze*, or $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Sismondi, *Hist. des Franç.* t. xi. p. 248.

[2] Robertson, *Charles V.* book iii.

no longer summoned, and the Cortes were composed of burgesses alone, they were assembled every three years, and granted whatever was demanded.[1]

But though the period of Charles's sojourn in Spain was in general characterized by a policy which tended to strengthen his government, it was also disfigured by his persecution of the Moors. In this respect Charles's bigotry, one of the worst traits in his character, led him to follow in the steps of his predecessors. The unfortunate Moors found no safety but in flight; and it is calculated that by the year 1523, 5,000 houses were deserted in Valencia alone. In 1525, at the instigation of Pope Clement VII., Charles formed the wild and wicked project of compelling all the Moors in Spain to forswear Islam and adopt Christianity. Their mosques were shut up, the Koran was taken from them, all dealing with them was forbidden, and leave was given to capture and enslave those who were found wandering beyond their own villages. Those not baptized before the 8th of December were ordered to quit Spain by the 1st of January, 1526; while, in order to prevent them from proceeding to Africa, Coruña was the only port at which they were allowed to embark. Thus the penalty of banishment was aggravated by compelling them to traverse the whole of Spain, amidst insults and wrongs of every description. The unfortunate Moors offered 50,000 crowns for a respite of five years; an offer, however, which only led Charles to impose harsher terms; and he now ordered that those who were not baptized by the 15th of January should forfeit their goods and be sold into slavery. Driven to desperation, many took up arms, and obstinately defended themselves in the mountains of Valencia. At length, after great slaughter, the rest, with the exception of about 100,000 who succeeded in escaping to Africa, submitted to the rite of baptism, with what sincerity it is needless to say. Yet they were still subjected to the greatest oppressions. They were required to lay aside their language and national dress before the expiration of ten years, and in short became little better than beasts of burden in the service of the Spaniards. Subsequently, however, they purchased the privilege of retaining some of their customs with a payment of 80,000 ducats.

Charles, before landing in Spain, had appointed an interview with the late Regent Adrian at Barcelona; but the latter, either ashamed of his misgovernment, or unwilling it should be supposed that the Emperor influenced his conduct as Pope, embarked for

[1] Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker v. Süd-Europa*, B. i. S. 227.

Italy as soon as he heard of Charles's arrival. It was not till the beginning of September, 1522 that Adrian reached Rome to take possession of his new dignity; and during the interval the Papal government had been conducted by a triumvirate of Cardinals, renewed every month by lot. If the Romans regretted the elevation of Adrian at the time of his election, that ill impression was strengthened among the higher classes, when they beheld a humble and austere old man, unacquainted with the language or manners of Italy, ignorant of and averse to the policy of the Court of Rome, and so totally devoid of all taste for art that when shown the group of the Laocoon he turned away with horror, exclaiming, "These are pagan idols!" Adrian's phlegmatic temper, which was never agitated either by anger or joviality, and his parsimony, which was so great that he brought with him to Rome an old woman-servant, who continued as before to provide for the daily wants of his household, were not calculated to create a better feeling; in short, no more striking or more distasteful contrast could have been offered to those who had admired the warlike pomp of Julius II., or the more refined and elegant splendour of Leo X. A humility, however, which may almost be termed ostentatious, produced a great impression in Adrian's favour among the populace, who were inclined to reverence him when, after having come on foot to Rome, he put off his shoes and hose before entering the city, and passed through the streets bare-footed and bare-legged towards his palace.[1]

If the wealthier and more educated Romans disliked the new Pope's manners, his actions disgusted them still more. He was very scrupulous in bestowing places. He even revoked some grants of spiritual dignities, and thus drew upon himself a host of the bitterest enemies. He found the Roman treasury exhausted through the extravagance of his predecessor, who had left a debt of 700,000 ducats[2], and was hence obliged to lay on new taxes, which made him very unpopular. He was almost constantly buried in his studies, during which he was inaccessible, so that business was delayed; and even those who obtained an audience were put off with a set phrase—*cogitabimus, videbimus* (we'll think about it, we'll see to it).[3] Being a foreigner, and having no family interests to serve, he was indifferent to the temporal

[1] Roper's *Life of More*, p. 17 (ed. 1716).

[2] T. Hannibal's *Letter* to Wolsey, MS. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 220.

[3] See Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 93 sqq. (Mrs. Austin's translation.) The hatred with which Adrian inspired the Romans is described by the anonymous author of the *Conclave of Clement VII. ibid.* vol. iii. p. 266.

aggrandizement of the Holy See and the intestine disputes of Italy, so that he was ready to do justice to the potentates who had been despoiled by Leo's ambition. He confirmed the Duke of Urbino in the dominions which he had recovered, and restored to the Duke of Ferrara several places of which he had been deprived. His simple habits rendered him indifferent to wealth. Such of his friends and kinsfolk as came to Rome with the view of pushing their fortunes he sent back with the present of a woollen garment, and enough money to defray their travelling expenses. He looked with calm and unruffled judgment on the abuses of the Church and of the Court of Rome, which he showed an inclination to reform; yet his scholastic education caused him to reject with aversion the doctrines of Luther, and disposed him to adopt the severest measures in order to repress them: for he belonged to those "Magistri Nostri" of Louvain who had so long opposed the rising literature and theology. The simplicity of Pope Adrian's character was regarded by the subtle and designing politicians of Italy as the effect of inexperience and incapacity, and hence he became the butt on which the wits of the day exercised their talent for ridicule.

With regard to foreign politics the same dispositions rendered Adrian desirous of peace. He at first declared himself neutral, and persisted some time in that course, notwithstanding that his countryman Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, visited him at Rome in hope of making him declare for the Emperor. He entertained the extravagant project, which could never have entered the head of any one but a recluse unacquainted with mankind, of reconciling two jealous and rival Princes, and inducing them to unite in a league against the Turks, who were now striking fresh terror into Europe, by their conquests. But in order to put this subject in a clearer light before the reader we must revert for a moment to the Turkish history.

We have already recorded the death of Sultan Selim I. in September, 1520. At that event the joy was great in Europe, for his son and successor, Solyman I.[1]—such was the erroneous opinion entertained of one of the greatest and most warlike of the Turkish Sultans—passed for a mild and pacific Prince, who had neither the disposition nor the talent to carry on his father's plans of conquest. Solyman, who was in his government of Magnesia at the time of Selim's death, immediately hastened to

[1] By some writers called Solyman II. But Solyman, son of Bajazet I., is not reckoned among the Turkish Sultans.

Constantinople, and having no competitor, ascended the throne without opposition or disturbance. He conciliated the Janissaries by slightly increasing their daily pay as well as the donative, while he secured discipline and subordination by some wholesome examples of severity. Ghasali Bey, Governor of Syria, was the only one of the Sultan's officers who gave him any trouble, but his attempted insurrection was put down by a total defeat in February, 1521, when, having fallen into Solyman's hands, he expiated his treason with his life. This example had its due weight with Shah Ismail, and with Chair Bey, Governor of Egypt, who abandoned the rebellion they had contemplated.

The tranquillity of the eastern provinces of his Empire enabled Solyman to devote all his attention to the affairs of Europe, and during the whole of his reign the Osmanli power was directed towards the West. Venice, Hungary, and Rhodes were the points which chiefly claimed his attention. The conquest of Rhodes especially was the object nearest to his heart, and with the view of effecting it he desired to be at peace with Venice, in order that his fleet might undertake that enterprise without molestation. He therefore sent an ambassador to Venice to offer a renewal of the treaties which that Republic had effected with his father Selim; and as the Venetians on their side were anxious to preserve their commercial privileges in Egypt, they readily listened to his proposals. Solyman would willingly have been at peace with the Hungarians also till the conquest of Rhodes had been effected, but this the relations between the two States and the continual border warfare forbade. The Turkish beys near the Hungarian frontier had flown to arms at the news of Selim's death, and had already captured several fortresses. Solyman had, indeed, offered King Louis II. peace, but on terms incompatible with Hungary's honour and independence. He required that Louis should acknowledge himself his vassal by paying a yearly tribute; a proposal deemed so insulting by the Hungarian King, that with a barbarous disregard of the law of nations worthy of the Turks themselves, he caused the ambassadors who brought it to be cast into prison and secretly strangled, and their bodies to be thrown into a fish-pond. This act at once determined Solyman's course. He resolved to obtain possession of Belgrade and the line of the Danube, whence he might at leisure push his conquests further northwards. With this view a large force was moved in three divisions, the first of which, or left wing, accompanied by Solyman in person, was directed against Schabatz, whilst

the centre, or main body, composed of Janissaries and Spahis, marched against Belgrade, and the third division, or right wing, took the direction of Transylvania.

Hungary seemed to offer an easy prey. Her frontier fortresses were badly garrisoned and provisioned; her finances did not permit the hire of mercenaries; the arrière-ban, which was reckoned at 60,000 men, met scantily and slowly, and it was with difficulty that a small army was assembled in the southern provinces. Louis applied for aid to the Pope, the Venetians, and the Emperor; but though his complaints were everywhere heard with real or affected sympathy, no hand was stretched forth to help him. Leo X. alleged in excuse his empty treasury, and the disturbances in Italy; the Venetians, who had made their peace with the Turk, said that they could do nothing unless all Europe combined in the cause; and the Diet of Worms, in spite of the long and eloquent speech of Hieronymus Balbus, the Hungarian ambassador, was too busy with its own affairs to afford any assistance; the Imperial army had enough to do to maintain the public peace, and the affairs of Hungary and the Turks were not even mentioned in the Diet's recess.[1]

Under these circumstances the Hungarians could offer but a feeble resistance. Schabatz being taken after an obstinate defence, July 8th, Semlin surrendered without a blow, and a number of smaller strongholds were captured and razed. Belgrade must now have surrendered, even if its fall had not been hastened by cowardice and treachery. The garrison being driven from the town made so heroic a defence in the citadel that Solyman himself began to despair of success; when the Bulgarian mercenaries, alarmed by the blowing up of one of the towers, began to treat with the enemy without the commandant's knowledge, and offered to surrender on condition of being allowed to withdraw. The offer was accepted; the Turks were admitted on the evening of the 29th of August, when they massacred all the Hungarians, and even some of the Bulgarians: they who escaped were permitted to settle at Constantinople.

Solyman, after taking possession of these fortresses, caused them to be repaired and well garrisoned; and he might now have pushed his conquests further northwards if such had been his plan; but his views were centred on the long-projected attack on

[1] A *recess* was the collection of all the resolutions passed by any particular Diet and individually ratified at its termination by the Emperor. From 1653 down to the extinction of the Empire there was no recess, as the Diet remained fixed at Ratisbon without a dissolution.

Rhodes, the preparations for which employed the following winter (1521—1522). On September 10th, 1521, Solyman in a letter congratulated Philip de Villers de L'Ile-Adam, who had recently been raised to the Grand-Mastership of the Knights of St. John, on his appointment, detailed his Hungarian conquests, and offered peace and friendship. L'Ile-Adam immediately saw the irony of the letter, and replying in the same tone, hastened his preparations for defence.[1]

The Knights of Rhodes had long had complete command of the sea which surrounded their island; they infested the Turkish coasts, interrupted the navigation, and held thousands of Osmanlis in the harshest slavery, and their reduction had therefore long been ardently desired by the Turks. In June, 1522, the naval armament begun by Selim passed through the Dardanelles. It consisted of 300 ships with 10,000 chosen troops on board; while an army of 100,000 men assembled at Scutari, at the head of which Solyman himself intended to march to the southern coast of Asia Minor. The Knights of Rhodes, like the Hungarians, found none to help them. The Venetians, doubtful at first of the destination of the Turkish armament, despatched a squadron of observation to watch over the safety of Cyprus, but its commander had strict orders to lend no help to Rhodes. Solyman, in accordance with the precepts of the Koran, began by addressing a letter to the Grand-Master, declaring war and requiring the surrender of the island (June 1st). L'Ile-Adam, on the other hand, had taken measures for the most resolute defence. All the houses in the neighbourhood of the capital were destroyed, lest they should afford shelter to the advancing foe; strong chains were stretched across the harbour, the defence of which, and of the seven principal forts, was intrusted to the Knights according to their division into eight tongues; namely, French, English, Germans, Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, Provençaux, and Auvergnats, under their respective Grand Priors. The Grand-Master himself took up his post on the north side of the town, and directed all the operations.

The Turkish fleet cast anchor in the Bay of Parombolin, several miles from the capital, June 24th. More than a month was spent

[1] See Fontanus, *De Bello Rhodio*, in Lonicerus, *Chron. Turcicor.* t. ii.; *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, t. i. p. 89; *Maritime Wars of the Turks*, translated from the Turkish of Hadj Khalifeh, by Jas. Mitchell, for Orient. Transl. Fund; Tercier, *Mémoire sur la prise de la ville et de l'isle de Rhodes en* 1522, *par Soliman I.*, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrr.* t. xxvi. p. 728 sqq. On the general history of the order, Vertot, *Hist. des Chevaliers de Malte.*

in preparing for the siege and awaiting the arrival of Solyman, during which succours might easily have been sent. A small force would have sufficed to turn the scale and save this bulwark of Christendom, but it was not forthcoming. Towards the end of July Solyman arrived with his army at the little port of Marmaris, on the Anatolian coast; he immediately crossed over to Rhodes, and pitched his tent on the east side of the town. The first assault was delivered August 1st, without success, and during several weeks the attacks were renewed with the same result. In the course of September, some breaches having been effected, and some of the outworks taken, a general assault was made on the 24th, when the Osmanlis were repulsed with the loss of 15,000 men. Solyman, however, was resolved to leave the island only as a conqueror; he turned the siege into a blockade; and on the 21st of December, the number of the garrison being considerably reduced, and their ammunition exhausted, the Grand-Master found himself obliged to capitulate. The terms obtained were tolerably favourable. The garrison was permitted to march out with their arms; the inhabitants who chose to remain at Rhodes were exempted from taxes for a term of five years, were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and received an assurance that their children should not be seized for Janissaries. Ships were provided for such of the Knights as wished to repair to Crete, for which island most of them, with the Grand-Master, embarked, January 1st, 1523. In the following March they proceeded to Naples, whence, at the Pope's invitation, they repaired to Cività Vecchia, and subsequently took up their abode at Viterbo. Six years later (May, 1530) Charles V. presented to the remnant of the order the island of Malta, which became their final home.[1]

Thus fell one of the most practically useful of the religious orders. Its fall appears to have inspired the non-military orders with the desire of supplying its functions, and to have suggested to the Minorites a scheme which is here worth recording only for the light which it throws on the statistics of monachism, and the illustration it affords of the dread produced by the success of the Turks. In June, 1523, the Minorites handed into the Roman Curia a plan for raising an army of more than half a million men among the religious orders. The number of the Minorite convents

[1] The adventures of the Knights after their expulsion from Rhodes are described in the Letters of L'Ile-Adam to his nephew, Marshal Montmorenci. *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, t. i. p. 108 sqq. and p. 132 sqq.

alone was reckoned at 40,000; but taking them at 36,000, each of which was to supply only one man, that order alone could bring a like number of men into the field. On the same principle it was calculated that the convents of all the orders, including the Minorites, could furnish 144,000 men! And as each Minorite convent had, at least, ten parishes attached to it, or in all 360,000 parishes, if these also furnished a man apiece, the result would give a force of 504,000 men.[1] But this proposal was never seriously entertained at Rome.

Pope Adrian attributed the ill-success of his project for a league against the Turks chiefly to the French King, who had shown no inclination to respond to his call: and he was further irritated against Francis by discovering that his agents had been attempting to stir up an insurrection in Sicily. Under these circumstances he was induced to listen to the persuasions of Lannoy, and to join Charles's party. In pursuance of his new policy, he endeavoured to detach the Venetians from their league with France, which he feared might lead Francis to undertake another invasion of the Milanese. From other causes the Venetians themselves were growing weary of the French alliance. Their ambassador, Badoero, had painted to them in strong colours the dissoluteness of Francis and his Court, which had weakened and impoverished the nation to an incredible degree; he attributed to the King's misconduct all the misfortunes with which France had been afflicted, and he hinted his suspicions that a great Prince of the blood royal was about to go over to the enemy. These representations induced the Signory to listen to Pope Adrian, who succeeded in concluding what was called the "League of Rome" (August 23rd, 1523); an alliance which comprehended besides the Pope, the Emperor, the King of England, the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, Francesco Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the Republics of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Siena, and Lucca.

It was, however, one of the redeeming traits in the character of Francis that he could throw off his indolence and rouse himself to exertion when danger threatened. In the face of this formidable league he adopted a resolution so bold that it may even be accounted rash. Instead of standing on the defensive, he determined to strike the first blow, and carry the war into Italy. Francis was aware that the position and compactness of his dominions gave him a great advantage; and it is not impossible

[1] *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, t. i. p. 102, note.

that his enterprise might have succeeded had it been speedily and judiciously carried out, and not been disconcerted by an unforeseen accident, which must now be related.

Charles, Count of Montpensier and Duke of Bourbon, was at this time the only formidable vassal of the French Crown. He inherited Auvergne and Montpensier from his brother Louis, who had succeeded to them on the death of his father Gilbert, grandson of John I., Duke of Bourbon; and on the death, without male heirs, of Peter II., Duke of Bourbon, who was also the grandson of John I. by his eldest son Charles I., the Count of Montpensier claimed the Duchy of Bourbon as next heir in the male line. Duke Peter II., as we have seen, had married Anne, daughter of Louis XI. This Sovereign had required a promise from Peter, before his marriage, that if he had no male heirs, all his lands should revert to the French Crown;[1] a contingency, which happened, as Peter left only a daughter, Suzanne. Louis XII., however, recognized the claims of the branch of Montpensier to the Duchy, without altogether rejecting the right of Suzanne; and, to avoid all disputes, he mediated a marriage between her and Charles of Montpensier. Thus the latter united in his own person two duchies, four counties, two viscounties, besides a great number of smaller possessions and titles. He was, in fact, the richest lord in Christendom. He had not only the great central fiefs of the Bourbonnais, Auvergne, and La Marche, but also Beaujolais, Forez, Dombes, the wild and rugged mountains of Ardèche, Gien, commanding the Loire; and in the north, Clermont in Beauvaisis. Many of these domains were confiscations, which Louis XI. imagined he had placed in safe hands, those of his daughter and his son-in-law. In case of the failure of heirs to Francis I., Bourbon cherished even the hope of succeeding to the Crown; for although the Alençons, who were descended from a brother of King Philip VI., possessed a nearer claim, he held that they had forfeited it by a former revolt. Nay, he had even gone so far as to solicit, in such an event, the help of the Venetian Republic.[2]

Bourbon had distinguished himself as a soldier. He had accompanied Louis XII., in 1507, in his expedition against Genoa, and had partaken in the victory gained over the Venetians at Agnadello, in 1509. Soon after the accession of Francis I., he was made Constable of France and Governor of Languedoc, each

[1] Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, liv. vi. ch. 11.

[2] Badoer, *Relatione di Milano*, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 287.

of which dignities brought him a revenue of 24,000 livres, in addition to which he received a pension of 14,000 livres as chamberlain, and several smaller ones. These honours and emoluments he is said to have owed to the affection of Louise, the King's mother: and it is even said that a promise of future marriage, pledged by an exchange of rings, had passed between her and Bourbon, in the event of the death of Bourbon's wife, Suzanne, whose feeble and sickly constitution promised no great length of years. Bourbon's services at the battle of Marignano had been so important that Francis rewarded him with the government of the Milanese, which he signalized by the repulse of the Emperor Maximilian. Cold, haughty, and taciturn, Bourbon's temper, however, was the very reverse of that of Francis, with whom he appears to have been never very cordial; and he was soon removed from the government of Milan, either through the jealousy and envy of the King himself, or by the influence of Francis's mistress, the Countess of Châteaubriand, who procured it for her brother Lautrec. From this time the King seems to have studiously heaped both insults and injuries on Bourbon. His salary, as Governor of the Milanese, was left unpaid; nay, even his expenses were not refunded. In the Netherland campaign of 1521, the command of the van, which fell to the Constable of France by virtue of his office, was taken from him and given to the Duke of Alençon. Nor was he any longer consulted on public affairs. Bourbon, who is said to have often had in his mouth the answer of an old Gascon noble to Charles VII., "Not three Kingdoms like yours could make me forsake you, but one insult might," was not a man tamely to brook this treatment.

An event which might have healed the breach only resulted in making it wider. Bourbon's wife, Suzanne, died April 28th, 1521, after having, with the approval of her mother, Anne of France, renewed the disposal of her territories in favour of her husband. Bourbon's marriage with Louise of Savoy, who at the age of forty-five[1] still retained considerable beauty, might have prevented the misfortunes which ensued: so far, however, from fulfilling that engagement, he openly manifested his desire to espouse Renée, the second daughter of Louis XII., and sister of Queen Claude. This was enough to rouse the pride of Louise, and sting her to revenge; and, unluckily for Bourbon, she had at her disposal the means of gratifying it. As daughter of Margaret, sister of Duke Peter II. of Bourbon, and wife of Duke

[1] She says, in her *Journal*, that she was born in 1476.

Philip II. of Savoy, she represented the eldest branch of the Bourbons, but through the female line. It was by no means certain, as we have seen in the case of Suzanne, that the duchy was exclusively a male fief. The domains had come into the family through women, and Charles's claim, as sole male heir, was founded on family compacts among the Bourbons, and on the tradition of Salic law being applicable to all the branches of the reigning house of France. There was, at all events, ample ground for an appeal to law, and Louise instituted a suit against Charles in the Parliament of Paris: while the King also put in a claim for the confiscated estates which Louis XI. had bestowed upon Duke Peter II. and his consort Anne, as escheated fiefs which reverted to the Crown; and he made them over to his mother. The Parliament, however, for the first time, displayed an unwillingness to support the Crown against one of its great vassals, and continually adjourned its decision. The King, indeed, in spite of his brilliant qualities, was unpopular with the people, and especially with the magistracy. The concordat, the fiscal oppressions of Duprat, Francis's own violence and disdain of order, had produced this feeling. Bourbon, on the contrary, gave himself out as the leader of the popular party.

The Constable's cup of bitterness was now full, and forgetting all the duties of patriotism, he resolved to gratify his revenge by leaguing himself with the enemies of his country. It is said that his mother-in-law, Anne of France, who died November 14th, 1522, had exhorted him to this step on her death-bed. She had devoted her last days to his defence, had confirmed her daughter's will in his favour, and had bequeathed to him all her possessions. Bourbon soon after invited Charles to invade France;[1] promising to assist him with 500 men-at-arms, and 10,000 foot, and at the same time demanding one of the Emperor's sisters in marriage: either Eleanor, the Dowager-Queen of Portugal, or Madame Catharine.[2] The negotiations which ensued soon came to the ears of Francis. Entering unexpectedly when Bourbon was dining with Queen Claude, the King publicly charged him with his misconduct. "'Seigneur,' he exclaimed, 'it is showed us that you be, or shall be married—is it truth?' The Duke said it was not so. The King said that he knew it was so; moreover saying that he would remember it. The Duke answered, and

[1] On this subject see *Négociations entre la France et l'Autriche*, t. ii. p. 589 sqq. (in the *Docum. Inédits*).

[2] See the Emperor's *Instructions* to Beaurain from Valladolid, May 28th, 1523; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 306.

said, 'Sir, then you threaten me—I have deserved no such cause;' and so departed. After dinner the Duke went to his lodgings, and all the noblemen of the Court with him."[1]

The negotiations, however, went on; and two months afterwards we find Bourbon opening direct communications with Wolsey. His proposals to treat were received with avidity by the English Court; and powers were granted to Dr. Sampson and Sir Richard Jerningham to treat with the Emperor and Bourbon on the subject.[2] A principal condition was that Bourbon was to do homage and swear fealty to Henry as King of France. Bourbon's treaty with the Emperor was finally concluded, at the end of July or beginning of August, with M. de Beaurain at Bourg in Bresse; for the Duke had retired into the territories of Savoy, where it was easier to conduct the negotiations than in France. Some authors have pretended to tell the exact share which each of the three confederates claimed in the division of France after it should have been conquered, but nothing seems to have been settled on this point; and though Henry demanded to recover all the rights and possessions detained from him by Francis, Bourbon eluded making any pledge upon the subject; nor would he accept from Charles the Order of the Golden Fleece, which would have obliged him to take an oath of fealty to that Emperor. The confederates, though not agreed as to the spoil, soon came to a conclusion as to the means of attack. A powerful English army was to invade Picardy by the 25th of August; by the same period 10,000 lanceknights under Count Fürstenberg were to march into Burgundy, where they were to be joined by Bourbon with his men, and the united force was to form a junction with the English. In addition to all this, a Spanish army was to invade the French Kingdom from the south.

These arrangements were punctually executed by the Emperor and the King of England. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, with the English van, landed at Calais August 23rd; while early in September, the Spaniards began the campaign in the Pyrenees. The Constable's co-operation, however, was prevented by an unforeseen accident. The French army destined for the invasion of Italy was assembling in great numbers, and as their route lay through Bourbon's territories, it was impossible for him to move till their columns should have passed. Francis himself was

[1] *Letter* of Sir Thos. Boleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, March 8th, 1523; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 305, note.

[2] See Rymer's *Fœdera*, t. xiii. p. 794.

detained at Lyon, waiting an answer to some proposals which he had sent to the Swiss and the Venetians; and during this interval intelligence reached him of Bourbon's conspiracy. The secret appears to have been revealed by two Norman gentlemen, whom the Duke had attempted to corrupt, and to induce them to admit the English into Normandy. Francis's first impulse was to conciliate his rebellious vassal. The suit against the Constable had not proceeded satisfactorily. The Parliament of Paris, which was to have pronounced its judgment on the 1st of August, instead of doing so, declared itself incompetent, and referred the cause to the King's Council; in other words, it intimated that it was not free, and did not choose to be responsible.[1] What should Francis do? Bonnivet, with the French van, was waiting for him on the other side of the Alps; the Italian expedition could not be abandoned, nor could so dangerous a subject as Bourbon be left behind. In this dilemma, Francis, early in September, proceeded with an escort of German mercenaries direct to Bourbon's residence at Moulins, told him frankly all that he had heard, promised that his lands should be restored, and offered him the post of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, but on condition that he should accompany the army into Italy. Bourbon, on his side, confessed that overtures had been made him, but protested that he had never listened to them. He could not refuse the King's offer, who then departed, leaving a gentleman named Uvarty to accompany the Duke; that is, to watch his movements. But Francis's offers, even if sincere, came too late. The Constable felt that he had compromised himself beyond redemption, and had no idea of joining the King. To gain time he feigned sickness; then after a few days he set forwards slowly for Lyon, but at La Palisse gave Uvarty the slip, and hastened to his castle of Chantelle, on the borders of the Bourbonnais and Auvergne. Hence he wrote an humble letter to the King which, however, seems never to have reached its destination.

No sooner was Bourbon's flight known than several companies of men-at-arms were despatched to arrest him. Having no means of resisting a siege, and hearing that several of his accomplices had been taken, the Constable fled (September 10th), in the disguise of a valet, with only one companion, the Sieur de Pomperant, who assumed the dress and equipment of an archer; and after many hairbreadth escapes they succeeded in joining the lanceknights, who had invaded the eastern frontier. When

[1] Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 41.

Bourbon found that his contemplated movements were impeded by the presence of the King and his army, he had written to his confederates to delay their operations; but his letters arrived too late. The English army had already landed at Calais. An attempt which Francis made to divert the English forces, by inciting the Scots to border warfare, proved a failure. Suffolk was joined early in September by the Count of Buren with the Imperial troops, but waited in vain for the Constable's arrival. Under these circumstances the English commander, as the season was advancing, wished to confine his operations to the siege of Boulogne, a place which Henry was very desirous of taking, but Buren at length persuaded him to advance into the interior. Suffolk recommended that the soldiers should be restrained from plunder and devastation, and that the French should be gained by proclaiming liberty: a step, however, which Henry disapproved, thinking that if the troops were deprived of the hope of spoil, "their captains shall have much ado to keep them from crying, Home! Home!"[1] The allied army, after routing La Trémoille near Bray, on the Somme, forcing the passage of the river and taking that town (October 20th), pursued their march towards Paris, and reached the Oise, within eleven leagues of that capital. Paris trembled. Henry fancied the Crown of France already on his brow. But Suffolk was forced to retreat, in the midst of his success, by the approach of Vendôme, the desertion of some of his allies, and a season of unprecedented rigour; and by the middle of December he got safely back to Calais.

In the south, the Spaniards were equally unsuccessful. They had advanced as far as Bayonne, when they were repulsed by Lautrec, and compelled to retreat; a check, however, which was in some degree compensated by the recovery of Fuenterabia, disgracefully surrendered by the French commandant Frauget. In the east, the 10,000 lanceknights under Count Fürstenberg had passed the Rhine (August 26th), traversed Franche-Compté, entered Champagne near Langres, and penetrated as far as Montéclair on the Marne; where, disappointed of the expected aid from Bourbon, and having no cavalry, they were terribly harassed by the *gens d'armes* of the Count of Guise and M. d'Orval, the Governors of Champagne and Burgundy, and compelled to a precipitate flight. It was with difficulty that Fürstenberg regained the Vosges mountains; his rear guard was nearly destroyed in attempting to recross the Meuse near Neufchâteau, whilst the

[1] More to Wolsey, Sept. 20th; *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 139.

ladies of the Court of Lorraine clapped their hands as they beheld this feat of arms from the walls of the town. It was during this retreat of the lanceknights that their path was crossed by the Duke of Bourbon, who was flying towards Germany, accompanied by about sixty gentlemen. Francis sent a message after him, demanding his constabular sword and the collar of his order. "The collar," replied Bourbon, "I left under my pillow at Chantelle; the King took my sword when he gave the command of the van at Valenciennes to the Duke of Alençon."[1] Having declined an invitation into England, he succeeded in getting safely into Germany, whence he passed through Tyrol to Mantua, whose Marquis was his first cousin.

Instead of five or six provinces and a great party, Bourbon could now offer Charles only his talents, his valour, and his despair. He soon perceived that the ardour of friendship was gradually succeeded, in the conduct of the Emperor, by the coldness of protection, and he felt that he could not press for the completion of the treaty and the hand of Eleanor till he had achieved something that might deserve it. On the 16th of January, 1524, he was declared a traitor by Francis; his lands were confiscated, and the coat of arms upon his palace wall was besmeared with saffron in token of his disgrace. Several of his adherents were sentenced to death. Among them was Jean de St. Vallier, Count of Poitiers, whose treason was the more unpardonable as he was captain of the 200 gentlemen composing the *maison du roi*, or King's body-guard. Such was Francis's indignation when informed of St. Vallier's crime that he could scarce refrain from killing him with his own hand. Yet he was saved by a passion to which Francis was more sensible than to revenge. It was St. Vallier's son-in-law, Louis de Brezé, Grand-Seneschal of Normandy, who had revealed the plot of the Norman gentlemen: De Brezé's wife, the lovely and insinuating Diane de Poitiers, pleaded this service in favour of her father, and established at the same time her own influence over Francis.

The discovery of so alarming a conspiracy, the extent of which was unknown, caused Francis to give up all idea of leading his army in person. Nevertheless, the expedition was not abandoned. The French army assembled at Susa numbered 40,000 men, and the condition of the enemy might have afforded an able general a good chance of success; but Bonnivet, to whom the command was intrusted, though a great favourite at court, had little military

[1] Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.* t. iii. p. 90.

talent. Prosper Colonna, the Imperial commander-in-chief, was laid up by a severe attack of illness; Pescara was in Spain; and the Marquis of Mantua, the Papal commander, was determined not to advance beyond Parma. The Duke of Urbino, the Venetian general, was instructed to avoid a battle, as a defeat might have endangered all the continental possessions of Venice. By a *coup de main* Bonnivet might have seized Milan, the fortifications of which were in a dilapidated condition; but Francis, aware of his impetuous temper, had exhorted him to be cautious, and he now fell into the opposite fault. The season was wasted in petty operations; Italy, like France, was visited with an early and rigorous winter, and the approach of the army of the league obliged Bonnivet to take up his winter quarters between the Ticinello and Ticino.[1]

During the progress of this campaign Pope Adrian VI. died after a short illness (September 14th, 1523). The joy of the Romans at this event was unbounded, and was expressed with all the malicious wit for which they were famed. On the night after Adrian's death the house of Macerata, his physician, was adorned with garlands, and the following inscription was placed over his door: "The Roman Senate and People to the deliverer of his country." In the Conclave which assembled October 21st, a hard struggle for the vacant dignity ensued between the two chief candidates, Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Pompeo Colonna; the former of whom was elected (November 18th), and assumed the name of Clement VII. The Emperor again supported Wolsey, but very lukewarmly; it is even supposed that, from the occurrences of the campaign in France, Charles had begun to suspect him of being in Francis's interest. Wolsey's name was proposed, but immediately rejected, in spite of the instructions to the English ambassadors to spare no promises of promotion, as well as of large sums of money, which, it was thought, would at least be successful with the younger Cardinals, for the most part needy men.[2] But Wolsey was unpopular with the Sacred College. Henry VIII. appears to have given his ambassador at Rome double instructions, and to have been resigned to accept Cardinal de' Medici as Pope in case Wolsey were not elected.[3] Wolsey

[1] Capella is the great authority for this Italian campaign; the other writers, even Du Bellay, do little more than copy him. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 296, note.

[2] Wolsey's *Despatch* to the English ambassadors at Rome, in Burnet, *Hist. of Reform.* vol. ii. pt. ii. *Records*, No. 48; and in Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 83 sqq.

[3] *Letter* of Bradford, ap. Pichot, *Charles Quint*, p. 49. The Emperor's *autograph letter* to Wolsey from Pamplona, Dec. 16th, 1523, assuring him that he had written to Rome, MS. ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 224.

did not again forgive the Emperor, although he procured the Cardinal to be named Legate *à latere* in England for life, with extraordinary powers.

Clement's election gave universal satisfaction. Few Pontiffs had ascended the chair with a higher reputation for administrative ability, besides which he was known to be a generous patron of literature and art; and he was himself not only very well informed in theology and philosophy, but also in questions of practical science. He avoided the errors of his two predecessors—the prodigality and indecorous habits of his kinsman Leo, and the repugnancy which Adrian had manifested to the tastes of his Court. The illegitimacy of Clement's birth, by which he was canonically disqualified for any ecclesiastical dignity, had been fraudulently got over by Leo X.; who, at the time when he made his cousin a Cardinal, suborned witnesses to testify that his father and mother had been united in wedlock. The only other remaining male descendants of Cosmo the Great were also illegitimate: Clement's cousin, Ippolito, a bastard son of the late Julian de' Medici, and Alessandro, reputed a bastard of Lorenzo of Urbino, by a Moorish slave, and inheriting the dark skin, thick lips, and woolly hair of his mother. She herself, however, could not tell whether he was the son of Lorenzo, or of Clement VII., or of a muleteer.[1] Alessandro was now only about fourteen years of age; Ippolito, some two years older, was the hope of the Medici family. To him Clement provisionally intrusted the government of Florence when he went to Rome to take possession of the Papal throne; but the real power was lodged in the hands of Cardinal Passerini, a man of rough manners and small ability, and very unacceptable to the Florentines.[2]

The war was renewed in Italy early in the spring of 1524. The Imperialists had lost their best captain by the death of Colonna, a commander whose skill and caution, which left nothing to chance, procured him the name of the Italian Fabius, and made him the most formidable opponent of French impetuosity. Bourbon, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the Emperor in Italy, and a command superior to that of Lannoy and Pescara, joined the Imperial army at Milan with 6,000 lanceknights. Bonnivet was out-manœuvred by Pescara, who got into his rear and obliged him to shut himself up in Novara. A body of 10,000 Swiss, who had crossed the St. Gothard and advanced as far as

[1] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. xvi. p. 88.
[2] Capponi, *Storia della Rep. di Firenze*, vol. iii. p. 166 sq. (ed. 1876).

Gattinara on the Sesia, seeing the French caught as it were in a trap, declined to share in their misfortunes, but offered to do what they could to facilitate their escape, to which indeed all Bonnivet's views were now confined. Towards the end of April he succeeded in forming a junction with the Swiss, and then directed his march towards Ivrea, intending to get into France by the Bas Valais. A march of thirty miles would have placed him in safety, but this short retreat proved most disastrous. Pescara and Bourbon, having forced the passage of the Sesia at Romagnano, hung upon and harassed the retreating columns. Bonnivet, who had placed himself in the rear, was wounded and obliged to retire; Vandenesse, who succeeded him, shared the same fate. But the greatest misfortune of that day was the death of the brave, humane, and generous Chevalier Bayard, who having in turn assumed the command, was struck by a ball which broke his spine (April 30th, 1524). Being placed against a tree, Bayard yielded his last breath among his pursuing enemies, if such a term can be applied to men who admired his virtues as much as the French did themselves. The Imperial generals caused two solemn Masses to be performed for him, and then sent his remains into France to be interred at Grenoble, his native town. On the arrival of the body in Dauphiné it was escorted by the whole population of the places through which it passed, till it reached its final resting-place.[1]

A desperate charge of a body of Swiss, in which, however, they all fell victims, arrested for a while the pursuit of the Imperialists, and enabled the French army, under the conduct of St. Pol, to gain Ivrea in safety. Hence, they crossed the St. Bernard, to the foot of which they had been pursued, and reached France without further molestation. Bourbon now obtained the Emperor's leave to invade France, expecting that his presence would be the signal for insurrection; a step taken against the advice of Charles's wisest counsellors, and contrary to the wishes of the Pope and the Italian States, who therefore remained neutral. But the league against France was renewed by the Emperor, his brother Ferdinand, Henry VIII., and the Duke of Bourbon; and it was arranged that Bourbon should invade France from the Alps; that the Emperor should make a second attack on the side of the

[1] The highly dramatic scene related by Martin du Bellay of Bayard's dying interview with Bourbon, though retained by two historians (Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 218; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 51), rests not on good authority. The interview is not mentioned in the Life of Bayard, written by an anonymous follower who called himself *Le loyal Serviteur*. See Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 297.

Pyrenees; and that Henry VIII. should send Bourbon 100,000 ducats with which to begin the campaign, and either continue this subsidy monthly, or, after Bourbon had obtained some marked success, make a descent on Picardy in order to co-operate with the Imperial forces. Wolsey, however, insisted, before advancing a ducat, that Bourbon should swear fealty to Henry VIII. as "King of France and England," to which the Duke reluctantly consented. He took the oath in presence of Lannoy, the Viceroy of Naples, and of Beaurain and Pace, the Imperial and English envoys; but he refused to do homage to Henry, on the ground that it was inconsistent with the sovereign rights of his own duchy.[1] He was promised the County of Provence, which, together with his own domains, and Lyon and Dauphiné was to be erected into a Kingdom.[2]

The army of invasion, consisting of about 18,000 men, was under the joint command of Bourbon and Pescara: Lannoy was to follow with the reserve. The Imperialists entered Provence by the Cornice road, crossing the Var at St. Laurent, July 7th, 1524. Here they were delayed some days through Lannoy's neglect in not forwarding the cavalry: a step attributed to the Viceroy's jealousy of Bourbon, who had been placed over his head. Bourbon wished to march on Avignon and Lyon, where he would have had most chance of support from his friends and vassals: but this plan was overruled by Pescara. The Emperor instructed the generals to lay siege to Marseille, the possession of which would have always secured him an easy entrance into France. Several of the most considerable towns of Provence, including Aix the capital, surrendered in a few weeks, and on August 19th, Marseille was invested. But Bourbon had miscalculated the French temper. Instead of flocking to his standard, his invasion only incited them to display their loyalty to Francis, who was enabled to raise large contributions for his Kingdom's defence. There was no possibility of blockading Marseille by sea. The French galleys, under La Fayette and the Genoese refugee Andrew Doria, had defeated the Spanish fleet under Hugo de Moncada. On the land side the town was obstinately defended by Renzo da Ceri and Philip Chabot, while the approach of Francis with a large army threatened to place the besiegers in jeopardy. Pescara appears to have received some private information respecting the formidable

[1] Herbert's *Henry VIII.* (in Kennet, vol. ii. p. 61); Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 361.

[2] Bourbon assumed the title of Count of Provence in his safe-conducts. Note of Lalanne to *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 211.

means of defence within the town; and suddenly changing his mind respecting the success of the enterprise, he entered the tent where Bourbon was consulting with his officers, and without even deigning to salute the Duke, exclaimed: "Gentlemen, those who are in a hurry to go to Paradise can remain; for myself, I shall return. We have left Italy bare of troops, and our retreat may be cut off. Trust me, there is nothing left for it but to decamp." After a general assault on the evening of the 24th of September, Bourbon found himself compelled to adopt the counsel of his rival, who was supported by Zollern and Lodron, the commanders of the German contingent. Bourbon had, in fact, been neglected, and in some degree betrayed. The invasion of Picardy was never executed; and though Sir John Russell brought him £20,000, the stipulated payments had not been regularly made, so that his troops had begun to mutiny for want of pay. Henry, or rather Wolsey, was apprehensive that England would be deserted by the Emperor; while Charles, on his side, ascribed the failure of the enterprise to the double dealing of Wolsey. Bourbon began his retreat on the 28th of September, and reached Monaco on the 8th of October.

The enemy had escaped; but Francis was unwilling that his brilliant army, amounting to 30,000 men, including 14,000 Swiss and 1,500 men-at-arms, should separate without striking a blow: and in spite of the approaching winter he resolved to cross the Alps, hoping by so unexpected an enterprise to recover the Milanese. Another motive is said to have been a desire to see a certain Signora Clarissa of Milan, whose charms he had heard much vaunted. His wife Claude, a simple, pious, and modest lady, whom he treated with gross neglect, had died July 25th, it is said of a disgraceful malady communicated by her profligate husband. All his mother's persuasions were unable to detain Francis, and it was not till he had reached Pinerolo, on the other side of the Alps, that he published an ordinance appointing Louise Regent.[1]

The dispirited remains of the Imperial army, even when joined by Lannoy with the reserve, were incapable of making head against the fresh and well-appointed forces of Francis, which arrived at Vercelli on the same day that the Imperialists reached Alba in Montferrat. The latter therefore resolved to shut themselves up in the fortified towns, and to exhaust the French by

[1] Isambert, *Anciennes Lois Franç.* t. xii. p. 230. "The French King before wrote and boasted unto his mother that he had of his own mind passed into Italy."—More to Wolsey, Nov. 29th, 1524; *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 152.

sieges. Francis Sforza evacuated Milan on the King's approach; the citadel, however, was still held by a garrison of 700 Spaniards; and as the flatterers of Francis persuaded him that it was beneath the dignity of a King of France to enter Milan before the citadel had surrendered, he sat down before Pavia, and allowed the Imperialists to fortify themselves on the Oglio and the Adda. Although Pavia was ill-fortified, an attempt to take it by storm was repulsed with great loss by the commandant, Antonio de Leyva, and the siege was converted into a blockade.

Lodged in a fine old Lombard abbey, which he sometimes exchanged for Mirabella, an ancient villa of the Dukes of Milan, Francis seems to have spent the winter agreeably enough, abandoning himself to pleasures which were rarely interrupted by any serious business. His affairs seemed now to be more flourishing than those of his adversaries. The Imperial army was almost disorganized, was ill-paid, and smitten with sickness, while his own was well supplied and continually recruited. The Emperor, in spite of his vast dominions, found it difficult to raise pay for his troops, though they did not exceed 16,000 men. Henry VIII., influenced apparently by Wolsey's disgust at the loss of the tiara, and occupied with the affairs of Scotland, evaded his engagements; nay, he even demanded back the money which he had advanced to the Imperialists. The Italians were either cold or disaffected to the Imperial cause. Pope Clement, who, agreeably to the hereditary policy of the house of Medici, was not displeased to see Francis in possession of the Milanese, as a counterpoise to the power of Charles in the south, disguising his political views under the cloak of the common Father of the faithful, proposed to mediate a general truce of five years; and when that proposition was rejected both by the French and the Imperialists, he demanded that his own neutrality and that of Florence should be respected; but under this cloak he sent his minister Giberto to negotiate a secret treaty with the French King.[1] He also engaged Francis to support his family at Florence. Giberto negotiated at the same time for the Venetians, who now regretted their rupture with their ancient allies the French; and these negotiations were confirmed by the Venetian Senate in January, 1525. Clement's best counsellors advised him to march an army to the Po, to unite it with that of the Venetians, and thus to

[1] The treaty is not extant in an authentic shape, but some of the chief particulars were communicated by the Pope to the Archduke Ferdinand, and are recorded by Spalatin in his *Annales*. Mencke, *SS. Rer. Germ.* t. ii. p. 641.

cause the neutrality of the two most powerful States of Italy to be respected; but with all his political ability, the irresolution of Clement's character prevented him from taking so bold a step.

The favourable prospects which now opened upon Francis were, however, destroyed by his own rashness. Elated with his rapid success, he not only sent the Marquis of Saluzzo to seize Genoa, but, as the pacification with the Pope opened a passage through the States of the Church, he also deemed it possible to grasp the long-coveted possession of Naples, and with a fatal imprudence still further dismembered his army by despatching the Duke of Albany and Renzo da Ceri with 8,000 foot and a numerous cavalry towards the south. At this news the French party in Naples showed symptoms of revolt, and the council in alarm wrote to the Viceroy Lannoy to return with his army. Lannoy would have obeyed this summons had not Pescara, with the cool and penetrating judgment of a true general, pointed out that Naples must be defended at Pavia; that a single reverse of Francis would suffice to make Albany evacuate that Kingdom; whilst on the other hand no victory at Naples could terminate the war in Lombardy. Early in January, 1525, Albany marched into Tuscany unopposed, where he was reinforced with 3,000 infantry. When he entered the Papal States, Clement published the treaty of neutrality which he had hitherto kept secret, complained of the march of the French, and represented himself as forced.

Meanwhile Bourbon, who had gone into Germany to procure reinforcements, returned with about 12,000 men, whom he had levied with help of the Archduke Ferdinand, and with whom he joined Lannoy and Pescara at Lodi. About half of these men were volunteers, led by the celebrated George Frunsberg. Bourbon had borrowed the necessary money from the Duke of Savoy, chiefly through the aid of the Duchess Beatrix, whose sister, Isabella of Portugal, was about to be married to Charles V. The Duke himself, however, had not much reluctance to aid the Emperor against his nephew the King of France, whose alliance was very burdensome to him. Pescara determined to seize the advantage offered by these reinforcements. Breaking up from Lodi, January 25th, 1525, he directed his march on Marignano, as if to threaten Milan; but instead of proceeding thither turned to the left and approached Pavia. Francis was now advised by his best captains to raise the siege of Pavia and to take up a posi-

tion between that place and Milan; but Bonnivet, who enjoyed his entire confidence, counselled him to remain, and represented to him the shame of flying before the traitor Bourbon. The French army was indeed strongly posted in a fortified camp in the park of Mirabella, on the west bank of the Ticino, where it issues from Pavia. Pescara slowly approached that town, and on the 3rd of February took up a position at Sta. Giustina, within a mile of the French outposts. The Vernacula, a small, but deep river, flowed between the hostile armies, and secured each from a sudden attack. The French camp appeared too strong to be assaulted, and Pescara therefore endeavoured to wear out the enemy by a series of petty skirmishes, in the hope of bringing on a general engagement; for his troops had neither provisions, clothes, nor money; the weather was wet and cold, the men began to perish, and were, in short, in such extreme necessity as could no longer be endured. Not succeeding, however, in this object, he determined on a *camisade*[1] or nocturnal surprise. The garrison of Pavia was to support the attack, and form a junction with Pescara at a farm-house or dairy in the middle of the park. A body of 2,000 Germans and 1,000 Spaniards appointed to execute the camisade, began to make a breach in the park wall about midnight (February 23rd); but the wall proved stronger than was expected, and day began to dawn before their labour was over. The appearance of these men in the park, however, had the effect of drawing the French from their position. The combat which ensued is variously described by different authors, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to the relation of some of the main incidents. The French artillery began to play on the troops who were entering the park, causing them great damage, till Francis himself charging the enemy with some of his gens d'armes, compelled his artillerymen to suspend their fire lest they should hit the King. This injudicious step on the part of Francis was of great moment in turning the fortune of the day; although he displayed great personal valour, and killed with his own hand a knight said to have been Ferdinand Castriot, Marquis of St. Angelo, the last descendant of Scanderbeg.[2] The Germans under George Frunsberg were now coming up, and as the French

[1] So called because the soldiers who executed it wore a white shirt, or *camise*, over their armour, in order to distinguish one another.

[2] Ferronus, *De reb. gest. Gall.* p. 195 (ed. 1555). "S. M^ta. (Francis) mette in cielo il Marchese di S. Angelo, quale ella ammazzò con le sue mani."—*Letter* of Luzascho to Marquis of Mantua from Pizzighettone, Mar. 2nd, 1525, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* Anhang, B. v. S. 164.

also observed the garrison of Pavia advancing in their rear, they gave themselves up for lost, and began to fly. Even the Swiss did not maintain their ground with their usual firmness, but joined the flight, on seeing their leader John von Diesbach fall. The Duke of Alençon, the King's brother-in-law, who commanded the rear-guard, also fled, leaving the King to his fate. Francis hastened after the Swiss, and endeavoured to rally them, but was carried away by the retreating mass. The particulars of his capture are differently related. The most probable account seems to be that having been met in his flight by four Spanish fusileers, one of them brought down his horse by a blow on the head with the butt end of his arquebuse. Francis rolled off into a ditch; when two Spanish light horsemen coming up, and perceiving from the prisoner's dress, and from the order of St. Michael, with which he was decorated, that he must be a person of importance, threatened the fusileers that they would kill him unless they were admitted to share the ransom. Fortunately Pompérant, the companion of Bourbon's flight, coming up at this juncture, recognized the King, and entreated him to surrender to the Duke. This Francis indignantly refused, and called for Lannoy, who arrived in time to save his life. Lannoy received the King's sword, and gave him his own. The battle had not lasted two hours; but it was a fatal one for France. Bonnivet, when he saw that all was lost, and through his fault, charged into the thickest of the fight, and found the death he sought. Besides him fell La Palisse, or Marshal de Chabannes, Lescun, or Marshal de Foix, Bussy d'Amboise, the aged La Trémoille, Richard de la Pole,[1] Duke of Suffolk, the York pretender to the Crown of England, and other persons of distinction. Among the prisoners were Francis's future brother-in-law, Henry d'Albret, King of Navarre, Marshal Anne de Montmorenci, Fleurange, the Count of St. Pol, the Bastard of Savoy, and others. The loss of the French was estimated at 8,000 men, that of the Imperialists at only 700. On the very same day the remnant of the French army began a precipitate retreat, which was not molested by the Imperialists, and within a fortnight not a man of it was left in Italy.[2]

After Francis's wounds had been dressed in the tent of the

[1] Richard de la Pole, second son of Edward IV.'s sister, and brother of Edmond de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. From his claims to the English crown he had been frequently used by the French for fomenting sedition in England. See Turner's *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 158 sqq.

[2] The battle of Pavia is described by the usual historians of this period, but it may be remarked, that the account of Jovius in his *Vita Pescari* differs remarkably from that of Guicciardini, who followed Capella. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 310 ff. Francis, while in prison,

Marquis del Guasto, he was at his own express desire conducted to the neighbouring monastery of the Certosa, instead of the town of Pavia. On the road he recovered all his cheerfulness, laughing and joking with the Spanish soldiers, whose words he caused to be translated to him. Thence he was carried to Pizzighittone, where, though treated with every mark of respect, he was kept under strict ward. According to Ferron, Bourbon had an interview with him at that place, when the King not only received his rebellious vassal graciously, but even invited him to dinner with the rest of the generals.[1] From Pizzighittone Francis addressed a long, rambling epistle to the Emperor, couched in terms sufficiently humble.[2] The celebrated laconic letter to his mother, "Madam, all is lost, but honour," is a literary invention. Francis by no means possessed so pregnant a style. The *real* letter, which is tolerably long, contains, however, a sentence from which the sublime of brevity has been extracted.[3]

wrote a poetical epistle in which he describes the battle. It is published by M. Champollion-Figeac, in the *Captivité de François I.* p. 114 sqq. (*Documens inédits*).

[1] *De Reb. gest. Gall.* p. 197 b.

[2] In this letter he sues for *pity*, puts his whole trust in the *goodness* of Charles, three times calls himself the Emperor's *slave*, &c. See *Captivité du Roi François I.* in the *Documens Inédits*, p. 130; *Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle*, *Ibid.* t. i. p. 266 sq.

[3] "Madame, pour vous faire savoir comment se porte le reste (or le ressort) de mon infortune, de toutes choses ne m'est demeuré que l'honneur *et la vie*, qui est sauve," &c. The letter will be found in Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.* t. iii. App.; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 67. Hall has given a translation of it in his *Chronicle*, p. 693.

CHAPTER XII.

THE Emperor, who was at Madrid when the battle of Pavia was fought, received the news of his extraordinary and unexpected success with great apparent moderation. When a victory was announced, he seemed for a moment to be overwhelmed with astonishment, and could only repeat the messenger's words—"The battle won for me! The King of France in my power!" He then retired into his bedroom, and falling on his knees before an image of the Virgin, poured out his feelings in prayer.[1] He forbade all public rejoicings, and received the compliments addressed to him with so humble a deportment as to incur the charge of hypocrisy: nor can it indeed be doubted that he concealed his real sentiments. Yet this dissimulation was not perhaps altogether unbecoming a great Prince in such circumstances; and had he celebrated his victory with noisy demonstrations of gladness, he would most probably have been charged with insolence and want of feeling. So hard is it for one placed in his position to avoid all occasion for censure!

In France, on the other hand, the intelligence of the King's disaster struck the people with consternation. The Parliament of Paris immediately assembled; the Archbishop of Aix and the principal magistrates met to consult about the safety of the capital; and the old Duke of Montmorency, whose two sons had fought at Pavia, was summoned to take the command. The enemy seemed already at the gates, of which all but five were closed, and those left open were constantly guarded by counsellors of the Parliament assisted by some of the principal citizens. Chains were stretched across the Seine, and others were prepared to be thrown across the streets. Similar precautions were adopted in all the considerable towns of France, even in those the furthest from danger; as, for instance, Poitiers. Normandy, at the northern extremity of France, levied 500 lances and 8,000 foot for

[1] Sanuto, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 316. Charles's moderation on receipt of the news is also attested by Dr. Sampson in a letter to Wolsey, Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 422.

the defence of the province.[1] These alarms show how completely the King was then identified with the State. With exception of his capture, France had suffered many as disastrous a defeat. An army of 20,000 men had been routed, and 8,000 slain; but of these not more than an eighth were French.[2] Yet, though the consternation was extravagant, the danger was menacing enough. Many of the foremost men and best captains of France had fallen. The Kingdom, which seemed to be in the throes of a financial crisis, was thrown into the hands of a woman. Of the three chief princes of the blood, Bourbon, the first, was an avowed and open traitor; the Duke of Alençon, the second, had covered himself with disgrace at Pavia, and soon afterwards died of shame and vexation; whilst the third, Vendôme, who as governor of Picardy commanded the army which lay nearest to Paris, was at variance with the Regent Louise, and even suspected of corresponding with Bourbon. The administration of Louise and Duprat had excited deep and universal discontent: they were even denounced from the pulpits, and anonymous handbills proclaimed them the authors of all the misfortunes of France. The peasant war of Germany, which had spread to Lorraine, was another element of danger. Here, however, the *rustauds* were put down by the promptitude and energy of Claude Count of Guise, who held the command in Champagne and Burgundy. Claude, the father of those Guises who will in the sequel occupy so much of our attention, was the second son of René II. Duke of Lorraine, on whose death he received Aumale, Mayenne, Guise, Elbœuf, and Joinville. His elder brother, Antony, succeeded in Lorraine, a younger one had fallen at Pavia. For his services in the peasant war Claude was subsequently rewarded by the erection of his county into a *duché-pairie;* an honour, at that time, unprecedented for one not of royal blood.[3]

At this critical juncture, Vendôme, feeling the necessity of union, magnanimously forgot his causes of complaint, and leaving his government in the hands of Brienne, joined the King's mother, who was then at Lyon, whither Guise and Lautrec, the latter of whom was now Governor of Guienne and Languedoc, also repaired. The Parliament of Paris seized the opportunity of these alarms to present to the Regent a long list of grievances, demanding in particular the re-establishment of the Pragmatic Sanction; and they added a remonstrance, in which these

[1] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 233.
[2] Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xi. p. 310. [3] Gaillard, t. iii. p. 285.

learned lawyers attributed all the misfortunes of the Kingdom to the Lutheran heresy, and demanded the extermination of those who were tainted with it. Of all their demands this was the only one that could be granted without inconvenience. Jaques Pavanes, an inoffensive man of letters, and shortly afterwards another Lutheran, called the Hermit of Livry, were burnt at Paris with great solemnity. Since the coming of Luther, these were the first religious martyrs in France.[1]

Amid the disasters of France, a gleam of hope appeared in a quarter least expected. The policy of England, so momentous in this crisis of her fortunes, seemed to be undergoing a favourable change, which has been commonly ascribed to the alarm of Henry VIII. that the Emperor's unexpected success would seriously endanger the balance of power in Europe.[2] Henry has at once received the credit of rescuing Europe from the grasp of universal monarchy by his enlightened policy, and of stretching forth his hand with romantic generosity to a fallen foe. How much either his head or his heart deserved these praises will appear as well from a few preliminary reflections as from a plain narrative of the facts.

Let us remember, then, that Henry's policy for some time past had been wholly built on the anticipation of the Emperor's success and the consequent annihilation of the French monarchy. What other object could he have proposed to himself in his recent league with Charles and the Constable Bourbon? The result of that league, had it been successful, would have been the partition of France—the blotting of it out, as an integral realm, from the map of Europe. If, as some historians suppose, Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, till he was startled into them by the victory of Pavia, we must not only divest him of all political wisdom and foresight, but even of common sense.[3] This supposition is not even a probable account of the English change of policy; but what is more, it is contradicted by facts. Not only had the alteration begun *before* the battle of Pavia, but after that

[1] The year before Jean Le Clerc had been burnt for heresy at Metz; which town, however, was at that time included in the Empire. *Hist. des Eglises Réf.* t. i. p. 6.

[2] See Hume's *Hist. of England*, ch. xxix. (vol. iv. p. 59); Robertson's *Charles V.* bk. iv. (vol. ii. p. 301). "La France et l'Europe doivent tenir compte á la mémoire de Henry VIII. d'une décision de si grand sens et de si grande conséquence."—Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 72.

[3] "But as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections so far, he was startled at this important event (the victory of Pavia), and became sensible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles."—Hume, *loc. cit.* Compare Robertson.

event, the former line of policy would have been reverted to by Henry could he have made the Emperor acquiesce in all his caprices and demands. If Henry felt any pride in holding the balance of European power, it was only as the stakeholder between two powerful Sovereigns, who emulously courted his favour; whilst at the same time he kept a watchful eye on the political advantages which he might reap from their quarrels. Only one assumption will reasonably account for the policy of the English Court at this juncture—Wolsey's ill-will towards the Emperor at being disappointed of the Papal tiara. The very inconsistency of this policy, which has puzzled more than one historian, betraying, as it does, all the hesitation of a man who, instigated by malignity, employs himself in unravelling the web he has long been weaving, and which his better judgment still approves, brands it as the result, not of statecraft, but of passion. The circumstances admit of no other conclusion.

Long before the battle of Pavia, Wolsey began to show his distrust of Charles. He had instructed his agents, Pace and Russell, to watch what was passing between him and Francis, and to be careful how they parted with the money sent to them. An instance of Wolsey's duplicity still more marked, is his having opened, in the latter part of the year 1524, secret negotiations with Louise, the French Regent, whose envoy, John Joachim Passano, Seigneur de Vaux, a Genoese merchant, was privately lodged at Blackfriars. In January, 1525, after Passano had been in England some months, he was joined by Brinon, Chancellor of Alençon, and President of Rouen, and Wolsey had continual, but secret, intercourse with them.[1] De Praet, the Imperial ambassador at London, got scent, however, of these negotiations, and communicated them to his master; at the same time stating that Henry would contribute nothing to the defence of Italy. Wolsey caused one of De Praet's letters to be intercepted by a pretended mistake of the police, and sent an elaborate answer to Dr. Sampson, the English ambassador at the Court of Spain, in which he asserted that De Praet was privy to all his dealings with Passano.[2] Charles resented this breach of

[1] See Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 331 sqq.; Cavendish, *id.* ch. xi.; Hall, p. 691 sq. (ed. 1809); *State Papers*, vol. i. More to Wolsey, p. 151; Wolsey to King Henry VIII., p. 153. The last letter, which is dated February 5th, near three weeks before the battle of Pavia, speaks of "the discourses and communications which I have had with the Chancellor of Alanson, sent from my lady the French Kinges mother, for treaty of peace with your Highness."

[2] See Wolsey's *Letter* to Sampson, February 13th, 1525, *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 388 foll.

diplomatic honour by unfriendly conduct towards the English merchants in Flanders. De Praet appears to have assured the Emperor of the steadfastness of Henry VIII., but hinted doubts respecting his minister. Charles was so alarmed that he sent to demand his affianced bride, Mary, and to require the fulfilment, in the next summer, of Henry's promised invasion of France.

It appears, therefore, that the breach between England and the Emperor had its beginning before the victory of Pavia; while, after that event, Henry would not have been unwilling, if the terms could have been agreed upon, to revert to his old policy, and share the spoils with Charles. The alliance with the Emperor was to all outward appearance still cordially maintained. When the news of the victory of Pavia reached London (March 9th), the success of the Emperor's arms was celebrated in London with great rejoicings. The city was illuminated, a *Te Deum* was sung, the ambassadors of Rome, Venice, and the Netherlands gave a grand banquet in a tent on Tower Hill, and a special embassy was despatched by Henry to Spain to congratulate Charles on his victory. Passano and the President of Rouen hearing of it when on their way to the King, immediately returned to their lodgings, and soon after departed for France. It was thought that but for this victory there would have been peace with the French King.[1] But no sooner was the news of the victory confirmed than the English Court despatched ambassadors to Spain to concert plans for a joint invasion of France; and Wolsey, in an address to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, informed them that the King was about to raise an army for the recovery of England's rightful dominions in France.[2] Instructions were sent in March to Tunstall and Wingfield, the English envoys at the Court of the Lady Margaret in the Netherlands, to endeavour that Francis should be excluded from France, that Henry VIII. should be crowned in Paris, and that the portion of France not claimed by him should be partitioned between the Emperor and Bourbon.[3]

The English Court was so earnest for the projected invasion, that in order to raise the necessary forces large sums were levied by unconstitutional commissions—a proceeding which occasioned a dangerous insurrection in Norfolk and Suffolk. Charles was pressed to attack France from the south in the ensuing summer; he would be assisted with money, and an English descent would

[1] Hall, p. 693. [2] Hall, *ibid.*
[3] Henry VIII.'s *Instructions* to Tunstall and Wingfield, March 30th, 1525 (*State Papers*, vol. vi.).

be made in the north of France, so that he and Henry might meet at Paris. The English King promised, if he were crowned there, to accompany the Emperor to Rome for his coronation—no obscure assurance that Henry would help to lay Italy at his feet. He also engaged that Charles should recover all the lands claimed by the House of Burgundy and by the Empire in France; nay, at last, France, and even England itself, if he married the Lady Mary according to the treaty of 1522.[1] Truly, these propositions betray a most considerate care for the balance of power in Europe, and a most generous temper towards a fallen foe! The English advances, however, were not very favourably received. Wolsey, between whom and his master discordant views evidently prevailed at this time, was not unjustly suspected by the Imperial cabinet, and had personally offended the Emperor; besides which, it was thought that England, though making such large demands, had contributed little or nothing to the success of the war. The most remarkable of these demands was, that Charles should make no terms with the French King without insisting on the English claims to the Crown of France; nay, that Francis, whom Henry VIII. affected to regard as a rebellious vassal, should be delivered into his custody, under a clause of the treaty of 1522, by which the contracting parties mutually agreed to deliver up such vassals! Charles, who had for some time altered his style towards Wolsey, now altogether ceased to correspond with him. Early in June, when the Bishop of London, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Dr. Sampson delivered letters to him at Toledo, from Henry and Wolsey, he gave vent to the bitterest complaints against the latter; accused the Cardinal of having charged him with aspiring to the monarchy of Europe, of having called himself a liar, his aunt, the Lady Margaret, a ribald, his brother, Don Ferdinand, a child, and the Duke of Bourbon, a traitor. These insults had been uttered when Beaurain, now M. de Rieux, asked to have 200,000 ducats for Bourbon's entry into Burgundy; and the Cardinal added, "that the King had other things to do with his money than to spend it for the pleasures of such four personages."[2] For these expressions, which had been reported to the Emperor by De Rieux, the ambassadors advised Wolsey to write an apology; and they expressed their opinion that the Emperor was still inclined to be faithful to his engagements,

[1] See the *Instructions* to Tunstall and Wingfield, extracted by Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 346 sqq.

[2] See the letter of the ambassadors from Toledo, June 2nd, 1525, ap. Turner, *ibid.* 454.

although he was not in a condition to fulfil them, on account of the disorganized state of his army in Italy. After this outburst, the Emperor applied to be released from his contract to wed the Lady Mary, who was still an infant, on the ground that his subjects were pressing him to enter upon an efficient marriage; and indeed he was now seeking the hand of a Portuguese Princess. Henry VIII. readily complied with this request, and signed on the 6th of July an authority to his ambassadors to abrogate that part of the treaty of Windsor. Wolsey, however, in order to gratify his spite against the Emperor, instead of forwarding the paper by a courier overland, sent it by sea, so that Charles, who was anxiously expecting the release, did not receive it till the middle of September. Henry himself was so concerned at this delay, that he hastened to forward another authority with still more ample powers.

It was plain that the good understanding between the Courts of England and Spain was now at an end; and, in fact, Wolsey wrote to the Pope in July to the effect that Henry's feelings towards the Emperor were no longer of a friendly nature, and that he was inclined to treat of peace with France.[1] Accordingly, John Joachim Passano was again invited into England, and a truce of forty days was concluded, followed by the treaty of Moore (August 30th, 1525), by which the integrity of the French Kingdom was guaranteed against the Emperor's aggressions, while Henry engaged to solicit the release of Francis. France, indeed, paid dearly for this security. The Regent was obliged to recognize a debt of 2,000,000 gold crowns, payable in twenty years, besides an annual life-pension of 100,000 crowns to Henry VIII. after its extinction, and 10,000 crowns for his sister's dowry.[2] This was, in fact, a tribute; while the pensions subsequently paid by the French Crown to some of the Stuarts were the wages of vassalage. Wolsey also was to receive 121,898 crowns, for arrears of his Tournai pension. The Imperial government, which had been thus anticipated, followed the example of England. A truce of six months, regarding the Netherlands only, was concluded with France at Breda, July 14th; and on August 11th, another of three months was executed at Toledo, which extended to the two monarchies generally and their respective allies.[3]

[1] Bishop of Bath's *Letter* from Rome, July 25th, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 455.

[2] Rymer, t. xiv. p. 48 sqq.

[3] Léonard, *Traités*, t. ii. p. 193 sqq.

Having thus briefly described the transactions which took place between the English and Imperial Courts, at this eventful crisis of European history, we must now advert to those which had passed between Charles and his prisoner Francis. Hard indeed were the conditions of the ransom demanded by the Emperor (April, 1525). He began by signifying to the French government, through his plenipotentiary, de Rieux, that he might legally claim the whole Kingdom of France, since Pope Boniface VIII. had deposed Philip the Fair, and bestowed the French Crown on Albert of Austria! Nevertheless, with due regard to the welfare of Christendom, he contented himself with the following principal conditions: an alliance against the Turks, the Emperor and the French King furnishing each 20,000 men, and the former having chief command in the enterprise; the restitution of the Duchy of Burgundy and all the lands belonging to Duke Charles the Bold at the time of his death, Picardy included, the whole exempt from any claims of feudal suzerainty; cessation of all proceedings against Bourbon and his adherents, and restitution to the Duke of all his domains. These, together with Provence, which was to be ceded to him, were to be erected into a Kingdom, of which Bourbon was to be the independent King. In these first negotiations between the Emperor and France, the friendly feeling between Charles and Henry was, in appearance at least, still maintained, and the articles included the cession of Normandy, Guienne, and Gascony to the English King.[1]

Such propositions involved in effect nothing less than the partition of the French Kingdom. Charles seems to have been guided in these transactions by an idea more enticing than feasible, and to have wished nominally indeed to uphold the monarchy of France, but so reduced in its proportions that the preponderance of power should be secured for ever to the House of Austria.[2] The French Council received his propositions with indignation. The first movement of Francis himself was also to reject them, and he indignantly declared that sooner than dismember his realm he would remain a prisoner all his life. But his tone soon began to change. Captivity was unendurably irksome to a self-indulgent Prince like Francis, who displayed in his reverses anything but the spirit of a hero. The showy qualities which had attracted admiration in his prosperity fell away at misfortune's touch like so much theatrical pasteboard

[1] *Captivité de François I.* p. 149 sqq. [2] Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 245.

and tinsel, and the real man stood exposed, as what he was, a Poitevin gentleman of little stuff, whom despair had rendered devout, and who put his woes into rhyme like any other poetaster of the age.[1] In hope of recovering his liberty, he hastened to make large concessions. He agreed to marry the Emperor's sister Eleanor, Dowager Queen of Portugal, and to assign the Duchy of Burgundy as her dowry; to which, if she died without male heirs, the second son of the Emperor should succeed. He renounced all his claims on Asti, Genoa, Naples, and Milan, reserving only the last for any son he might have by Eleanor. He abandoned the suzerainty of West Flanders[2] and Artois, agreed to buy back Picardy, and promised to furnish the half of any army which the Emperor might wish to employ in Germany or Italy, either for his coronation at Rome or for any other purpose whatsoever. He also engaged to supply half the contingents in any enterprise against the Infidels, and personally to take part in it. Bourbon was to be restored to his lands, and as Francis's proposed marriage would deprive him of Eleanor, he was to be offered the hand of Francis's favourite sister Margaret, the widowed Duchess of Alençon, with her own possessions and the Duchy of Berry as a dowry. To Henry VIII. it was intended only to offer money.[3]

This was in effect to offer that Francis would become the lieutenant of Charles V., against the Turks, against Venice, against the Lutherans of Germany, and that he would consent to employ the French arms in building up the Austrian supremacy in Europe. Without adopting the opinion of a modern historian,[4] that Francis should rather have committed suicide, we may at all events assert that he would have better consulted his own dignity and the interests of his Kingdom by the milder alternative of abdication, which, indeed, at a later period, he contemplated.

Charles was in no hurry to answer the proposals of his prisoner, whom it was resolved meanwhile to transfer from Pizzighittone to Spain. The three Imperial captains, Bourbon, Pescara, and Lannoy, were at variance with one another, and were menaced by their own soldiery, who clamorously demanded their arrears of pay; they were in the midst of a hostile population, and surrounded

[1] Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 242. The verses composed by Francis in his captivity contain, however, some really good lines, especially the apostrophe to the French rivers. See *Captivité*, &c. *Eglogue du Pasteur Admétus*, p. 227 sqq.

[2] The County of Flanders was held partly of the French King and partly of the Emperor.

[3] *Captivité*, &c. p 170 sqq. Bishop of Bath's *Letter* to Wolsey, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 445.

[4] Michelet, *Réforme.*

by States which they knew were preparing to take up arms against them; and their royal prisoner caused them considerable embarrassment, for they were afraid that the soldiers might seize his person as a pawn for their arrears. There can be little doubt that in carrying the French King into Spain Lannoy only obeyed the secret instructions of the Spanish Court. It was necessary to deceive Bourbon and Pescara, who considered Francis more particularly as *their* prisoner, and would not willingly have consented that he should be taken out of Italy. Lannoy therefore obtained their consent for his removal to Naples; and he carried his deception so far as to write to the Pope to provide apartments at Rome. Then it was determined to go by sea, embarking at the port of Genoa. The proposed removal was highly disagreeable to Francis himself. He felt that he should be so much further from his friends, and consequently from any chance of escape; he protested that the climate of Naples, being hot and on the sea, would be detrimental to his health; and he contrived to write to his mother to rescue him on the voyage by means of a French squadron. Lannoy, however, having gained the confidence of Francis, communicated to him his real design; told him that the rigorous conditions prescribed for his release had been framed solely to gratify Bourbon; and succeeded in persuading him that at a distance from that insolent vassal he would find the Emperor disposed to be much more generous. Francis eagerly caught at these representations. Arrived at Genoa, he not only countermanded the sailing of the squadron which was to have attempted his rescue, but even ordered six French galleys from Marseille to transport the Spanish troops which were to form his escort. On the 8th of June sail was made, apparently for Naples, but when well out at sea the heads of the galleys were turned towards Spain. Francis was landed at Alicante, and was thence transferred to the fortress of Jativa, also in Valencia. Early in August he was brought to Madrid by the Emperor's orders.

The captivity of Francis was of the most rigorous kind. He was confined in a small chamber in one of the towers of the fortifications, having only a single window secured by double bars of iron, and at such a height from the floor, that it was necessary to mount upon a chair in order to view the surrounding country, comprising the arid banks of the Mançanares. He was strictly guarded; beneath his window two battalions kept watch day and night; he was not allowed to take the air except on a mule and

surrounded by guards; and instead of the friendly intercourse with the Emperor which he had been led to expect, Charles kept aloof at Toledo. The chagrin of this confinement, and vexation at having been duped by Lannoy, threw Francis into a dangerous sickness, which the physicians declared would be fatal, unless the Emperor granted him an interview. Francis's death would have deprived Charles of all the benefits which he expected, and at last, September 18th, he paid the captive a visit. "I am your Majesty's prisoner," exclaimed Francis, as he entered, at the same time doffing his bonnet. "Not so," replied Charles, as he embraced the French King and covered his head; "but my friend and brother. I have no wish but to set you at liberty, and provide you with every comfort you can desire."[1] He added many other kind words, which had the effect of reviving Francis's health and spirits; but a dreary interval of anxiety and suspense was still to be passed before he recovered his freedom.

Shortly afterwards he received another consolatory visit from his beloved sister, Margaret of Valois, the widowed Duchess of Alençon. Margaret was one of those clever and lively women in whom religious exaltation and spiritual mysticism are as much the result of a strong imagination as of devotional feeling, and exclude not, nay, rather foster, a propensity to mundane gallantry. Margaret had shown an early inclination for the doctrines of the Reformation, which she pushed to an extreme; so that, at a later period, she incurred the reproval of Calvin for the favour which she displayed towards the sect called the "Spiritual Libertines." Her influence was always exerted on behalf of the Reformers, some of whom she saved from the stake. After all, however, it is doubtful whether she ever really quitted the Roman communion, in which faith it is at least certain that she died. The strange constitution of her mind is well displayed in her *Heptaméron*, written when she was Queen of Navarre; the preface to which, describing, under the name of Dame Oisille, the daily routine of her religious exercises, forms a strange introduction to the equivocal tales which follow. The warmest affection had subsisted from infancy between Margaret and her brother: an affection said at one time to have been more than fraternal, and concealed by a veil which we shall not attempt to lift.[2]

Margaret's visit to Madrid was not, however, prompted solely

[1] Du Bellay, in Petitot, t. xviii. p. 310.
[2] See Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 175; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. viii. p. 83, note.

by sisterly affection. There was in it a dash of feminine speculation. She was a widow; Charles was in search of a consort; might not the almighty power of love procure at once liberty for her brother, for herself an Imperial Crown? We do not retail the gossiping scandal of the French or Spanish Court. Scarcely had the Duke of Alençon expired, when Louise, with an indiscretion and want of dignity for which even the important nature of the interests at stake presents but a feeble excuse, hastened to offer her daughter's hand to the Emperor.[1] Charles, intent on a match with a princess of Portugal, had not even vouchsafed a reply; but he promised Margaret a safe conduct; who, not perhaps without a secret confidence in the effect of a personal interview, resolved to offer up womanly pride and dignity on the altar of fraternal love. Furnished with full powers to treat of peace with the Spanish government, and accompanied by the veteran statesman Robertet, Margaret set out on her journey towards the end of August, and reached Toledo early in October, after paying a visit to her brother on the way. But both her political and her matrimonial projects were alike destined to be frustrated. The obdurate Charles was proof against all her charms, nor would he relax an iota of his demands, except with regard to Picardy. After some weeks of fruitless debates, and some attempts to procure the escape of the French King, which were discovered and frustrated, Francis dismissed his sister towards the end of November. He had previously taken a step which, if carried out, would have been as fatal as his death to Charles's hopes. He had signed a deed of abdication in favour of his son, the Dauphin Francis, appointing his mother, Louise, and in her default his sister, Margaret, Regent; reserving, however, if he should chance to recover his liberty, the right of reassuming the sovereignty by the *jus postliminii*.[2] But he had not resolution enough to carry out this heroic act. At the moment when his fellow captive Montmorenci, who had been ransomed, was to carry the document to France, the King instructed the French ambassadors in Spain to cede Burgundy (December 19th).[3] The Regent, apparently without consulting her council, had previously given them the same instructions, though with more regard to the interests of France; for the Emperor's investment was only to be provisional, and the fortresses were to be demolished.

[1] *Captivité*, p. 194.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 416 sqq.; Isambert, t. xii. p. 237.

[3] *Ibid.*, *Introd.* p. lvi.

Scarcely had Margaret quitted Toledo, when the Duke of Bourbon, in pursuance of an invitation which he had received from the Emperor, arrived at that capital.[1] The defection of Henry VIII. and of the Pope from his alliance caused Charles to court a prince whom he felt that he had too much neglected. The Emperor, attended by a large retinue, went out to meet Bourbon at the Tagus bridge, bestowed on him every mark of honour, and gave a series of fêtes and entertainments for his diversion, which strangely contrasted with Charles's studied neglect of Bourbon's Sovereign. But the Spanish nation sympathized as little as the French with a man who was bearing arms against his native land. At Marseille, where he had put in with his squadron, on pretence of getting some provisions, the people rose, and, in defiance of the Parliament of Aix, insisted that nothing should be supplied to the "traitor."[2] At Toledo, a Spanish grandee, the Marquis of Villena, whose hotel the Emperor had requested for Bourbon's use, replied that he could not refuse any demand of his Sovereign, but that he should burn down his polluted house as soon as the Duke had quitted it. In spite, however, of the public honours heaped upon Bourbon, the Emperor, in the arrangement which he was on the point of concluding with Francis, was ready to sacrifice the Duke's pretensions, and, on his own part, to content himself with the recovery of Burgundy, his maternal inheritance.

By the TREATY OF MADRID, signed January 14th, 1526, Francis *restored* to the Emperor the Duchy of Burgundy, the County of Charolais, and some other smaller fiefs, without reservation of any feudal suzerainty, which was also abandoned with regard to the Counties of Flanders and Artois, the Emperor, however, resigning the towns on the Somme, which had been held by Duke Charles the Bold. The French King also renounced his claims to the Kingdom of Naples, the Duchy of Milan, the County of Asti, and the Republic of Genoa. He contracted an offensive and defensive alliance with Charles, undertaking to attend him with an army when he should repair to Rome to receive the Imperial Crown, and to accompany him in person whenever he should march against Turks or heretics. He withdrew his protection from the King of Navarre, the Duke of Gelderland, and the La Marcks of Bouillon; took upon himself the Emperor's debt to England, and agreed to give his two eldest sons as hostages for the execution

[1] See his own MS. letter, quoted by Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 466.
[2] *Captivité*, p. 340 sq.

of the treaty. Instead, however, of the independent Kingdom which Bourbon had expected, all that was stipulated in his favour was a free pardon for him and his adherents,[1] and their restoration in their forfeited domains. Bourbon was even deprived of the promised hand of Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, which was now to be given to Francis, in pursuance of his demand. This was a delicate point in the negotiations, and Charles felt some embarrassment in communicating it to Bourbon. In the words of the English ambassador, "This overture made him (Bourbon) much to muse at the beginning, reputing himself frustrate of his chief hope. Afterwards, the greatness of the necessity was opened to him, and the lack of money on the Emperor's part to maintain the war, which was well known to him. Great offers were made to him. At last he said with his tongue that he was content, but whether he thought it in his heart, Heaven knoweth."[2] The "great offers" appear to have been a promise of the Duchy of Milan. This treaty Francis promised to execute on the word and honour of a King, and by an oath sworn with his hand upon the Holy Gospels;[3] yet only a few hours before he was to sign this solemn act, he had called his plenipotentiaries, together with some French nobles, secretaries, and notaries, into his chamber, where, after exacting from them an oath of secrecy, he entered into a long discourse touching the Emperor's harshness towards him, and signed a protest, declaring that, as the treaty he was about to enter into had been wrung from him by force, it was null and void from the beginning, and that he never intended to execute it:[4] thus, as a French writer has observed, establishing by an authentic notarial act that he was going to commit perjury.[5]

Treaties have often been shamefully violated, yet it would perhaps be impossible to parallel this gross and deliberate fraud. The treacherous thought appears to have occurred to Francis early in his captivity, but honour long struggled against it. His argument from compulsion is altogether futile. He appealed to the decision of force when he took up arms, and he was in the hands of Charles as a lawful prisoner of war. The usage regarding such prisoners was then very harsh. Even down to the time of Grotius, who flourished about a century after Francis, the custom

[1] The chief of them was Philibert of Chalon, Prince of Orange.

[2] Dr. Lee's *Letter* to Henry VIII., Jan. 26th, 1526, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 474. The treaty of Madrid is in Dumont, *Corps Dipl.* t. iv. pt. i. p. 399.

[3] "De bonne foi et parole de Roi, sur notre honneur et par notre serment, et pour ce que nous avons donné et touché corporellement aux S. Evangiles de Dieu."

[4] This protest will be found in Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 412.

[5] Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 275.

of making slaves of prisoners of war was not entirely obsolete, whilst ransom still continued to be the ordinary method of liberation, and was considered the most valuable booty of the victors.[1] The argument from force would go to the dissolution of most treaties of peace, which are rarely entered into except when one party has found itself compelled to accept unpalatable conditions; and though the terms imposed by Charles were harsh, and such as deprive him of the praise of generosity, yet this does not exculpate Francis in accepting, with the intention of evading, them. Nor could he plead patriotism in excuse, and the desire of benefiting his people. The question was purely personal, and he might have avoided any ill consequences to the French nation by adopting the course which he had once contemplated, and abdicating the throne in favour of his son.

On the other hand, the conduct of the Emperor was impolitic as well as ungenerous. His demands were too extravagant in comparison with his power to enforce them. Some of his best counsellors advised him either to march to Paris and dictate a peace under its walls, or to liberate Francis without conditions; not that they thought the terms imposed too hard, but the security for them inadequate; and they pointed out that the worst step of all was to dismiss the French King only half satisfied.[2] This last, however, was precisely the course adopted by Charles; and he soon found reason to repent it.

After the execution of the treaty, Francis was detained a month or two longer in Spain, during which he and the Emperor lived apparently on very good terms. On the 21st of February he set out for France, escorted by a guard. Charles accompanied him as far as Torrejo; and when they were about to part, said: "Brother, do you remember your agreement?" "Perfectly," replied Francis; "I could recite the whole treaty without missing a word." Charles then inquired if he was resolved to keep it? and Francis repeated his promise, adding, "If I infringe it, look upon me as a base and wicked man." The Emperor, whose pertinacity seems to indicate that he suspected his prisoner, and who might perhaps have heard something of his secret reservation, observed in conclusion: "I have only one thing to beg: if

[1] Grotius, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. iii. c. 14, § 9; Wheaton, *Hist. of the Law of Nations*, p. 162.

[2] See De Praet's *Letter*, Nov. 14th, 1525, in the *Négociations avec l'Autriche*, t. ii. p. 633 (*Documens inédits sur l'Hist. de France*): Cf. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 342. The Emperor's Chancellor, Gattinara, is said to have shown his disapproval of the treaty by refusing to sign it.

you mean to deceive me, let it not be with regard to my sister, your bride, for she will not be able to avenge herself."[1]

Francis arrived on the banks of the Bidasoa, March 18th, and in a boat moored in the middle of the river, between Irun and Hendaye, he was exchanged for his two sons, Francis and Henry, who were to remain in Spain, as hostages for the execution of the treaty. The tears started to his eyes as he embraced his children, but he consigned them without remorse to a long and dreary exile. No sooner was he on French ground than he sprang upon an Arab horse, and clapping spurs to it, rode at full gallop towards St. Jean de Luz, exclaiming as he waved his hand, "I am again a King!" Thence he proceeded to Bayonne, where he found his mother and all his Court anxiously awaiting his arrival.

Francis was not long in showing how he intended to observe the treaty of Madrid. Before he left Bayonne, the Emperor's envoys demanded its ratification, which he had engaged to effect immediately after his arrival in France; to which Francis replied that he must first consult the States of his Kingdom, as well as those of the Duchy of Burgundy. From Bayonne the Court proceeded to Bordeaux, and thence to Cognac, where it made some stay. When Lannoy arrived at this place to demand the fulfilment of Francis's engagements, the latter introduced him before the assembled princes, prelates, and nobles, who, in presence of the Imperial ambassador, pronounced their decision that the King could not alienate a province of his Kingdom, and that the oath which he had taken in his captivity did not abrogate the still more solemn one which had been administered to him at his coronation. The deputies of Burgundy also declared that they would resist by force of arms all attempts to sever them from France. It was not, however, a pure and simple refusal. Francis offered the Imperial ambassadors 2,000,000 crowns as compensation for Burgundy, and engaged faithfully to fulfil all the other articles of the treaty.[2] When Charles heard of this solemn farce, which had evidently been concerted between the French King and his States, he justly remarked that Francis could not thus shift his breach of faith upon his subjects; and that to fulfil his engagements it sufficed for him to return to Spain, as bound by the treaty, and again surrender himself a prisoner, when another

[1] This story, which rests upon the authority of Sandoval and other Spanish historians, has been questioned by Gaillard, *Hist. de François I.* t. iii. p. 346, but without adequate grounds. Cf. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 340.

[2] Martin, t. viii. p. 92.

arrangement might be effected.[1] But Francis was no Regulus. So far from thinking of the fulfilment of his treaty, he was at this moment negotiating with the Pope and other Powers for a combined attack upon the Emperor's Italian possessions. But the crooked and vacillating policy of Clement VII. was destined to bring on the Holy See one of the most terrible and humiliating disasters it had ever sustained; to explain which, it will be necessary to resume from a somewhat earlier period the thread of Italian affairs.

The victory of Pavia had spread alarm through all the Italian States which still retained their independence. The whole peninsula seemed to lie at the Emperor's mercy. Frunsberg, a zealous Lutheran, and other Imperial captains, advised an immediate attack upon the Pope, and the German troops took possession of the territory of Piacenza. The Italians began to think of a confederacy. The Venetians and Florentines armed and pressed the Pope to form a league under the protection of Henry VIII. Clement, who had been playing a double game, and already before the battle of Pavia had contracted a secret alliance with Francis, now co-operated with the Venetians in opening communications with Louise, the French Regent, who was requested to join the Italian league, and to unite with them the army of the Duke of Albany, which still remained intact on the frontier of Naples. But Clement at the same time dreaded the resentment of the Emperor, who had discovered his secret correspondence with Francis; and with his usual shuffling conduct, at the very moment that he was promoting the Italian league, he was also listening to the proposals of Lannoy. The negotiations between the Imperial and English Courts were not yet at an end; Wolsey assured Clement that his master would induce Charles to use his victory with moderation, and Bourbon told Cardinal de' Medici that the Papal dominions should be respected.[2] On the 1st April, 1525, a treaty was concluded at Rome between the Pope, the Emperor, and the Archduke Ferdinand, to which the English ambassador acceded, and the Roman See and other anti-Imperial Italian States were amerced in heavy contributions. When the Duke of Albany heard of this treaty, he deemed it useless to remain any longer in Italy, and with the connivance of the Pope embarked his army at Cività Vecchia.

[1] Ferron, lib. viii. p. 205.

[2] *Letter* of the Bishop of Bath to Wolsey, March 19th, and that of Bourbon to the Pope, March 24th, 1525; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. i. p. 428 sq.

The greatest discontent, however, continued to prevail among the Italians. The Imperial army, over which Charles had lost all control, was living at free quarters upon them; for the greatest Sovereign in Europe, and master of America besides, was unable to furnish their pay, which was six months in arrear. Charles could enslave his Spanish subjects, but he could not command their purses, and the Castilian clergy as well as the Cortes obstinately refused to grant any extraordinary supplies.[1] After the breach between Henry and Charles, Wolsey advised the Pope to complete the anti-Imperial Italian League; and when Clement refused to do so, he pushed on its conclusion with the omission of the Pope, proposed Henry VIII. as its head and protector, and at the same time urged the French to send an army into Italy. But Louise was also insincere. Although, to alarm the Emperor, she encouraged the advances of the Italians, she had secretly offered to abandon Italy to him as the ransom of her son; and at Christmas, 1525, she surprised the ambassadors with the intelligence that Francis was arranging a peace with the Emperor. The treaty of Madrid, however, did not prevent Francis from subsequently joining the Italians.

The Italian league was at last effected by means of a conspiracy. The Emperor, after many delays and evasions, had at length reinstated Francesco Maria Sforza in the Duchy of Milan, but on conditions which rendered him a mere puppet. The Duke's Chancellor, Morone, who was warmly attached to that Prince's interests, urged alike by affection and patriotism, formed the design of overthrowing the Imperialists by corrupting Charles's general, the Marquis of Pescara. The plot seemed feasible. Pescara was known to be offended by the removal of Francis, whom he regarded as his own prisoner, into Spain; an act which appeared to deprive him of the recompense justly due to his valour and conduct. He was, moreover, an Italian by birth, and might be supposed to view with regret the chains preparing for his country. Morone persuaded the Pope to enter into the plot, and this conspiracy must therefore be regarded as the foundation of the Holy League effected in the following spring.[2] The plan was not ill conceived. Should Pescara agree to it, his very treachery would bind him indissolubly to the Italian Powers, and the freedom of Italy would be conquered at a blow. A secret

[1] *Letters* of the English ambassadors from Toledo to Wolsey in April and June, 1525; ap. Turner, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 32 sq.

[2] Clement, to the surprise of Charles, afterwards avowed his complicity in a letter, June 23rd, 1526. See Raynaldus, t. xii. pp. 561, 563.

correspondence was opened with Pescara; he was informed that all the Italian Powers were ready to shake off the Imperial yoke and seat himself on the throne of Naples, provided he would achieve at once his own advancement and his country's freedom. What enterprise more easy or more certain of success? Bourbon and Lannoy were both absent in Spain; Pescara had the sole command of the Imperial army in Italy, and nothing was required but to disband it. But Morone had made a wrong estimate of Pescara's character. Although a Neapolitan by birth, he was a Spaniard by descent, and spoke only the Spanish language. His forefathers had helped to establish the Aragonese power in Naples; he himself had no sympathy with the Italian people, no tincture of their art and literature; his reading was confined to Spanish romances, which breathe only loyalty and devotion; above all, his pride lay in the command of the Spanish infantry. He knew all his men by name; he allowed them every licence, plundering included; he took nothing ill at their hands if they were but brave and ready in the hour of battle and danger. The proudest moments of his life were when, holding his drawn sword with both hands, he marched in their front, with broad German shoes and long streaming feathers in his helmet.

With the cunning which formed part of his character, Pescara did not absolutely repel Morone's advances; but he acquainted Antonio de Leyva, as well as the Imperial commissary of the Spanish Court, with them; and he was instructed to entrap the Milanese Chancellor by pretending to fall in with his designs. He accordingly invited Morone to an interview in the castle of Novara. Antonio de Leyva and other witnesses were posted behind the arras of the chamber in which it took place; and at the proper moment, Leyva stepped out, and arrested the astonished Chancellor (October 14th, 1525). Morone was brought to Pavia, where his intended accomplice acted as his judge: but his life was spared from the notion that he might be useful hereafter. In his confession he had implicated Duke Francesco Maria Sforza, who was now stripped of all his dominions, though he managed to retain possession of the citadel of Milan. Pescara died a few weeks after Morone's arrest, at the early age of thirty-six. He had distinguished himself as a poet as well as a captain. The Emperor now promised the Duchy of Milan to Bourbon.

Meanwhile the Pope, the Venetians, and Sforza, had formed a league against the Emperor with Francis I., then at Cognac.

The Florentines also joined it, but without binding themselves to all its conditions; and the Swiss were also reckoned on. By this confederacy, variously called the Holy League, the League of Cognac, and the Clementine League, Sforza was to be reinstated in the Duchy of Milan, paying annually 50,000 gold crowns to the King of France; the other Italian States were to resume their *status quo;* the Emperor was to be required to liberate the French Princes for a moderate ransom, to withdraw the greater part of his army from Italy, and to pay his debt to the King of England. If Charles refused to accept these terms, then Naples was to be wrested from him and made over to the Pope; who was to pay an annual sum to Francis, and to bestow large estates and revenues in that Kingdom on Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey. Henry VIII. did not indeed join the League, but he did all in his power to forward it, and promised to become its protector in case Charles refused to comply with the conditions. The League was signed by Francis at Cognac, May 22nd, 1526, and on June 24th he openly and solemnly avowed it at high Mass; while Lannoy, to avoid so insulting a defiance, went a hunting, and soon after departed for Spain.[1] The Pope subsequently forwarded to the French King an absolution from the oath which he had taken to the treaty of Madrid.[2]

The Italians were in general enthusiastic in favour of this League; even the Duke of Savoy was anxious to get rid of the Emperor's predominance in Italy. The people were prepared to rise; and it was thought that the pith of the Imperial army might be annihilated on the spot. Giberto, the *Datario* and confidant of Clement VII., writing to the Bishop of Veroli, says, "It is not a war that concerns a point of honour, a petty vengeance, or the preservation of a single city, but the deliverance or the eternal slavery of all Italy."[3] It was Clement's most magnanimous but most disastrous undertaking. In his zeal for Italian liberty, he overlooked, not only the inroads of the Turks, but also the progress of heresy in Germany: and thus the German Reformation acquired at the Diet of Spires a sort of legal existence. But Clement's transalpine confederates were not hearty and sincere. Henry VIII. could not be persuaded decidedly to embark in the League, whilst Francis was anxious to avoid a war with the Emperor, and opened separate negotiations with him for the

[1] *Despatch* of Sir Thomas Cheyney, the English ambassador, to Francis; ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 12.

[2] Pallavicini, lib. ii. c. 13, s. 6.

[3] *Lettere di Principi*, t. i. p. 193.

redemption of his sons.[1] He appointed indeed the Marquis of Saluzzo to command an army destined for Italy, but supplied him with only 4,000 Gascon troops, though he promised a speedy addition of 10,000 Swiss. His reverses had nearly deprived him of his ambition, and his whole course of life soon showed that, in becoming by perfidy again a King, he had been actuated rather by a desire to indulge in the pleasures which that lofty station enabled him to command, than to promote his own glory and his people's good. His whole time was spent in hunting, in magnificent fêtes, and in intrigues of gallantry, his ruling passion; and in pursuit of these pleasures he was impatient of being interrupted by affairs of state.[2] The Countess of Châteaubriand, from whom Francis had the meanness to demand back the trinkets with which he had presented her, had now been supplanted by a new mistress, Anne de Pisseleu, a maid of honour to his mother, who at the age of eighteen possessed the most dazzling beauty. To conceal her dishonour, Francis caused her to marry Jean de Brosses, the son of an adherent of Bourbon's, who was content to purchase pardon and advancement at the price of infamy. He became successively a Knight of St. Michael, Governor of Brittany, and Count and Duke of Etampes; under which last title Anne de Pisseleu shone at court, and became known to posterity.

The Emperor, meanwhile, whose character was of another stamp, had contracted a marriage of prudence. We have already seen that he had obtained from Henry VIII. a release from his engagement to the Lady Mary; and soon after the departure of the French King from Madrid, he proceeded to Seville, where he solemnized his marriage with Isabella, sister of John III., King of Portugal (March 12th, 1526). Charles was greatly in debt to Portugal, without whose money he acknowledged that he could not have carried on his wars. This match was highly acceptable to his Spanish subjects, nor was it disagreeable to himself; for Isabella was beautiful and accomplished, and he lived in perfect harmony with her till her death in 1529. The alliance was also viewed with pleasure by the Portuguese, who voted Isabella the extraordinary dowry of 900,000 crowns.[3]

[1] Dr. Taylor's *Letter* to Wolsey, July 17th, 1526; ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 15. On Sept. 7th the Pope sent a formal commission to offer Henry the protectorship of the League, which, however, was declined. Rymer, t. xiv. p. 187.

[2] Sanga, the Papal envoy, writing from Amboise in August, says: "All negotiation is very difficult here, as the king avoids everything likely to give him trouble and annoyance."—*Lettere di Principi*, t. ii. p. 8, verso. "Alexandre voyait les femmes quand il n'avait plus d'affaires; François voit les affaires quand il n'a plus de femmes," says Tavannes in his *Mémoires*.

[3] Robertson, *Charles V.* b. 4, p. 330.

At this period the policy of the English Court, conducted by Wolsey, was characterized by the grossest duplicity. In March, 1526, Sir Thomas Cheyney and others were sent on an embassy to Paris with instructions "to understand the conditions of the peace of Madrid, and to perceive how far the King, his mother, the nobles, and the people, were contented with it." Wolsey's real object was to involve France in a war with the Emperor. His envoys were furnished with minute and elaborate instructions, most artfully drawn up, to induce Francis still further to violate the treaty, and at the same time not to compromise the English Court with the Emperor;[1] with which view the ambassadors were to speak as if *suâ sponte*, and not from instructions. Both Henry and the Cardinal exhorted the French King not to observe obligations which would make him, they said, the mere servant of Spain.[2] One of Wolsey's points was to persuade Francis to violate that part of the treaty which stipulated a marriage between him and Eleanor, and to induce him to marry Henry's daughter, Mary, then only in her eleventh year. Francis received these advances with all due politeness; he even protested, on the faith of a gentleman, that he had felt a desire to espouse Mary before he went into Italy; but although Sir William Fitzwilliam was especially despatched to second the representations of the former ambassadors, the French King at last declared that both honour and conscience called upon him to fulfil his previous engagement, and that he could not hope for the liberation of his children except by completing his marriage with Eleanor.[3] Francis's marriage with the Lady Mary continued, however, to be pressed. It was seconded by the Papal Nuncio in France; it was called a holy union, for its anticipated service to the "Holy League," and early in 1527, the French King showed more symptoms of compliance, and sent for Mary's picture. Early in March he even despatched the Bishop of Tarbes to London to negotiate for the match; and a treaty was actually concluded, on the singular condition that either he, or his second son Henry, Duke of Orleans, should espouse the English Princess![4] But the French King seems at this very time to have been in communication with Eleanor; and it is needless to say that neither

[1] See abstract of the Instructions in Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 7 sq.

[2] Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 380. Wolsey was anxious to claim the merit of having advised Francis to break the treaty. See his *Despatch*, ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 13.

[3] Turner, *ibid.* pp. 25, 29.

[4] Rymer, t. xiv. p. 195. The Bishop of Tarbes increased during this visit Henry's scruples with respect to his marriage with Catharine. See the *Letter* of the Bishop of Bayonne, Le Grand, *Hist. du Divorce*, t. iii. p. 218.

marriage with Mary ever took place. The negotiations, however, excited considerable alarm at the Imperial Court. Wolsey seems also to have been contemplating, in March, 1526, a match between his royal master and Margaret of Alençon, the French King's sister; which shows that Henry's divorce from Catharine was already in agitation. The English ambassadors were instructed to address the warmest compliments to Margaret, and to press the King's suit. But that lady declined to entertain the proposals of Henry, who had still an undivorced wife, without whose degradation and misery her own nuptials could not be accomplished; and in January, 1527, she rendered such a project impossible by marrying Henry II., King of Navarre.[1] This last event was indirectly of great importance to England, as it released from Margaret's service Ann Boleyn, who subsequently returning to England, was married to the King, and contributed not a little to the progress of the Reformation in this country.[2]

Charles V. of course refused to accede to the Clementine League; yet Henry VIII. did not, therefore, become its head and protector as he had promised. Wolsey's policy at this juncture appears to have been to do the Emperor as much harm as possible, without actually breaking with him. All parties, in short, were playing false to one another. Francis, in spite of his engagements to the Clementine League, as well as of a compact which he had entered into with Henry that he would make no separate treaty with the Emperor, nor attempt to get back his sons from Spain, without at the same time providing for the payment of the Emperor's debt to England, was endeavouring to make a private arrangement with Charles.[3] When Wolsey heard of this, he instructed the Bishop of Worcester,[4] his special ambassador to the Spanish Court, to offer the mediation of England; but this was declined by Charles, who suspected that Wolsey's intention was only to foment mutual jealousy and

[1] Olhagaray, *Hist. de Foix et Navarre*, liv. iii. p. 488. Jeanne, the only surviving daughter of this marriage, was the mother of Henry IV.

[2] Ann Boleyn, who went to France in the suite of the Lady Mary on occasion of her marriage with Louis XII., subsequently remained at the Court of Claude, wife of Francis I.; and after Claude's death, in July, 1524, entered Margaret's service (Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 186). Her residence with that Princess must have served to nourish her evangelical notions.

[3] See the treaty of Hampton Court between Henry and Francis, Aug. 8th, 1526, in Rymer, t. xiv. p. 185; and Wolsey's *Letter* to King Henry VIII., August 11th, in *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 169. The English ambassadors in France told Wolsey, in December, that it was difficult to say what Francis meant to do, except to recover his sons "by the shortest way and most easiest thing."—*Letter* of Bath and Fitzwilliam; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 29.

[4] Jerome de' Ghinucci, an Italian.

bickerings. The ambassador was obliged to tell Wolsey frankly that the Emperor would not trust the King of England; and the Cardinal, who seems to have become alarmed at this not unnatural result of his crooked policy, condescended to the most abject submission in order to recover Charles's favour, whom he had so long pursued with the bitterest hostility.[1] Such was the great Cardinal's hypocrisy! Charles, in his turn, endeavoured to embroil Henry and Francis. Yet he did not repulse Wolsey's advances. He proposed to reward the Cardinal's labours with a pension and a present of 100,000 ducats, in addition to its arrears: which sums, however, were to come out of the French King's money. A further annuity of 12,000 ducats to Wolsey, and his heirs for ever, was to be added by the Duke of Bourbon out of the revenues of Milan![2] But a new turn was about to be given to all these complicated negotiations, by a catastrophe which none of the parties had foreseen.

Although the Italian confederates were at first unsupported either by French troops or English gold, yet, had they possessed an enterprising general, they might easily have mastered the Imperial army. This, which, in Bourbon's absence, was commanded by Antonio de Leyva and the Marquis del Guasto, numbered only 11,000 men, while the army of the League was more than double that force. But the Duke of Urbino, nominally the Venetian general and in effect the commander-in-chief, displayed an utter want of skill and resolution. Some of his first operations were, indeed, attended with success. He took Lodi (June, 1526), but neglected to relieve Francesco Maria Sforza, who was still blockaded in the Castle of Milan by the Imperial troops in possession of the town. Such was the state of things when the Duke of Bourbon returned from Spain, and took command of the Imperial forces. The citizens of Milan hailed with gladness the arrival of their newly-appointed master, for they had suffered from the Spaniards all the miseries of a town taken by storm. Sforza was at length obliged to capitulate (July 24th), when Bourbon assigned him Como as a residence; but as the Spanish garrison refused to evacuate that place, he was forced to proceed to the camp of the Allies, who put him in possession of Lodi. The citizens of Milan now intreated Bourbon to withdraw his troops, which he promised to do on receiving 300,000 crowns towards their pay. When that sum was raised, however, the

[1] Dr. Lee's *Letter* to Wolsey, March 7th, 1527; ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 38.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 41 sq.

Spaniards, who were encouraged by Leyva and Guasto, still refused to move; and such was the despair of the citizens at this frustration of their last hopes, that many are said to have committed suicide.

If the conduct of the Duke of Urbino was irresolute and unsoldier-like, that of the Pope, the head of the League, was equally indecisive. He showed himself mistrustful alike of his subjects and of his allies, now yielding to resentment, now to terror—at one moment preparing to take the field, and the next signing separate armistices. All his magnificent plans were threatened with defeat by one of the strangest accidents. While he was meditating the liberation of Italy he was unexpectedly made a prisoner in his own capital by one of his feudatories! He had made peace, as he thought, with his old enemies, the Colonna family, and had dismissed the troops required for the protection of his person, when, at the Emperor's instigation, Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, a man of resolute and ferocious character, having, with his kinsmen Vespasian and Ascanius Colonna, raised in their possessions near the frontier of Naples a body of about 8,000 retainers and adventurers, marched with them to Rome (September 20th). Clement had only time to fly from the Lateran to the Castle of St. Angelo; where, however, having no provisions, he was obliged to capitulate at the end of three days. The Spanish commander, Hugo de Moncada, whose intervention Clement was compelled to solicit, now dictated to him a truce of four months; while Colonna's followers pillaged St. Peter's and the Vatican, and carried off a booty of 300,000 ducats.

Clement was almost reduced to despair by this misfortune, and he thought of inducing all Christian Princes to undertake a crusade in his behalf; but from this notion he was dissuaded by the French King. Henry VIII. sent him 30,000 ducats; Francis also gave him money; and what was better still, that Sovereign's army, consisting of 10,000 or 12,000 French and Swiss, under the Marquis of Saluzzo, at last joined the Allies, just as the Papal troops were being withdrawn, conformably to the agreement with Moncada. Both the French and English Courts advised Clement not to observe the truce which had been forced upon him—counsel to which he was of himself sufficiently inclined.[1] He withdrew only his cavalry from Lombardy, under

[1] He told the Bishop of Bath that he intended to keep no part of the articles, "as the imperials had often broken their bonds with him."—Bath's *Letter* to Wolsey, October 10th, 1526; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 21.

pretence of his agreement, but really for his own protection at Rome, and he allowed all his infantry, under his kinsman John de' Medici, to remain with the allied army. With the money he had received Clement raised some troops and attacked the Colonnas, upon whom he took vengeance. The Cardinal was deprived of his dignity; the palaces of the family in Rome were levelled to the earth; and bands were sent forth into the provinces to ravage their farms and destroy their houses and gardens.

At the instance of Sanga, the Papal envoy at Paris, a French fleet was dispatched under command of Andrea Doria and Pedro Navarro, which having been joined by the Papal and Venetian squadrons, blockaded Genoa. But the attempt proved abortive, and on the 3rd of December, Navarro carried the allied fleet into Cività Vecchia. Shortly afterwards he assisted in an attempt to place Louis, Count of Vaudemont, brother of Antony, Duke of Lorraine, on the throne of Naples, as heir of the House of Anjou; but although Vaudemont succeeded in penetrating to Naples in February, 1527, with an army of 8,000 or 10,000 men, and made himself master of Salerno, want of money, in those times the cause of so many failures, obliged him to make a truce with Lannoy and disband his army.[1]

If the affairs of the Allies were not in a prosperous condition, those of Bourbon were hardly better, whose want of money constantly compelled him to resort to new stratagems and fresh acts of tyranny. One of them was to condemn Morone, still a prisoner at Milan, to lose his head; and, on the very day appointed for his execution, to sell him his life and liberty for 20,000 ducats. That intriguer now remained in Bourbon's service, and soon acquired over him the same influence that he had exercised over Duke Sforza. But no means sufficed to raise the required sums, and the troops began to pillage the churches. At length, however, a prospect of relief appeared.

The Emperor in his instructions of July 27th, 1526, which decided the recess of the Diet of Spires, had desired his brother to send an army into Italy; and as the affairs of Hungary required Ferdinand's personal superintendence, he made the celebrated captain, George Frunsberg, of Mindelheim, his lieutenant. Nothing could have been more welcome to Frunsberg than an expedition against the Pope; a feeling shared by multitudes of the German Lutherans. It was given out, indeed, for decency's

[1] Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* t. xv. p. 247. The Pope had conferred Naples and Sicily on Vaudemont. See Dr. Lee's *Letter* from Spain, ap. Turner, *ibid.* p. 110.

sake, that the expedition was intended against the Turk: but it was well understood that the Turk meant was no other than the Pope of Rome. Many of Charles's letters and manifestoes against Clement at this period might have been written by a zealous follower of Luther. Frunsberg was so ardent in the cause that he pawned his wife's jewels in order to raise money; and he is said to have carried in his pocket a golden cord with which to hang the Pope with all due honours.[1] Germany at that time swarmed with disbanded soldiers, who knew no other trade than war, and numbers of them flocked to Frunsberg's standard. Pay he could not offer them for more than a week or two, but he held out to them the prospect of plundering the unhappy Italians; and at the head of about 11,000 of these disciplined brigands he marched through Tyrol towards Lombardy. The pass leading to Verona was too well guarded to be attempted, and he therefore took the much more difficult route over the Sarca. Hence two ways presented themselves: one to the right, easy to be traversed, but closed by the pass of Anfo; the other to the left, a mere footpath among tremendous precipices, which a single peasant might have rendered impassable, but which the enemy had neglected. So fearful were the abysses over which it led that nobody dared look down. Several horses and men fell over in the passage, and were lost. Frunsberg traversed the path on foot, accompanied by some of his men who were most accustomed to such mountain routes, and who at the most difficult spots made a sort of railing for him with their spears. In this manner they arrived at Aa on the evening of the 17th of November, and on the following day at Sabbio. On the 19th they reached Gavardo, in the territory of Brescia, without having met with any opposition. The Duke of Urbino's army was too strong for them to attempt to pass the Oglio and march on Milan; and as they had no artillery wherewith to attack any of the neighbouring towns, their only resource was to cross the Po, in which direction the enemy was not in much force, and by marching up its right bank ultimately to form a junction with Bourbon. They had first to pass the Mincio at Governolo, where a smart skirmish took place, in which John de' Medici, in attempting to prevent their passage, received a mortal wound. He was only twenty-nine, but one of the best of the Italian captains. Frunsberg then pressed on to Ostiglia,

[1] This anecdote, which is related by P. Giovio, *Elogi degli huomini illustri*, lib. vi. p. 325 (Sotto il ritratto di Giorgio Fraispergo), and by other authorities, is, however, contradicted by Frunsberg's biographer, Reisner, Buch v. S. 95.

where he crossed the Po, and marching up the course of that river, arrived in the neighbourhood of Piacenza, December 28th. Here he had to wait more than six weeks, till at last Bourbon succeeded in joining him at Firenzuola, bringing with him from Milan the greater part of his troops (February 12th, 1527), consisting of about 5,000 Spanish, and 2,000 Italian infantry, and 1,500 cavalry. The united army, therefore, amounted to near 20,000 men.

Many wild and unnecessary conjectures[1] have been hazarded respecting Bourbon's motives for the resolution which he now adopted of marching to Rome. It may, perhaps, suffice to reflect that the state of his army compelled him to some enterprise to provide them food and pay; that the capture of Rome was as easy or easier than any other; that he would thus strike a blow at the head of the League, and in the event of success secure his followers a rich booty; that if unsuccessful, he might still march forward into the Neapolitan dominions, where he would be secure; that the Germans, who formed the greater portion of his army, had come into Italy with the express determination of attacking the Pope, and that Bourbon was moreover advised to proceed to Rome by the Duke of Ferrara, his only Italian ally.

The united army broke up from their camp at Firenzuola, February 22nd, and took the road to Rome in six divisions. The news of Bourbon's march alarmed the Pope, and hence, although his troops had gained some advantages in the Neapolitan territories, he was disposed to listen to fresh proposals of the Viceroy Lannoy for a truce, which was accordingly concluded in March. The Pope required that Bourbon's army should retire into Lombardy, to which Lannoy agreed, though it does not appear that any money, or, at all events, only a very inadequate sum, had been offered by Clement for the satisfaction of Bourbon's soldiers.[2] It was not probable that such a treaty would be ratified by any party; above all it was unacceptable to the Imperial army. The pay of the Spanish troops was eight months in

[1] Among them is, that being discontented with the Emperor, Bourbon intended to march to Naples and seize that Kingdom for himself. Von Raumer, *Gesch. Europas*, B. i. But there are no traces of any misunderstanding between him and Charles; and his last instructions to his confessor, before his fatal assault on the Roman walls, show him anxious to promote the interests of the Emperor (Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 393 f.). Frunsberg's biographer attributes Bourbon's march to the less splendid but more probable motive of want of provisions. (*G. Frunsberg's Kriegsthaten*, Buch v. S. 105.)

[2] According to Guicciardini, lib. xviii., the Pope engaged to pay 60,000 ducats; but no article of this kind appears in the treaty (in Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.* B. iii. S. 604). There might, however, have been secret articles. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 384.

arrear, and they, like the Germans, had fixed their hearts on the plunder of Rome. The appearance of Cesare Fieramosca, who came to propose the truce to Bourbon at S. Giovanni, near Bologna, was the signal for uproar and mutiny. Fieramosca was glad to escape from the enraged soldiery with his life; the person of Bourbon himself was threatened, his tent plundered, his best apparel thrown into a ditch. The Spaniards, who were the ringleaders, infected the Germans with their discontent, and excited them with cries of *Lanz! Lanz! Geld! Geld!*[1] their only words of German. In this trying hour the veteran George Frunsberg relied on the affection of his lanceknights. The drums sounded a parley; a ring was formed, and Frunsberg stepped into the middle, accompanied by the Prince of Orange and other distinguished officers. Frunsberg addressed the threatening masses, recalled to their memory how he had shared in their prosperous and adverse fortune, and with mild and prudent words promised them satisfaction. They answered only with cries of *Geld! Geld!* and levelled their spears against Frunsberg and his officers. The disobedience of his troops, whom he regarded as his children, overpowered the veteran commander who had faced danger in every shape. He was seized with a fit, and sank speechless and apparently lifeless on a drum. At this sight the hearts of those rugged soldiers relented. The fate of their beloved captain produced the tranquillity which his words had failed to command; the spears were raised, the orders of the captains obeyed, and those bands, but now so tumultuous, separated in silence and sorrow. After three or four days Frunsberg recovered his speech, but he was never again in a condition to head his troops, and in a few weeks he died. He could only recommend Bourbon and the army to one another. The soldiers no longer demanded money; their only cry was, "To Rome! to Rome!"

Bourbon's march was resumed; but it was slow. He did not reach Imola till April 5th. Thence he proceeded by the Val di Bagno over the Apennines, descending between the sources of the Arno and the Tiber. It was doubtful whether the blow would fall on Florence or Rome. A large proportion of the Florentines would willingly have seen their city taken by the Germans, thinking that such an event might release them from their servitude to the Pope. Cardinal Passerini, who governed them for Clement, had been afraid to arm the people; and when at last

[1] Lance! Lance! Money! Money!

they obtained arms they rose in rebellion, and shut the gates against the Duke of Urbino.[1] But they were soon induced to return to obedience. Lannoy went to Florence in person, and obtained from the citizens a promise of 150,000 crowns; with which offer he proceeded, towards the end of April, to the camp of Bourbon; but the soldiery raised their demands to 240,000 crowns, and displayed such menacing symptoms that Lannoy deemed it prudent to make his escape. About the same time the Pope, at the instigation of the English and French ambassadors, and disgusted, perhaps, with the exorbitant demands of Bourbon's army, renounced the truce with the Viceroy, and renewed his alliance with the League; although he had dismissed the greater part of his troops and left his capital almost defenceless.[2]

Bourbon now put his intentions beyond all doubt by taking the high road to Rome and marching on Arezzo. His army had been increased by the flocking to it of bandits and other disorderly characters, and the Duke of Ferrara had supplied him with some artillery. There was nothing to oppose his march to Rome; for the army of the Duke of Urbino, which hung at a respectful distance in his rear, seemed only to drive him on. It appears from Charles's letters to Lannoy and Bourbon at this period, that he was fully aware of the latter's intention: though the same documents show that he did not originally suggest it. He utters, however, not a single word of disapproval; on the contrary, he seems well satisfied that terms should be dictated to the Pope in his capital, and compensation procured for the expenses of the war.[3] Florence also was not to be spared. The Emperor therefore shared the feelings of the army. He had, indeed, prepared a ratification of Lannoy's treaty with the Pope, to be used in case the army had done nothing to extort better terms; a step which the conduct of the Pope himself had rendered useless.

Martin du Bellay, the author of the Memoirs, who had posted from Florence to apprise Clement of Bourbon's advance, found him in the greatest trepidation.[4] To add to his fear, a fanatical prophet, a Sienese of middle age, red-haired, haggard, meagre,

[1] *Sacco di Roma*, p. 135 sqq. (ed. 1664). This work, which is commonly ascribed to Fr. Guicciardini, was probably the production of his nephew. It has also been attributed to Jacopo Buonaparte, of Sanminiato, and to Benedetto Varchi. See Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 53.

[2] "It is not to be thought little, considering the Pope's fearful nature, to have returned him into the war."—*Letter* of the English ambassadors to Wolsey, from Rome, April 26th, 1527. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 75, note: Cf. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 391.

[3] See the extracts in Bucholtz, *Ferd. I.* B. iii. S. 66 ff.

[4] Du Bellay, liv. iii.

and naked, perambulated the streets of Rome, vociferating abuse in the ears of the Pope himself, predicting his fall and that of the City, and the subsequent reformation of the Church.[1] The Papal troops were deserting by fifties and hundreds, and there was no money to levy more. Clement at first steadily rejected the advice of the English ambassadors to raise funds by the sale of Cardinal's hats. Ultimately he made six Cardinals for 40,000 crowns a piece;[2] but the money was not readily forthcoming; and the only recruits that could be had were shopboys, tapsters, and such like persons. It is said that a great part of the population would have been glad to see Rome in possession of the Emperor, whose splendid Court would have been more favourable to trade than the dominion of the clergy.[3] Clement intrusted the defence of Rome to Du Bellay and Renzo da Ceri. Bourbon appeared before it on the evening of May 5th, and sent a trumpet to demand admittance and an unmolested passage to Naples; but as his artillery had not yet come up, the Pope determined to resist. It was thought that the army of the League must soon arrive, and that want of provisions would compel the assailants to a speedy retreat. The same reasons suggested to Bourbon the necessity for prompt measures; and at daybreak on the morrow, under cover of a thick fog, he gave orders for the assault, which was made on that part of the City on the west of the Tiber, called the Borgo di S. Pietro, between the Janiculum and the Vatican. The resistance was greater than had been anticipated, and Bourbon, seeing his troops waver, seized a ladder, and was planting it against the wall when he was struck by a shot in the side. He felt that the wound was mortal, and ordering himself to be wrapped in his mantle, that the army might not perceive his loss, in this way died at the foot of the walls while the assault was still proceeding.[4] A party of Spaniards effected an entrance through a loophole near the base of the walls, which, being partly concealed by rubbish, had escaped the notice of the garrison; and they advanced into the City with cries of "Spain! Spain! Kill them! Kill them!" At this unexpected apparition Renzo was seized with a panic, and exclaiming, "The enemy are within!" sullied his former military reputation by a disgraceful flight towards the Ponte Sisto.[5]

[1] *Sacco di Roma*, p. 174.
[2] Turner, *Henry VIII.* t. ii. p. 80 sq.
[3] Vettori, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* p. 324.
[4] Benvenuto Cellini pretends, in his *Autobiography*, that it was he who shot Bourbon. He likewise asserts that he killed the Prince of Orange; but no reliance can be placed on the assertions of this eccentric artist.
[5] *Sacco di Roma*, p. 188 sqq.

More soldiers pressed in, over the walls and through the gates. In Rome all was flight and consternation. At this anxious moment Clement was at prayer in his chapel, when, hearing that the assault had succeeded, he traversed a long corridor that led from the Vatican to the Castle of St. Angelo. Paolo Giovio, the historian, who accompanied him, threw his violet mantle over the Pope's white robe, placing also his own hat on Clement's head, to prevent him from being recognized. The Pontiff might have escaped over the bridge of St. Angelo, not yet occupied by the enemy, had he not been too fearful to proceed beyond the fortress.[1] A promiscuous throng of Cardinals, prelates, nobles, citizens, ladies, priests, and soldiers, also pressed into the Castle, and rendered it difficult to lower the portcullis.

Although flushed with success and without a commander, yet the instinct and habit of long discipline withheld that savage soldiery from plunder till they had endeavoured to make terms with the Pope. Their demands now rose to 300,000 crowns, and possession of the Trastevere as security for the payment. The infatuated Clement, who at this eleventh hour still clung to the hope of being rescued by the army of the League, the van of whose cavalry might be discerned in the distance, persisted in rejecting all proposals. After four hours' rest the Imperialists resumed operations. The Trastevere was soon taken; the bridges over the Tiber were stormed, and before night all Rome was in their power. They remained, however, under arms till midnight, the main body of the Spaniards occupying the Piazza Navona, while the Germans were arrayed in the Campo di Fiori; when, no enemy appearing, they rushed forth to rapine, lust, and murder, and all those deeds which are best hid as well as perpetrated under the pall of night. This, however, was but the initiation of their crimes and orgies. During many weeks Rome was one continued scene of plunder, rape, and massacre. In these excesses the soldiers of each nation displayed their characteristic qualities; and whilst the Germans principally indulged themselves in eating and drinking, the Spaniards and Italians perpetrated the more violent kinds of mischief. These horrors were relieved by some ludicrous incidents. The German Lutherans dressed themselves up to represent the Pope and his Cardinals, and rode round the City mounted on asses. One of these processions halted before the Castle of St. Angelo; the mock Pope, drinking off a huge glass of wine, gave his Cardinals

[1] P. Giovio, *Vit. di Pomp. Colonna*, p. 173. Raumer's *Briefe aus Paris*, Th. i. S. 255.

his blessing; the Cardinals received it on their knees and responded in the same fashion. Then they formed themselves into a consistory; declared that henceforward they would have a Pope who should be more obedient to the Emperor, and elected Luther to the office, amid shouts which must have penetrated to the ears of Clement.[1] With characteristic bigotry, the Spanish soldiers, though stained with blood and crimes of every description, regarded the mockery of the priests by the Germans with superstitious horror, as the greatest of all ungodliness. It is needless to say that churches as well as palaces were plundered; the Italians themselves under Pompeo Colonna had done the same. Even the tomb of St. Peter was ransacked, and a golden ring taken from the finger of the corpse of Julius II. The booty was immense. For centuries the wealth of Europe had been flowing towards Rome, and it now became the prey of that brutal and needy soldiery which, in expectation of this hour, had so long borne with privations and misery. Many suddenly became so rich that they would stake 200 florins on a single throw of the dice. Fortunately for the Roman nobles, after a few days Cardinal Pompeo Colonna came to Rome and protected them against the worst excesses of the enemy. The chief officers of the Imperial army occupied the Vatican; the Prince of Orange, whom the soldiers had elected their commander-in-chief, was lodged in the apartments of the Pope.[2]

Meanwhile Clement was still anxiously awaiting his deliverance. Every night three signals were made from the Castle of St. Angelo that it still held out; but though the Duke of Urbino was at length in the immediate vicinity of Rome, he did not attempt its relief. His former conduct seems to have been the effect of irresolution and cowardice: he was now perhaps also actuated by motives of revenge, and may have viewed with secret satisfaction the misfortunes of one of that Medicean house who had formerly been his mortal adversaries. Such was the slowness with which he had advanced, that although he knew of the capture of Rome when at Orvieto on the 11th of May, he did not reach Nepi till the 22nd. He soon withdrew his army without having made the slightest attempt to relieve the Pope, and Clement was obliged to renew negotiations with Lannoy, who

[1] Reisner, *Frunsberg's Kriegsthaten*, S. 155, verso.

[2] Besides the usual historians of the period, and the works quoted in the margin, the following may be consulted for the sack of Rome: Ἅλωσις *Romæ*, in Hoffmann, *Script.* t. i.; *Comm. de capta urbe Roma*, in Schardius, *Script.* t. ii.; Paradin, *Hist. de notre temps*, p. 62 sqq. (ed. 1550).

had arrived in Rome. After a month's captivity he effected a capitulation on worse conditions than those previously offered (June 5th, 1527). He engaged to renounce all alliances against the Emperor; to remain a prisoner, together with the thirteen Cardinals who had accompanied him into the Castle of St. Angelo, till he had paid the Imperial army 400,000 ducats; and to place Ostia and Cività Vecchia, as well as Modena, Parma and Piacenza, in the hands of the Imperialists as security for the payment. When Sultan Solyman heard of these events he remarked that the Turks had not treated the Patriarch of Constantinople with half the contumely which the Christians had displayed towards their Holy Father.

The Pope's discomfort was increased by the intelligence that the Florentines had availed themselves of Bourbon's advance to expel the Medici, throw down their statues and confiscate their property; and that they were endeavouring under the protection of France to restore the Republic of Savonarola. The young Ippolito and Alessandro de' Medici, accompanied by Cardinal Passerini, Pope Clement's administrator, were thus driven out of Florence[1] (May 27th, 1527), whence they proceeded to Lucca. This defection of his native city affected Clement even more than the capture of Rome. He learnt at the same time that the Venetians had treacherously recovered Ravenna and Cervia, and that the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara had, under various pretexts, seized several places in the Papal dominions. In Rome itself, people no longer talked of the Apostolic, but of the Imperial, chamber; while the German troops, nay, perhaps, some of the Roman citizens themselves, were in hopes that the young Emperor would take up his residence in the former capital of the world.

Charles, into whose hands the fortune of war had thus consecutively thrown two of the greatest potentates of Europe, was not slow to perceive all the advantages of the conjuncture; but, in his outward behaviour, he assumed the appearance of his usual moderation. He affected the profoundest sympathy for the Pope's misfortune, countermanded the fêtes for celebrating the birth of his son Philip, and put himself and his court into mourning. But while by Charles's order prayers were offering up in the Spanish churches for the Pontiff's deliverance, the Emperor does not appear to have taken any steps towards effecting it; and the Imperial captains took care that Clement should

[1] Capponi, *Storia della Rep. di Firenze*, lib. vi. c. 8 (vol. iii. p. 213, ed. 1876).

not be liberated till he had paid down the stipulated sums. Charles, no doubt, was again playing the hypocrite; yet it should be recollected that he was dealing with a personage who himself assumed a double character; and that while the Emperor was bound to reverence the Pope as the Vicar of Christ and father of the Faithful, he might rejoice over his humiliation as a temporal Prince who had often opposed him with arms, and still oftener deceived him by negotiations. It was a crisis in the affairs of Europe, as well as in those of the Emperor himself. Everything depended on the course Charles might adopt. Should he press his advantages against the Pope and reign in his stead, as his grandfather Maximilian had once contemplated doing? Or, should he revert to the old traditional policy, which linked together the interests of the Holy Roman See and Holy Roman Empire? In order to appreciate the policy which guided him in choosing between these alternatives, we must recall to mind the actual state of affairs.

First, there was the great Eastern question. The Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, claimed the Crowns of Bohemia and Hungary; but as Hungary had been overrun by the Turks, who now threatened even the existence of the Empire, it seemed probable that no adequate defence could be organized without conciliating the German reformers and obtaining their hearty co-operation; and this had been one of the motives for the favourable recess of the Diet of Spires. By that recess, as well as by letters and manifestoes, Charles had already in a considerable degree committed himself to an anti-Papal policy in Germany; and there can be little doubt that, had he placed himself at the head of the German reformation, holding as he did the Pope in his power, and being assisted by popular opinion, he might have succeeded in wholly exterminating the remains of Papistry in that country. Thus he might have established his Empire firmly both in Germany and Italy, and presented an impenetrable barrier to the Turks. Some schemes of this sort appear at first to have been actually floating in his mind. He expressed his confidence that his army might make a favourable convention with the Florentines; then encamp in the Venetian territory, and, with the aid of the Duke of Ferrara, who was to be named captain-general, dictate a peace to that haughty Republic.[1] Nay, he even contemplated bringing the Pope, like Francis previously, a prisoner into Spain; and Hugo de Moncada, now Viceroy of Naples, appears

[1] *Letter* of Charles, June 30th, 1527, ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. ii. S. 401.

actually to have invited Alarcon, the officer to whom, by a singular fortune, the custody of the Pope, like that of Francis previously, was intrusted, to convey Clement to Gaeta. But the Spanish conscience of that officer, though it felt no repugnance at keeping the Pope a prisoner, revolted at the idea of "leading about captive the body of God."[1]

On the other side, however, were many reasons which dissuaded Charles from acting too harshly towards the Pope. His brother Ferdinand's possession of Hungary was threatened, not only by the Turks, but also by Zapolya and his party; it could not but be advantageous to the House of Austria in the struggle for the Hungarian Crown, that their cause should be espoused by the Church; and in fact, Clement was afterwards induced to excommunicate Zapolya and his adherents. Even in Germany itself there was still a mighty Catholic party, and especially a numerous and powerful hierarchy, at the head of which were the three ecclesiastical Electors. In short, the Papacy and the Empire were so closely linked that, according to the remark of Zwingli,[2] one could not be assailed without attacking the other. Charles, moreover, was King of Spain as well as German Emperor, and his Spanish subjects were bigoted Papists, who would have viewed with horror the abasement of their spiritual Head. The Spanish grandees, temporal as well as spiritual, who visited the Court, reminded Charles of the devotion of their nation towards the Holy Father: the Papal Nuncio talked of suspending all ecclesiastical functions in Spain; the prelates, clothed in mourning, were to appear before the Emperor to demand from him the Vicar of Christ, and the Court had to prevent so striking a demonstration.[3] Charles's ministers, too, were in favour of Clement's liberation; and another question to be considered was the King of England's divorce, which had already begun to be canvassed; a matter in which the Pope had power to do the Emperor serious harm. Nor was it possible entirely to disregard the opinion of Europe, which regarded the sack of Rome and captivity of the Pontiff with real or affected indignation. With a view to exculpate himself, Charles issued circular letters to all the Courts of Europe, dated at Valladolid, August 2nd, 1527, in which he explained how much he had been provoked by Clement;

[1] Guicciardini, lib. xviii.; the Emperor's *Instructions* to Peter de Verey, Baron de Mont St. Vincent, in Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.* B. iii. S. 97 ff.

[2] Ap. Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iv. S. 107.

[3] Pallavicini, lib. ii. c. 14, s. 12.

endeavoured to prove that faith had been broken with him; asserted that he had never authorized Bourbon's march to Rome; that Bourbon's soldiers, though carrying the Imperial flag, scarcely recognized the Emperor's authority; and that their leader having fallen in the first assault, it was no longer possible to retain them in obedience.[1] In which he seems to prove too much. For, if Bourbon's expedition was beyond his control, it was hardly necessary to exculpate himself by alleging his grievances against the Pope.

Charles's own bigotry, however, was probably as weighty as any reasons of State. His Spanish blood, his education under the scholastic Adrian, his early manhood passed in Spain, all tended to subordinate him to Rome. His enmity to the Pope, and opposition to him in Germany, were founded on temporal considerations only, and vanished with the occasion of them. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that Charles, in instructing his ambassador to the captive Pope, talks of the necessity of uprooting the heretical sect of Luther.[2] At length, November 26th, 1527, a treaty was concluded. Clement was to be liberated on condition of paying between 300,000 and 400,000 ducats, and undertaking never again to interfere in the affairs of Naples and the Milanese; he was to call a General Council for reformation of the Church and extirpation of Lutheranism; to admit Imperial garrisons into Ostia, Cività Vecchia, and Cività Castellana; and to surrender Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici, as hostages for the performance of the treaty. It is also said that he promised not to grant Henry VIII.'s divorce, but no article to this effect was inserted in the treaty. Clement escaped from the Castle of St. Angelo, in the disguise of a servant, in the night of the 9th of December, before the day appointed for his liberation, and probably with the connivance of his guard. He proceeded to Orvieto, where he remained till the following October.[3]

The news of the sack of Rome and captivity of Clement produced a great sensation in England and France. Wolsey ordered prayers to be offered up in every church for the Pope's deliverance, and the observance of a three days' fast; but the people

[1] *Lettere di Principi*, t. ii. p. 234 sq. Cf. Raynaldus, t. xiii. p. 13. Charles had previously told the English ambassadors, "with his hand often laid upon his breast, that these things were done not only without any commission given by him, but also against his will, and that to his much displeasure and sorrow."—*Despatch* of June 27th; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 119.

[2] In Bucholtz, *Ferdinand I.* B. iii. S. 99.

[3] Belcarius, p. 604; Pallavicini, lib. ii. c. 14. s. 14, and c. 16; Le Grand, *Hist. du Divorce*, t. iii. p. 48 sqq.

would not keep it. There was already a strong anti-Papal feeling abroad among the English. They remarked that the Pope was a ruffian, and not fit for his holy office; that he had begun the mischief, and was rightly served. The King himself observed to Wolsey, that the war between the Pope and Emperor was not for the faith but only for temporal possessions and dominions, and intimated that his support of Clement would be confined to pecuniary aid.[1] The King of France talked of establishing a separate Popedom or Patriarchate in his dominions now that the Pope was in the power of his adversary; it was even said that Wolsey was to be the head of it, who was undoubtedly striving to extend his own ecclesiastical power on the Pope's ruin; and the Imperial minister offered him a legatine power in Lower Germany. But it was mere talk.

Just previously to the taking of Rome, Henry VIII. and Francis I. had concluded the treaty of Westminster (April 30th, 1527), the principal object of which was to make a diversion in favour of Italy by carrying the war into the Netherlands with an army composed of one-third English and two-thirds French. Provision was also made for the liberation of the young French princes and for the payment of the debt to England. Henry renounced his pretensions to the French Crown, in consideration of an annual pension of 50,000 gold crowns to him and his successors.[2] The fall of Rome gave a new aspect to affairs, and the preceding treaty was modified by another, May 29th, by which it was further agreed that a French army of 30,000 men should invade Italy, and that England should contribute 30,000 crowns a month to its support.

In order to concert the necessary measures, as well as to draw closer the bonds of union between the two countries, and if possible to strengthen them by a marriage between Henry VIII. and a French princess, Wolsey undertook an embassy into France. This was the last of the haughty Cardinal's public negotiations and also the most splendid. Early in July he passed in state through the streets of London, followed by a body of 1,200 lords and gentlemen on horseback, all dressed in black velvet livery coats, and having for the most part massy chains of gold around their necks. These, again, were followed by their servants in tawny livery. The Cardinal's own equipage was as magnificent as ecclesiastical pomp could make it. The imposing and theatrical effect of his progress was heightened by a little piece of acting.

[1] Hall, p. 727 sq. [2] Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 472.

At Canterbury, Wolsey caused the cathedral monks to sing the litany in choir, while he knelt on a stool at the choir door, weeping very tenderly "for grief that the Pope was in such calamity and danger of the lanceknights."[1] On landing at Calais he announced himself as the King's Lieutenant-General, thus adding military dignity to ecclesiastical state. When he set forth from that town his train was more than a mile in length. He would willingly have dazzled the eyes of the Parisians with his magnificence; but such a display was not agreeable to the French Court, and under pretence of civility, Amiens was chosen for the conference. Francis kept the Cardinal waiting some days at Abbeville, and it was not till August 3rd that they met at Amiens. Francis did him honour by going out to meet him; and Wolsey asserted his ecclesiastical pre-eminence by causing his throne in the church to be raised three steps higher than that of the King. After a fortnight spent in festivities the treaty of Amiens was concluded (August 18th), by which Henry repeated his renunciation of the French Crown in consideration of the pension before mentioned;[2] Francis was to be at liberty to marry the Emperor's sister Eleanor, and the Duke of Orleans was to espouse the Lady Mary. The treaty also settled the sums to be advanced by Henry towards the war.[3] Another treaty declared that the Pope, while a prisoner, could not convoke a General Council; that all bulls issued during his detention, if prejudicial to England or France, were null and void; and that Wolsey, with assistance of the English prelates, should have power to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of England.[4] A like regulation was adopted with regard to France.

After the completion of these treaties Wolsey proceeded to Compiègne to arrange, if possible, a more private and delicate matter—a marriage, namely between Henry VIII. and the Princess Renée, then in her seventeenth year, the younger sister of the late Queen Claude. In this affair, however, the Cardinal was not successful. As daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of

[1] Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, ch. xiii. For some excuses for Wolsey's pomp see Mr. Brewer, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.* vol. iv. Introd. p. cclxi. sq.

[2] It is almost needless, however, to observe, that the title of "King of France" was retained by English Sovereigns till the Irish union, at the beginning of the present century.

[3] Rymer, t. xiv. p. 203 sqq. 218 sqq.; Dumont, t. iv. pt. i. p. 487. The treaty of Amiens refers to the treaties of April 30th and May 29th.

[4] Rymer, *ibid.* p. 212 sqq. The ratification of the treaty of Amiens, written on ten leaves of vellum, signed by Francis, and countersigned by his minister, Robertet, is preserved in the Chapter House at Westminster. It is one of the most beautiful specimens of the MSS. of the period.

Brittany, Renée had a reversion in that Duchy which Francis would have been ill pleased to see transferred to the English Crown. A few months later Renée married the eldest son of the Duke of Ferrara, afterwards Hercules II. Duke Alfonso was thus detached from the Imperial interest, and signed a treaty with France, by which the marriage of his son was arranged. Like her kinswoman, Margaret of Navarre, Renée was devoted to literature and science, but her studies were deeper, and to a knowledge of languages she added geometry, astronomy, and philosophy. From Margaret she had imbibed a love for the doctrines of the Reformation; her court at Ferrara became the centre of what little progress the new doctrines ever made in Italy, and occasionally afforded shelter to some of their most eminent professors, among whom may be mentioned Calvin, and the poet Clement Marot. The proposed marriage of Henry VIII. involved of course a divorce from Catharine, and it was at Compiègne that Wolsey opened to the King's mother Louise his schemes on that subject. It is difficult to say when this divorce was first contemplated, but it is certain that it must have been in Henry's mind at least a year before, and probably two or three; as it appears from a letter of the Bishop of Bath, 13th September, 1526, that negotiations for it were even then going on with the Court of Rome.[1] Wolsey did not quit France till towards the end of September. The Emperor, alarmed at these negotiations, and at the threatened invasion of Italy, would willingly have concluded a peace with Francis on the terms offered in the preceding year, but the French King rejected all his proposals.

Towards the end of July a French army under Lautrec entered Italy, and at the same time Genoa was blockaded by a French fleet under Andrew Doria, while Cæsar Fregoso invested it by land. Thus besieged by the two banished chiefs of the French party, the Genoese capitulated, expelled the Doge, Antonietto Adorno, and admitted Theodoro Trivulzio, a nephew of the famous captain, as Governor in the name of Francis I. Lautrec's progress was equally successful. He rapidly overran all the country west of the Ticino, and took Pavia by assault (October, 1527), which, in revenge of its obstinate resistance two or three years before, was sacked with circumstances of great barbarity. But instead of attempting the conquest of the Milanese, he gave out that he intended to liberate the Pope, who was still confined in St. Angelo; and crossing the Po he marched southwards, and went into

[1] See Brewer, *ubi supra*, p. ccxxiii.

winter quarters at Bologna. When he resumed his march in January, 1528, the Pope was already free. The Imperial army, under the Prince of Orange, which had been reduced by various causes to half its original number, evacuated Rome on Lautrec's approach, and retreated towards Naples, making only a slight show of resistance at Troja. The French advance was accompanied with the greatest excesses and cruelties. At the end of April they appeared before Naples, which they immediately invested. Hugo de Moncada, who had been appointed Viceroy on Lannoy's death in September, 1527, having put to sea with the Marquis del Guasto and many of the nobility, with a small fleet, in order to drive off Filippino Doria, who was cruising in the Gulf of Salerno, received a signal defeat, in which he himself was slain, Guasto taken prisoner, and most of the Spanish vessels either captured or sunk (May 28th). Doria being joined by twenty-three Venetian galleys, now blockaded Naples by sea; and that city being thus invested on all sides, so great a famine ensued, that an egg was sold for a real, and a fowl for a ducat. But the improvidence of Francis again marred all his prospects of success. Though prodigal in his own pleasures, he neglected to supply Lautrec with the funds necessary for his army's maintenance. His treatment of Andrew Doria was still more impolitic. Montmorenci, who enjoyed the revenues of the harbour of Savona, set about to improve it, and to remove some branches of trade thither from Genoa, and when Doria resisted these proceedings, which would have done great harm to his native town, Duprat, the ready tool of every oppression, procured a warrant for his apprehension, the execution of which was intrusted to Admiral Barbésieux, who was appointed to supersede Doria in command of the fleet. Doria, having heard of this step, concluded a treaty with the Emperor, with whom he had been some time negotiating, and sailing to Naples, opened the sea to the Imperial garrison. The state of things was now reversed. Famine was transferred from the city to the besieging army, and combined with the heat of the sun, excessive indulgence in fruit, and the vapours arising from stagnant waters, engendered a terrible pestilence, which swept off the greater part of the French. Among the victims were Marshal de Lautrec himself, and the Count of Vaudemont, who was to have received the Crown of Naples. The French precipitately raised the siege (August 29th), leaving behind them their guns and material. Soon afterwards, the Marquis of Saluzzo, who had succeeded to the command, surrendered, with the small

remains of the French army, at Aversa, to the Prince of Orange, now Viceroy of Naples. Pedro Navarro, who had been taken prisoner, was put to death as a traitor. Thus was swallowed up the fourth army which had been despatched into Italy since the accession of Francis I.

Clement VII., in spite of his accommodation with the Emperor, would have beheld with pleasure the success of the French arms, and with his usual faithlessness he had exhorted Lautrec to advance.[1] Henry VIII.'s divorce, and consequently the fate of Wolsey, and the infinitely more important question of the English Reformation, depended on the success of Lautrec. It was Wolsey who had put it into the King's head to apply to Rome. Left to himself, Henry would have taken a more violent course. The Cardinal, as a churchman, had regard to the Pope, and that spiritual power which it was not impossible he might one day wield himself; as a statesman, he was solicitous for the King's reputation, and the security of the succession to the Crown, both which might be endangered by an illegal marriage. The conduct of Clement was chiefly influenced by his fears; on the one hand, the dread of offending the Emperor, on the other, of disobliging Henry, and losing the allegiance of England to the See of Rome, a prospect not obscurely held out to him by Gardiner and Fox, the English ambassadors, at Orvieto. Their representations had great effect upon Clement, and they describe him as pacing a long while up and down his chamber, using at the same time the most lively gesticulations.[2] He was thus held in a state of agonizing suspense and timid vacillation. Nor was the case in itself without great difficulty. Clement was not solicited for a divorce, as is commonly supposed, but to condemn as illegal the dispensation given by his predecessor, Julius II., for the marriage of Henry and Catharine,[3] when, of course, Henry would have been free to contract a new marriage. Clement had not the least objection to that. All he wanted was a sufficient excuse with the Emperor, which he would have found if Lautrec could have been induced by the English ambassadors to put upon him the appearance of compulsion.[4] Among other evasions, Clement and his counsellors advised that Henry should take a second wife at once, without making so much stir about the matter—in short, quietly commit

[1] Sir R. Jerningham's *Despatch*, Dec. 3rd, 1527; Turner, *Henry VIII.* ii. 167.

[2] Gardiner's and Fox's *Letter* from Orvieto, Monday in Easter-week, 1528; in Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memor.* bk. i. ch. xii.; Gardiner's *Letter* of May 4th, Burnet, vol. iii. pt. ii. *Records*, No. 14.

[3] Brewer, iv. dcxxix.

[4] Dr. Knight's *Letter* in Herbert (Kennett, vol. ii. p. 100).

bigamy—and if any dispute arose, refer the cause to Rome.[1] One of the schemes in agitation between the English ambassadors and the Pope during the latter's residence at Orvieto was, that he should depose Charles on the ground of the ill treatment endured at his hands, and authorize the Electors to choose another Emperor from among themselves. Clement listened to this suggestion: he thought that he could count upon four of the Electors; but Henry and Francis must first agree upon the person to be chosen.[2] These and other plans—in fact, the whole conduct of the Pope—depended, as we have said, on Lautrec's success. Early in June, 1528, when that commander stood in a favourable position before Naples, Clement, enticed by the promise that the Venetians should be induced to restore his cities, gave his Legate, Campeggio, full power to decide the cause. But after Lautrec's defeat, in August, we find Sanga writing to Campeggio (September 2nd), that, however indebted his Holiness might feel himself to the King of England, yet care must be taken not to give offence to the victorious Emperor.[3]

From this period the relations between Clement and Charles became more and more friendly and intimate; the magnificent projects which the Pope had formed of liberating Italy from the yoke of foreigners, vanished gradually from his mind; he even began to forget the personal wrongs which had seemed ineffaceable; and he resolved once more to change parties, and to sacrifice Italy for the interests of his family and those of the tiara. That his house might have a foundation in the Church, he created Ippolito de' Medici a Cardinal, while Alessandro was to be established in the government of Florence.[4] A formal and public reconciliation was effected by the treaty of Barcelona (June 29th, 1529), by which Charles engaged to procure the restoration of Ravenna, Cervia, Modena, and Reggio, which had been wrested from the See of Rome, and to re-establish the House of Medici at Florence. Clement, on his side, promised to crown Charles with the Imperial Crown, and to invest him with the Kingdom of Naples, on condition of the usual tribute of a white palfrey. The claim of Francesco Maria Sforza to the Milanese was left in abeyance till a tribunal should have decided on his guilt or innocence in Morone's affair. Engagements were entered into to arrest the progress of the Turks and Lutherans; and the Pope absolved the

[1] *Letter* of Casale, in Herbert (*Ibid.* p. 140); Brewer, iv. cccxxxiv.; Cf. Le Grand, t. i. p. 79.

[2] Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* B. iii. S. 25.

[3] Apud Ranke, *Päpste*, B. i. S. 126.

[4] Capponi, *Rep. di Firenze*, vol. iii. p. 226, sqq.

soldiers who had participated in the violence and excesses committed at Rome, in order that they might be employed in the "Holy War." But the war for which they were really destined was one of a very different kind—the subjugation of Florence, the Pope's native city. The treaty was confirmed by the betrothal of the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret, to Alessandro de' Medici.[1]

The reconciliation between Clement and Charles was fatal to the progress of Henry VIII.'s divorce. The Pope was now entirely at the Emperor's service. On the 9th of July he hinted to the English ambassadors the opinion of the Roman jurisconsults, that the cause must be evoked to Rome; and when they endeavoured to dissuade him from such a course, he replied, that though sensible of its consequences, he was between hammer and anvil, and could not resist the Emperor's demands; that if he complied with the wishes of the King, he should draw a devastating storm upon himself and the Church.[2] The peace of Barcelona was proclaimed in Rome, July 18th, and on the following day Clement notified to Wolsey that the suit was evoked to Rome. The consequences that ensued are well known to the readers of English history—the fall and, soon after, the death of Wolsey, the victim of his own policy, and the subsequent marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn. To another of its consequences, the abolition of the Papal supremacy in England, we shall have occasion to advert further on.

Cardinal Wolsey will always stand out on the canvas of European history as one of the greatest ministers of his age. He not only established the power of the House of Tudor, but also restored England to that position as a European State which had been lost through her domestic troubles, though it was the prudent reign of Henry VII. which prepared the means for the accomplishment of that end. That Wolsey neglected not his own interests whilst he advanced those of his country and his Sovereign, and that he displayed in his private life a magnificence which accorded with the grandeur of his political ideas, will hardly be a just subject of blame. But the pains which he took to ruin an innocent woman must always deaden the sympathy which we might otherwise feel for his unfortunate end. To plead in his excuse the general servility of the times is only to reduce him to a very low level of humanity; and there were many men

[1] Dumont, t. iv. pt. ii. p. 1.
[2] Burnet, *Reformation*, vol. i. p. 152 sq. (ed. 1829).

even then, as Fisher and others, who would not have so demeaned themselves.

The treaties between Francis and the King of England had produced no effect besides the invasion of Italy by the French. The war which Henry had undertaken to wage with the Netherlanders was very unpopular in England. The citizens of London protested loudly against an expedition which would have ruined one of their most important and lucrative trades;[1] and the King, yielding to their remonstrances, concluded a truce with Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, June 8th, 1528, by which the Netherland frontiers were guaranteed from invasion for eight months.[2] In Italy, the Venetians were lukewarm in supporting the French; the Pope, as we have seen, had made his arrangements with the Emperor; and Andrew Doria followed up the relief of Naples by exciting his fellow-citizens to throw off the French yoke. The French garrison was expelled from Genoa, September 12th, 1528; the Republic was re-organized and placed by Doria under the Emperor's protection. Efficacious measures were adopted for extinguishing the factions by which Genoa had so long been torn. The feudal and civic aristocracies were amalgamated into one body of nobility, all the members of which entered by turns into the Great Council of the Republic, composed of three hundred members, who sat for a year. The Genoese constitution thus became strictly aristocratic. It was not again overthrown, and dragged on, till the French revolution, a lingering existence among the monuments of its former glory. Andrew Doria, by refusing the title of Doge, showed that he had not been actuated by personal ambition. He contented himself with the command of the fleet, and that moral authority which was due to him as the liberator of his country. But this authority was so great that he obtained the by-name of "the monarch;" and this monarch was the Emperor's admiral.

So complete was the control exercised by Wolsey before his fall over the foreign negotiations of England, that Henry VIII. does not appear to have been aware of the declaration of war which, in conjunction with that of the French King, had been delivered to Charles in January, 1528. It was on the 22nd of that month that Guyenne and Clarencieux, the French and English Kings-at-Arms, appeared before the Emperor at Burgos, and, in presence

[1] There were at that time more than 15,000 Flemish shopmasters in London. *Letter* of Du Bellay, Dec. 9th, 1528, ap. Brewer, iv. ccccliii.

[2] Rymer, t. xiv. p. 264.

of his assembled nobles, declared war against him in the name of their respective masters. When Henry found fault with this act, Wolsey, by a clumsy subterfuge, had asserted that the defiance was given without his orders. The herald, thus forced to defend himself, produced three of Wolsey's letters directing the declaration. The detection of so palpable a falsehood of course raised suspicions of the Cardinal's whole conduct, and was one of the first incidents which prepared the way for his fall.[1] The Emperor naturally expressed surprise that Francis should have chosen such a moment for his declaration, when he had been several years at war with him without one; and he reminded Guyenne of a message which he had sent to the French King by his ambassador, but which the latter had not thought fit to deliver, to the effect that he had violated the faith and honour of a gentleman, and that if Francis asserted the contrary, he was ready to maintain the charge person to person. Charles's answer to Clarencieux was more moderate; but he addressed to Henry a letter in which he charged him with the contemplated divorce from Catharine. Charles pointed out that such a step would bastardize the Lady Mary, whose hand had been offered to him; and he inquired what confidence could be placed in Henry's affected zeal for the Pope, when he showed so little for religion? The truth of these reproaches rendered them all the more biting; for it can hardly be doubted that much of Henry's desire to serve the Pontiff arose from a wish to obtain his good offices in the matter of the divorce.

Francis, unable to rebut the charge brought against him by the Emperor, replied by a challenge, in which he gave Charles the lie, and he caused it to be read in presence of Perrenot de Granvelle, the Emperor's ambassador, and of the whole French Court; but when Burgundy, the Imperial King-at-Arms, came back with a reply, fixing the place of combat on the Bidasoa, Francis flew into a violent rage, and would not accord him a hearing; so that the refusal of the duel rests with the French King. However ridiculous this affair may appear to our modern notions, it was not so at a period when the usages of chivalry were not yet obsolete; especially as the cause of the dispute was in a great measure of a personal nature. The true point of ridicule, as a French historian observes,[2] is, that the two Sovereigns,

[1] See the *Letter* of Clarencieux, Feb. 18th, 1528; ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 274; Hall, p. 745.

[2] Gaillard, *Vie de François I.* t. iii. p. 444.

after making the question a point of honour, passing a formal challenge, and fixing the eyes of all Europe upon them, should have suffered the matter to drop without coming to any issue. Charles took a paltry vengeance by persecuting his prisoners. The French agent found the two young princes in a dark, ill-furnished chamber, amusing themselves by playing with little dogs and modelling in wax. They had almost forgotten the French tongue. Their domestics were sent to the galleys, as prisoners of war, and some of them were sold into Barbary for slaves.[1]

In spite, however, of their desire to be revenged on each other, the warlike operations of Charles and Francis were carried on without much vigour. Both, in fact, were exhausted. The French campaigns in northern Italy in the years 1528 and 1529, under François de Bourbon-Vendôme, commonly called the Count of St. Pol, whom Francis had despatched thither with a few thousand men, are scarcely worth narrating. At last, in June, 1529, St. Pol was surprised at Landriano, near Milan, by Antonio de Leyva; he himself and most of his principal officers were taken prisoners, and the French army was entirely scattered. This defeat, and the treaty of Barcelona, which confirmed the defection of the Pope, inclined the French Court to peace with the Emperor. Further resistance in Italy was impossible. Charles was master in north and south; Genoa was withdrawn from French influence; Venice, by Mantua's secession from the League, was herself threatened, and obliged to think of her own defence; Florence, indeed, still held out, but without any prospect of ultimate success. There was no chance of English co-operation against the Netherlands, and there was pressing need for the delivery of the young French princes from their cruel captivity. The Emperor, on his side, had too much to do in Germany and Hungary to be desirous of continuing the war. He was also in want of money, and the ransom of the French princes promised a plentiful supply. Under these circumstances it was arranged that Louise, the French King's mother, and Charles's aunt Margaret, should meet at Cambray to settle the terms of a general peace; for the Sovereigns themselves were so embittered against each other as to make it desirable to intrust the negotiations to female hands. In July the two ladies went to Cambray, where they occupied adjoining houses, between which a private passage

[1] Michelet, *Réforme*, p. 506, from the *Papiers de Granvelle*; Sandoval and Herbert, ap. Turner, *Henry VIII.* vol. ii. p. 270.

was opened, so that they could confer together at all hours without notice or interruption; and on the 5th of August, 1529, they signed the Peace of Cambray, which was named after them *La Paix des Dames*, or "Ladies' Peace." It was founded on the treaty of Madrid, with a modification of some of the articles. The ransom of the French princes was fixed at three millions of gold crowns; but of this sum one million was to be set off as the dowry of Madame Eleanor, whom Francis was to marry. Francis was released from his obligation to surrender Burgundy, and on the other hand renounced all his pretensions in Italy, as well as the suzerainty of West Flanders and Artois, recognized the treaty imposed by the Emperor on Charles of Egmont, Duke of Gelderland, in October, 1528, by which that old ally of France had entered the Imperial alliance, guaranteed the reversion of Gelderland and Zutphen to Charles V., and engaged not to countenance any practices against the Emperor either in Italy or Germany. Margaret and Charles were to retain the Charolais during their lives, after which that County was to revert to the French Crown. Francis took upon him to pay the debts owing by the Emperor to the King of England, and to set them off against his ransom. They amounted to 400,000 crowns, besides a claim of 500,000 more, forfeited by Charles for not having married the Lady Mary, and 50,000 to redeem a golden *fleur-de-lis* set with diamonds.[1]

It may be observed that Francis, by this disgraceful treaty, abandoned all his allies both in Italy and the Netherlands, whilst Charles did not desert a single one, and obtained a pardon for Bourbon's family and adherents. The French King covered himself with infamy by not only deserting the Venetians, but even engaging to force them to restore the places which they had acquired when leagued with him. And although on this occasion it was impossible for him to allege that any constraint had been put upon him, he entered a protest against the treaty, on the ground that over and above a money ransom, the ceding of his claims upon Italy had been extorted from him, contrary to the usages of war. The Parliament of Paris likewise protested against the registering of the treaty. It is pleaded that Francis was persuaded to this act by his Chancellor, Duprat; but such an excuse cannot be admitted; and this second, and still more deliberate act of treachery stamps him as a Prince without faith

[1] Dumont, *Corps. Dipl.* t. iv. pt. ii. p. 7 sqq.; Rymer, t. xiv. p. 326. There is a summary of the treaty in the *Papiers de Granvelle* (*Documens inéd.* t. i. p. 464 sq.), and in Herbert (in Kennett, vol. ii. p. 130 sqq.). The *fleur-de-lis* had been pledged to Henry VII. by Charles's father, Philip.

or honour. Thus fresh hostilities were meditated in the very act of forming a peace; but Francis was not at present in condition to avail himself of his protest.

Thus were virtually terminated the wars of the French in Italy, which had lasted thirty-six years; for the attempt to revive them was not attended with much success. In these wars the French had repeatedly displayed a capability of making rapid and brilliant conquests without the power of retaining them or turning them to any substantial advantage. The treaty of Cambray was Louise's last political act of any importance; she died two years after (September 22nd, 1531), when the immense sum of one and a half millions of gold crowns was found in this avaricious woman's coffers. The want of a third of that sum had cost the loss of the Milanese; a third added to it would have paid the ransom of her grandchildren.

The liberation of the latter had been fixed by the treaty of Cambray to take place on March 1st, 1530, but was delayed four months; partly by the difficulty of raising the money for their ransom, and partly by a disgraceful fraud attempted by Duprat. To reduce the amount he caused a new coinage to be struck, one-thirtieth part lighter than the legal currency, which would have afforded the paltry gain of 40,000 crowns. This attempt at fraud having been detected by the Spanish moneyers gave rise to redoubled vigilance on their part; and it was not till July 1st that satisfactory arrangements were completed. Eleanor, the affianced bride of Francis, passed into the boat along with his sons; on which occasion the absence of all precautions was maliciously remarked. The French King went to meet them, and espoused Eleanor at the convent of Verrières, near the town of Mont-de-Marsan in Gascony.[1]

Having thus narrated the struggle between the Emperor and the French King to the Peace of Cambray, we shall now return awhile to the affairs of Germany and the progress of the Reformation, which have been already brought down to the Diet of Worms in 1521, and Luther's concealment at the Wartburg.[2]

[1] M. du Bellay, liv. iii. (Petitot, t. xviii. p. 91 sqq. 1re sér.); Gaillard, t. iv. p. 103.
[2] Above, p. 405.

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